4 F F 6
3

A VIEW OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

CREATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

INCLUDING

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

CELEBRATED REVOLUTIONS

IN

FRANCE, POLAND, SWEDEN, GENEVA, &c. &c.

TOGETHER WITH

AN ACCURATE AND IMPARTIAL NARRATIVE

OF THE LATE

MILITARY OPERATIONS;

AND OTHER IMPORTANT EVENTS.

By the Rev. J. ADAMS, A. M.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

History is philosophy, teaching by examples, how to conduct ourselves in every situation of private or public life. *Bolingbroke.*

A man who does not think he dropped from the clouds, or does not date the origin of the world from the day of his nativity, ought naturally to be curious of being acquainted with the transactions of different ages and countries. *King of Prussia.*

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. KEARSLEY, NO. 46, FLEET-STREET.

MDCC XCV.

3

MUSEUM
BRITAN
NICUM

THE CONTENTS OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

CHAP. I.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

ARTICLES of confederation—New conſtitution agreed to—Face of the country—Curious phænomena—Soil and produce—Population—Literature—Influence of ſlavery on policy and manners. —— —— page 1.

CHAP. II.

Of the provinces of New England. —— p. 20.

CHAP. III.

Of New York and New Jerſey. —— p. 39.

CHAP. IV.

Of Pennſylvania and the progreſs of population, agriculture, and manners in that State. — — p. 44.

CHAP. V.

Of Virginia and Maryland. — — p. 58.

CHAP. VI.

Of North and South Carolina. — — p. 67.

CHAP. VII.

Of Georgia. — — p. 73.

CHAP. VIII.

New American States. — — p. 79.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Weſt Indies in general—Hurricanes—Sugar Plantation—Negroes—Slave-trade. — — p. 84.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. X.

Jamaica—Port Royal destroyed by an earthquake—Condition of the Negroes. — — — p. 95.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Buccaneers. — — p. 102.

CHAP. XII.

Of Barbadoes and other British Islands in the West Indies. p. 113.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Brazil, belonging to the Portuguese. — p. 124.

CHAP. XIV.

French settlements in America. — — p. 138.

CHAP. XV.

Of Surinam, the capital of the Dutch colonies and settlements in Guiana—Of the Dutch American islands. — p. 144.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Danish American islands, St. Thomas, and Santa Cruz. — — p. 150.

CHAP. XVII.

CONTINUATION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, AND OTHER IMPORTANT EUROPEAN EVENTS.

Massacres of September—The Duke of Brunswick desires a conference with the French general—Conquest of the French—Philosophical observations — — p. 156.

CHAP. XVIII.

French convention—Titles abolished—Success of the republican arms—Factions in the convention—Atchievements of General Dumourier. — — p. 168.

CHAP. XIX.

The trial and execution of Louis XVI. — p. 180.

CHAP. XX.

Declaration of war against England and Holland—General Dumourier is defeated by the Austrians, and abandons the republican cause. — — — p. 206.

CHAP. XXI.

Declaration of General Dumourier concerning the Duke of Orleans—Brissot and the other deputies of the Gironde party arrested—A short account of the French constitution—New calendar

lendar—Assassination of Marat—Trial and execution of the queen and arrested deputies—Toulon evacuated—Tobago and St Domingo taken. p. 222.

CHAP. XXII.

Arguments in the British parliament for and against the war with France—Conquest of Martinico—Execution of Hebert and his associates—Proclamation of the king of Poland—Trial of Danton and his accomplices—Battles on the continent. p. 262.

CHAP. XXIII.

State of Poland—Atchievements of Koscuiska—Resolutions of the Swedes, Danes, and Americans—Robespierre's report upon the decadatory festivals—Battle of the 10th of May—Execution of Princess Elizabeth—Battle of the 17th of May—Bastia, the metropolis of Corsica, surrenders to lord Hood—Continental engagements—Defeat of the Spanish troops. p. 291.

CHAP. XXIV.

Assassinations attempted—French victories announced—the Emperor's address to the inhabitants of the Netherlands—Affairs of Poland—Lord Howe's victorious engagement with the French—Divisions in the convention on the organization of the revolutionary tribunal—Military operations on the continent and in the West Indies—Union of Corsica to the crown of Great Britain. — — p. 302.

CHAP. XXV.

State of Europe at this period. — — p. 342.

CHAP. XXVI.

Embassy to China—Evacuation of Ostend—The Duke of York's army march to Gramont—Oudenarde and Mons taken by the French—Earl of Moira's army—Tournay and Ghent evacuated—Engagement at Waterloo—Sluys summoned by the French—British army—New regulations—proposed by Barrere—Successes of the French announced. — — p. 351.

CHAP. XXVII.

Defeat of the Prussians—Namur entered by the French—Clairfayt defeated—Address of the Stadholder to the United States—Revolution in Geneva—Massacre at Barcelona. — p. 367.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The French in possession of all the Netherlands—Lord Moira's address to his army—British army encamped near Breda—Death and character of Robespierre—An American ambassador is sent to the French republic—A dreadful fire and riots in London. — — — p. 378.

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. XXIX.

Prince de Cobourg's addreſs to the Germans—Prince of Orange's propoſition to the States General—Britiſh army—Head quarters of the Prince of Orange—Prince of Saxe-Cobourg's farewel addreſs to the army—Britiſh commiſſioners ſent to the court of Vienna—Imperial army—Surrender of Valenciennes, Queſnoy, and Condé announced—The Telegraph—Surrender of Sluys—Eſtimate of the French armies—Affairs of Spain—Watt found guilty of high treaſon. —— p. 398.

CHAP. XXX.

Affairs of Poland—King of Pruſſia's army—Inſurrection at Warſaw—Proclamation of the ſupreme national council—Manifeſto of the Emperor of Germany—Letters of the Kings of Pruſſia and Poland—Diſturbance in South Pruſſia—Siege of Warſaw raiſed—Victories of the Poles—Letter of the national council to General Koſciuſko, and the general's anſwer. p. 419.

CHAP. XXXI.

Liberty of the preſs—Attempt to aſſaſſinate Tallien—The Jacobins pointed out as the aſſaſſins—Of the two leading parties in France—Balloons adopted by the French in order to view the enemy—Perpetual motion ſaid to be diſcovered by a North Briton. —— —— p. 431.

CHAP. XXXII.

Engagement near Grave—Defeat of General Clairfayt—Defeat of General Colloredo—The Pariſians demand a chief—Crevecœur ſurrenders to the French—Advantages gained by the Spaniards over the French—Poſition of the Britiſh army at Bummel—Inundations—Bois-le-Duc, Venlo, Nimeguen, and Maeſtricht ſurrender to the French—Addreſs to the Prince of Orange—Diet at Ratiſbon—Execution of Watt—Acquittal of John Horne Tooke, Eſq. and other ſtate priſoners—Prorogation parliament—Inconſiſtent character of the Dutch. p. 438.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Decree of the convention reſpecting the Jacobin club and other popular ſocieties—Mutual recriminations—Acts of barbarity brought to light—The Jacobins are driven out of their hall—Arrangements between Great Britain and America—The French take an important place from the Spaniards, near Pampeluna—General Koſciuſko defeated and taken priſoner—Surrender of Warſaw. —— —— p. 554.

A VIEW OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Articles of Confederation—New Conſtitution agreed to—Face of the Country—Curious Phænomena—Soil and produce—Population—Literature—Influence of Slavery on Policy and Manners.

THE United States contain thirteen countries or provinces, viz. New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſett's Bay, Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Penſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Beſides theſe, ſeveral new ſtates have lately ariſen. Theſe provinces were formerly known by the name of the Britiſh Colonies; but, after a long and deſtructive war, they were declared free, ſovereign, and independent, ſtates. A. D. 1783. Of the riſe and progreſs of the American conteſt a particular account is given, in the view of the hiſtory of England.

No ſooner was peace reſtored by the definitive treaty, and the Britiſh troops withdrawn from the country, than the United States began to experience the defects of their general government. While an enemy was in the country, fear, which had firſt impelled the coloniſts to aſſociate in mutual defence, continued to operate as a band of political union. It gave to the reſolutions and recommendations of congreſs the force of laws, and generally commanded a ready acquieſcence on the part of the ſtate legiſlatures. Articles of confederation

and perpetual union had been framed in con-
A. D. 1778. greſs, and ſubmitted to the conſideration of the ſtates, in which they aſſumed the title of "The "United States of America;" and by which each of the colonies contracted a reciprocal treaty of alliance and friendſhip for their common defence, for the maintenance of their liberties, and for their general and mutual advantage; obliging themſelves to aſſiſt each other againſt all violence that might threaten all, or any one of them, and to repel, in common, all the attacks that might be levelled againſt all, or any one of them, on account of religion, ſovereignty, commerce, or under any other pretext whatſoever. Each of the colonies reſerved to themſelves alone, the excluſive right of regulating their internal government, and of framing laws on all matters not included in the articles of confederation. But for the more convenient management of the general intereſts of the United States, it was determined, that delegates ſhould be annually appointed in ſuch manner as the legiſlature of each ſtate ſhould direct, to meet in congreſs on the firſt Monday of November of every year, with a power reſerved to each ſtate to recal its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to ſend others in their ſtead, for the remainder of the year. No ſtate was to be repreſented in congreſs by leſs than two, nor more than ſeven members; and no perſon was capable of being a delegate for more than three years, in any term of ſix years; nor was any perſon being a delegate, capable of holding any office under the United States for which he, or any other for his benefit, ſhould receive any ſalary, fees, or emolument of any kind. In determining queſtions in the United States in congreſs aſſembled, each ſtate was to have one vote. Every ſtate was to abide by the determinations of the United States in congreſs aſſembled, on all queſtions which were ſubmitted to them by the confederation. The articles of confederation were to be inviolably obſerved by every ſtate, and the union was to be perpetual; nor was any alteration, at any time hereafter, to be made in any of them, unleſs ſuch alteration be agreed to in a congreſs of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legiſlature of every ſtate.

Theſe articles however were framed during the rage of war, when a principle of common ſafety ſupplied the place of coercive power in government; by men who could have had no experience in the art of governing an extenſive country, and under circumſtances the moſt critical and embarraſſing. To have offered to the people, at that time, a ſyſtem of government armed with the powers neceſſary to regulate and control the contending intereſt of thirteen ſtates, and the poſ-

ſeſſions

ſeſſions of millions of people, might have raiſed a jealouſy between the ſtates, or in the minds of the people at large, that would have weakened the operations of war, and perhaps have rendered an union impracticable.

Hence the numerous defects of the confederation.

On the concluſion of peace, theſe defects began to be felt. Each ſtate aſſumed the right of diſputing the propriety of the reſolutions of Congreſs, and the intereſt of an individual ſtate was placed in oppoſition to the common intereſt of the union. In addition to this ſource of diviſion, a jealouſy of the powers of congreſs began to be excited in the minds of the people. This jealouſy of the privileges of freemen, had been rouſed by the oppreſſive acts of the Britiſh parliament; and no ſooner had the danger from this quarter ceaſed, than the fears of people changed their object, and were turned againſt their own rulers.

Without an union that was able to form and execute a general ſyſtem of commercial regulations, ſome of the ſtates attempted to impoſe reſtraints upon the Britiſh trade that ſhould indemnify the merchant for the loſſes he had ſuffered, or induce the Britiſh miniſtry to enter into a commercial treaty and relax the rigour of their navigation laws. Theſe meaſures however produced nothing but miſchief. The ſtates did not act in concert, and the reſtraints laid on the trade of one ſtate operated to throw the buſineſs into the hands of its neighbour. Maſſachuſetts, in her zeal to counteract the effect of the Engliſh navigation laws, laid enormous duties upon Britiſh goods imported into that ſtate; but the other ſtates did not adopt a ſimilar meaſure; and the loſs of buſineſs ſoon obliged that ſtate to repeal or ſuſpend the law. Thus when Penſylvania laid heavy duties on Britiſh goods, Delaware and New-Jerſey made a number of free ports to encourage the landing of goods within the limits of thoſe ſtates; and the duties in Penſylvania ſerved no purpoſe, but to create ſmuggling.

Thus divided, the ſtates began to feel their weakneſs. Moſt of the legiſlatures had neglected to comply with the requiſitions of congreſs for furniſhing the federal treaſury; the reſolves of congreſs were diſregarded; the propoſition for a general impoſt to be laid and collected by congreſs was negatived firſt by Rhode-Iſland, and afterwards by New-York. The Britiſh troops continued to hold poſſeſſion of the forts on the frontiers of the ſtates, and thus commanded the fur trade. Many of the ſtates individually were infeſted with popular commotions or iniquitous tender laws, while they were oppreſſed with public debts; the certificates or public notes had loſt moſt of their value, and circulated merely as the ob-

jects of ſpeculation; congreſs loſt their reſpectability, and the United States their credit and importance.

In the midſt of theſe calamities, a propoſition
A. D. 1785. was made, in the houſe of delegates in Virginia, to appoint commiſſioners, to meet ſuch as might be appointed in the other ſtates, who ſhould form a ſyſtem of commercial regulations for the United States, and recommend to the ſeveral legiſlatures for adoption. Commiſſioners were therefore appointed, and a requeſt was made to the legiſlatures of the other ſtates to accede to the propoſition. Accordingly ſeveral of the ſtates appointed commiſſioners, who met at Annapolis to conſult what meaſures ſhould be taken to unite the ſtates in ſome general and efficient commercial ſyſtem. But as the ſtates were not all repreſented, and the powers of the commiſſioners were, in their opinion, too limited to propoſe a ſyſtem of regulations adequate to the purpoſes of government, they agreed to recommend a general convention to be held at Philadelphia the next year, with powers to frame a general plan of government for the United States. This meaſure appeared to the commiſſioners abſolutely neceſſary. The old confederation was eſſentially defective. It was deſtitute of almoſt every principle neceſſary to give effect to legiſlation.

It was defective in the article of legiſlating over ſtates, inſtead of individuals. All hiſtory teſtifies that recommendations will not operate as laws, and compulſion cannot be exerciſed over ſtates, without violence, war, and anarchy. The confederation was alſo deſtitute of a ſanction to its laws. When reſolutions were paſſed in congreſs, there was no power to compel obedience by fine, by ſuſpenſion of privileges, or other means. It was alſo deſtitute of a guarantee for the ſtate governments. Had one ſtate been invaded by its neighbour, the union was not conſtitutionally bound to aſſiſt in repelling the invaſion, and ſupporting the conſtitution of the invaded ſtate. The confederation was further deficient in the principle of apportioning the quotas of money to be furniſhed by each ſtate; in a want of power to form commercial laws, and to raiſe troops for the defence and ſecurity of the union; in the equal ſuffrage of the ſtates, which placed Rhode-iſland on a footing in congreſs with Virginia; and to crown all the defects, we may add the want of judiciary power, to define the laws of the union, and to reconcile the contradictory deciſions of a number of independent judicatories.

Theſe and many inferior defects were obvious to the commiſſioners, and therefore they urged a general convention, with powers to form and offer to the conſideration of the ſtates, a ſyſtem of general government that ſhould be leſs exceptionable.

ceptionable. Accordingly, in May, delegates from all the ſtates, except Rhode Iſland, aſ- A. D. 1787. ſembled at Philadelphia; and choſe general Waſhington for their preſident. After four months deliberation, in which the claſhing intereſts of the ſeveral ſtates appeared in all their force, the convention agreed to recommend the plan of the federal government. As ſoon as the federal conſtitution was ſubmitted to the legiſlatures of the ſeveral ſtates, they proceeded to take meaſures for collecting the ſenſe of the people upon the propriety of adopting it. In the ſmall ſtate of Delaware, a convention was called in November, which, after a few days deliberation, ratified the conſtitution, without a diſſenting voice.

In the convention of Penſylvania, held the ſame month, there was a ſpirited oppoſition to the new form of government. The debates were long and intereſting. Great abilities and firmneſs were diſplayed on both ſides; but on the 13th of December, the conſtitution was received by two thirds of the members. The minority were diſſatisfied, and with an obſtinacy that ill became the repreſentatives of a free people, publiſhed their reaſons of diſſent, which were calculated to inflame a party already violent, and which, in fact, produced ſome diſturbances in the weſtern parts of the ſtate. But the oppoſition has ſince gradually ſubſided.

In New-Jerſey, the convention which met in December were unanimous in adopting the conſtitution; as was likewiſe that of Georgia.

In Connecticut there was ſome oppoſition; but the conſtitution was, on the 9th of January, ratified by three fourths of the votes in convention, and A. D. 1788. the minority peaceably acquieſced in the deciſion.

In Maſſachuſetts, the oppoſition was numerous and reſpectable. The convention, conſiſting of more than three hundred delegates, were aſſembled in January, and continued their debates with great candor and liberality, about five weeks. At length the queſtion was carried for the conſtitution by a ſmall minority, and the majority, with that manly condeſcenſion which becomes great minds, ſubmitted to the meaſure, and united to ſupport the government.

In New Hampſhire, the federal cauſe was, for ſome time, doubtful. The greateſt number of the delegates in convention were at firſt on the ſide of the oppoſition; and ſome, who might have had their objections removed by the diſcuſſion of the ſubject, were inſtructed by their conſtituents to reject the conſtitution. An adjournment was therefore moved and carried. This gave the people opportunity to gain a farther knowledge

of the merits of the conſtitution, and at a ſecond meeting of the convention, it was ratified by a reſpectable majority.

In Maryland, ſeveral men of abilities appeared in the oppoſition, and were unremitting in their endeavours to perſuade the people, that the propoſed plan of government was artfully calculated to deprive them of their deareſt rights; yet in the convention it appeared that five-ſixths of the voices were in favour of it.

In South Carolina, the oppoſition was reſpectable; but two-thirds of the convention appeared to be advocates for the conſtitution.

In Virginia, many of the principal characters oppoſed the ratification of the conſtitution with great abilities and induſtry. But after a full diſcuſſion of the ſubject, a ſmall majority of a numerous convention appeared for its adoption.

In New-York, two-thirds of the delegates in the convention, were, at their firſt meeting, determined to reject the conſtitution. Here therefore the debates were the moſt intereſting, and the event extremely doubtful. The argument was managed with uncommon addreſs and abilities on both ſides of the queſtion. But during the ſeſſion, the ninth and tenth ſtates had acceded to the propoſed plan, ſo that by the conſtitution, congreſs were empowered to iſſue an ordinance for organizing the new government. This event placed the oppoſition on new ground; and the expediency of uniting with the other ſtates. The generous motives of conciliating all differences, and the danger of a rejection, influenced a reſpectable number, who originally oppoſed the conſtitution, to join the federal intereſt. The conſtitution was accordingly ratified by a ſmall majority; but the ratification was accompanied here, as in Virginia, with a bill of rights, declaratory of the ſenſe of the convention as to certain great principles, and with a catalogue of amendments, which were to be recommended to the conſideration of the new congreſs, and the ſeveral ſtate legiſlatures.

North Carolina met in convention in July, to deliberate on the new conſtitution. After a ſhort ſeſſion they rejected it, by a majority of one hundred and ſeventy-ſix againſt ſeventy-ſix. This is the firſt ſtate that has, in a formal manner rejected the conſtitution. Upon what principle they did it, it is difficult to tell, and delicate to conjecture. The miſeries that will probably ariſe from their ſeparation from the union, and their internal diviſions, may eventually occaſion a reconſideration. It is certain that their rejection of the new plan of government, will have no effect in impeding its organization and eſtabliſhment between the ratifying ſtates.

Rhode

Rhode Iſland was doomed to be the ſport of a blind and ſingular policy. The legiſlature, in conſiſtency with the meaſures which had been before purſued, did not call a convention, to collect the ſenſe of the ſtate upon the propoſed conſtitution, but in an unconſtitutional and abſurd manner, ſubmitted the plan of government to the conſideration of the people. Accordingly it was brought before town-meetings, and in moſt of them rejected. In ſome of the large towns, particularly in Newport and Providence, the people collected and reſolved, with great propriety, that they could not take up the ſubject; and that the propoſition for embracing or rejecting the federal conſtitution, could come before no tribunal but that of the *State* in convention or legiſlature. It is hoped that the very reſpectable minority, who have ever ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the proceedings of the infatuated majority, will, by their prudent and perſevering exertions, effect the ſalvation of the ſtate. New York rejected the proceedings of the firſt Congreſs, and Georgia refuſed to ſend delegates; yet in two years after they were both among the foremoſt in ſupporting our independence. In two years North Carolina and Rhode Iſland may be as warmly engaged in ſupporting, as they are now in oppoſing the conſtitution. If we may judge from their preſent ſituations, they have more need of an efficient government than any ſtate in the union.

From the moment the proceedings of the general convention at Philadelphia tranſpired, the public mind was exceedingly agitated, and ſuſpended between hope and fear, until nine ſtates had ratified their plan of a federal government. Indeed the anxiety continued until Virginia and New York had acceeded to the ſyſtem. But this did not prevent the demonſtrations of their joy, on the acceſſion of each ſtate.

On the ratification in Maſſachuſetts, the citizens of Boſton, in the elevation of their joy, formed a proceſſion in honour of the happy event, which was novel, ſplendid, and magnificent. This example was afterwards followed, and in ſome inſtances improved upon, in Baltimore, Charleſton, Philadelphia, New Haven, Portſmouth, and New York, ſucceſſively. Nothing could equal the beauty and grandeur of theſe exhibitions. A ſhip was mounted upon wheels, and drawn through the ſtreets; mechanics erected ſtages, and exhibited ſpecimens of labour in their ſeveral occupations, as they moved along the road; flags with emblems, deſcriptive of all the arts and of the federal union, were invented and diſplayed in honour of the government; multitudes in all ranks of life aſſembled to view the majeſtic

ſcenes; while ſobriety, joy, and harmony marked the brilliant exhibitions by which the Americans celebrated the eſtabliſhment of their empire*.

With regard to the *face of the country*, the tract of territory belonging to the United States, is happily variegated with plains and mountains, hills and vallies. Some parts are rocky, particularly New England, the north parts of New York, and New Jerſey, and a broad ſpace, including the ſeveral ridges of the long range of mountains which run ſouth-weſtward through Penſylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, part of Georgia, dividing the waters which flow into the Atlantic, from thoſe which fall into the Miſſiſſippi. In the parts eaſt of the Allegany mountains, in the ſouthern ſtates, the country for ſeveral hundred miles in length and ſixty or ſeventy, and ſometimes more, in breadth, is level, and entirely free of ſtone. It has been a queſtion agitated by the curious, whether the extenſive tract of low, flat country, which fronts the ſeveral ſtates ſouth of New York, and extends back to the hills, has remained in its preſent form and ſituation ever ſince the flood; or whether it has been made by the particles of earth which have been waſhed down from the adjacent mountains, and by the accumulation of ſoil from the decay of vegetable ſubſtances; or by earth waſhed out of the bay of Mexico by the gulf ſtream, and lodged on the coaſt; or by the receſs of the ocean, occaſioned by a change in ſome other part of the earth. Several phænomena deſerve conſideration in forming an opinion on this queſtion. 1. It is a fact well known to every perſon of obſervation who has lived in, or travelled through the ſouthern ſtates, that marine ſhells and other ſubſtances which are peculiar to the ſea-ſhore, are almoſt invariably found by digging eighteen or twenty feet below the ſurface of the earth. Some time ago, a gentleman, in ſinking a well many miles from the ſea, found, at the depth of twenty feet, every appearance of a ſalt marſh, that is, marſh-graſs, marſh-mud, and brackiſh-water. In all this flat country, until you come to the hilly ſand, wherever you dig a well, you find the water, at a certain depth freſh and tolerably good; but if you exceed that depth two or three feet, you come to a ſaltiſh or brackiſh water that is ſcarcely drinkable; and the earth dug up, reſembles, in appearance and ſmell, that which is dug upon the edges of the ſalt marſhes. 2. On and near the margin of the rivers, are frequently found ſand hills, which appear to have been drifted into ridges by the force of the water. At the bottom of ſome of the banks in the rivers, fifteen or twenty feet below the ſurface of the earth, are waſhed out from the ſolid

* Morſe.

ground, logs, branches, and leaves of trees; and the whole bank, from bottom to top, appears ſtreaked with layers of logs, leaves and ſand. Theſe appearances are ſeen far up the rivers, from eighty to one hundred miles from the ſea, where, when the rivers are low, the banks are from fifteen to twenty feet high. As you proceed down the rivers toward the ſea, the banks decreaſe in height, but ſtill are formed of layers of ſand, leaves and logs, ſome of which are entirely ſound, and appear to have been ſuddenly covered to a conſiderable depth. 3. It has been obſerved, that the rivers in the ſouthern ſtates frequently vary their channels; that the ſwamps and low grounds are conſtantly filling up; and that the land in many places annually infringes upon the ocean. It is an authenticated fact, that no longer ago than 1771, at Cape Lookout, on the coaſt of North Carolina, in about latitude 34 deg. 50 min. there was an excellent harbour, capacious enough to receive an hundred ſail of ſhipping at a time, in a good depth of water. It is now entirely filled up, and is ſolid ground. Inſtances of this kind are frequent along the coaſt. It is obſervable, likewiſe, that there is a gradual deſcent of about eight hundred feet, by meaſurement, from the foot of the mountains to the ſea brink. This deſcent continues, as is demonſtrated, by ſoundings, far into the ſea. 4. It is worthy of obſervation, that the ſoil on the banks of the rivers is porportionably coarſe or fine, according to its diſtance from the mountains. When you firſt leave the mountains, and for a conſiderable diſtance, it is obſervable that the ſoil is coarſe, with a large mixture of ſand and ſhining heavy particles. As you proceed towards the ſea, the ſoil is leſs coarſe, and ſo on in proportion as you advance the ſoil is finer and finer, until, finally, is depoſited a ſoil ſo fine, that it conſolidates into perfect clay; but a clay of a particular quality, for a great part of it has intermixed with it reddiſh ſtreaks and veins like a ſpecies of *Ochre*, brought probably from the *red lands* which lie up towards the mountains. This clay, when dug up and expoſed to the weather, will diſſolve into a fine mould without the leaſt mixture of ſand or any gritty ſubſtance whatever. Now we know that running waters, when turbid, will depoſit, firſt, the coarſeſt and heavieſt particles, afterwards thoſe of the ſeveral intermediate degrees of fineneſs, and ultimately thoſe which are the moſt light and ſubtile; and ſuch in fact is the general quality of the ſoil on the banks of the ſouthern rivers. 5. It is a well known fact, that on the banks of Savannah river, about ninety miles from the ſea in a direct line, and one hundred and fifty, or two hundred, as the river runs, there is a very remarkable

collection of oyſter ſhells of an uncommon ſize. They run in a north eaſt and ſouth weſt direction, nearly parallel with the ſea coaſt, in three diſtinct ridges, which together occupy a ſpace of ſeven miles in breadth. The ridges commence at Savannah river, and have been traced as far ſouth as the northern branches of the Altamaha river. They are found in ſuch quantities, as that the indigo planters carry them away in large boat loads, for the purpoſe of making lime water, to be uſed in the manufacture of indigo. There are thouſands and thouſands of tons ſtill remaining. The queſtion is, how came they here? It cannot be ſuppoſed that they were carried by land. Neither is it probable that they were conveyed in canoes, or boats, to ſuch a diſtance from the place where oyſters are now found. The uncivilized natives, agreeably to their roving manner of living, would rather have removed to the ſea ſhore, than have been at ſuch immenſe labour in procuring oyſters. Beſides the difficulties of conveying them would have been inſurmountable. They would not only have had a ſtrong current in the river againſt them, an obſtacle which would not have been eaſily overcome by the Indians, who have ever had a great averſion to labour, but could they have ſurmounted this difficulty, oyſters, conveyed ſuch a diſtance either by land or water, in ſo warm a climate, would have ſpoiled on the paſſage, and have become uſeleſs. The circumſtance of theſe ſhells being found in ſuch quantities, at ſo great a diſtance from the ſea, can be rationally accounted for in no other way, than by ſuppoſing that the ſea ſhore was formerly near this bed of ſhells, and that the ocean has ſince, by the operation of certain cauſes not yet fully inveſtigated receded. Theſe phænomena, it is preſumed, will authorize this conclusion, That a great part of the flat country which ſpreads eaſterly of the Allegany mountains, had, in ſome paſt period, a ſuperincumbent ſea; or rather that the conſtant accretion of ſoil, from the various cauſes before hinted at, has forced it to retire.

As to *mountains* we may obſerve, that the tract of country eaſt of Hudſon's river, comprehending part of the State of New-York, the four New England States, and Vermont, is rough, hilly, and in ſome parts mountainous; but the mountains are comparatively ſmall, in few inſtances more than five or ſix hundred yards in height, and generally leſs. In all parts of the world, and particularly on this weſtern continent, it is obſervable, that as you depart from the ocean, or from a river, the land gradually riſes; and the height of land, in common, is about equally diſtant from the water on either ſide The Andes in South America

rica form the height of land between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

That range of mountains, of which the ſhining mountains are a part, begins at Mexico, and continuing northwards on the eaſt of California, ſeparates the waters of thoſe numerous rivers that fall into the gulf of Mexico or the gulf of California. Thence continuing their courſe ſtill northward, between the ſources of the Miſſiſſippi and the rivers that run into the South-Sea, they appear to end in about 47 and 48 deg. of north latitude; where a number of rivers riſe, and empty themſelves either into the South-Sea, into Hudſon's Bay, or into the waters that communicate between theſe two ſeas.

The Highlands between the Province of Main and the Province of Quebec, divide the rivers which fall into the St. Lawrence north, and into the Atlantic ſouth. The Green Mountains in Vermont divide the waters which flow eaſterly into Connecticut river, from thoſe which fall weſterly into Lake Champlain and Hudſon's river. Between the Atlantic, the Miſſiſſippi, and the lakes, runs a long range of mountains, made up of a great number of ridges. Theſe mountains extend north-eaſterly and ſouth-weſterly, nearly parallel with the ſea coaſt, about nine hundred miles in length, and from ſixty to one hundred and fifty, and two hundred miles in length. A late traveller* obſerves, with reſpect to that part of theſe mountains which he travelled over, viz. in the back parts of Penſylvania, that ſcarcely one acre in ten is capable of culture. This, however, is not the caſe in all parts of this range. Numerous tracts of fine arable and grazing land intervene between the ridges. The different ridges which compoſe this immenſe range of mountains, have different names in different ſtates.

As you advance from the Atlantic, the firſt ridge in Penſylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina, is the Blue Ridge, or South Mountain; which is from one hundred and thirty, to two hundred miles from the ſea. This is about four thouſand feet high, meaſuring from its baſe. Between this and the North Mountain, ſpreads a large fertile vale; next lies the Allegany ridge; next beyond this is the Long Ridge, called the Laurel Mountains, in a ſpur of which, about latitude 36 deg, is a ſpring of water fifty feet deep, very cold, and as blue as indigo. From the ſeveral ridges proceed innumerable nameleſs branches or ſpurs. The Kittatinny Mountains run through the northern parts of New-Jerſey and Penſylvania. All theſe ridges, except the Allegany, are ſe-

* Mr. Evans.

parated

parated by rivers, which appear to have forced their paſſages through ſolid rocks.

The principal ridge is the Allegany, which has been deſcriptively called the *back bone* of the United States. The general name for theſe mountains, taken collectively, ſeems not yet to have been determined. Mr. Evans calls them the *Endleſs Mountains*: others have called them the Appalachian Mountains, from a tribe of Indians, who live on a river which proceeds from this mountain, called the Appalachikola. But the moſt common, and without doubt the moſt proper name, is the *Allegany Mountains*, ſo called from the principal ridge of the range. Theſe mountains are not confuſedly ſcattered and broken, riſing here and there into high peaks overtopping each other, but ſtretch along in uniform ridges, ſcarcely half a mile high. They ſpread as you proceed ſouth, and ſome of them terminate in high perpendicular cliffs. Others gradually ſubſide into a level country, giving riſe to the rivers which run ſoutherly into the gulf of Mexico.

They afford many curious phænomena, from which naturaliſts have deduced many theories of the earth. Some of them have been whimſical enough: Mr. Evans ſuppoſes that the moſt obvious of the theories which have been formed of the earth is, that it was originally made out of the ruins of another. "Bones and ſhells, which eſcaped the fate of "ſofter animal ſubſtances, we find mixed with the old ma-"terials, and elegantly preſerved in the looſe ſtones and "rocky baſes of the higheſt of theſe hills." Theſe appearances have been much more rationally accounted for by ſuppoſing the reality of the flood, of which Moſes has given us an account. But Mr. Evans thinks this too great a miracle to obtain belief. But whether is it a greater miracle for the Creator to alter a globe of earth by a deluge when made, or to create one new from the ruins of another? The former certainly is not leſs credible than the latter. "Theſe "mountains," ſays our author, "exiſted in their preſent "elevated height before the deluge, but not ſo bare of ſoil as "now." How Mr. Evans came to be ſo circumſtantially acquainted with theſe pretended facts, it is difficult to determine, unleſs we ſuppoſe him to have been an Antediluvian, and to have ſurveyed them accurately before the convulſions of the deluge; and until we can be fully aſſured of this, we muſt be excuſed in not aſſenting to his opinion, and in adhering to the old philoſophy of Moſes and his advocates. We have every reaſon to believe that the primitive ſtate of the earth was totally metamorphoſed by the firſt convulſion of nature at the time of the deluge; that *the fountains of the great deep*

deep were indeed broken up, and that the various *ſtrata* of the earth were diſſevered, and thrown into every poſſible degree of confuſion and diſorder. Hence thoſe vaſt piles of mountains which lift their craggy cliffs to the clouds, were probably thrown together from the floating ruins of the earth; and this conjecture is remarkably confirmed by the vaſt number of foſſils and other marine exuviæ, which are found imbedded on the tops of mountains, in the interior parts of continents remote from the ſea in all parts of the world hitherto explored. The various circumſtances attending theſe marine bodies leave us to conclude, that they were actually generated, lived, and died in the very beds wherein they are found; and therefore theſe beds muſt have originally been at the bottom of the ocean, though now, in many inſtances, elevated ſeveral miles above its ſurface. Hence it appears that mountains and continents were not primary productions of nature, but at a very diſtant period of time from the creation of the world; a time long enough for the *ſtrata* to have acquired their greateſt degree of coheſion and hardneſs; and, for the teſtaceous matter of marine ſhells to become changed to a ſtony ſubſtance; for, in the fiſſures of the lime-ſtone and other ſtrata, fragments of the ſame ſhall have been frequently found adhering to each ſide of the cleft, in the very ſtate in which they were originally broken; ſo that if the ſeveral parts were brought together, they would apparently tally with each other exactly. A very conſiderable time therefore muſt have elapſed between the chaotic ſtate of the earth and the deluge, which agrees with the account of Moſes, who makes it a little upwards of ſixteen hundred years. Theſe obſervations are intended to ſhew, in one inſtance out of many others, the agreement between revelation and reaſon, between the account which Moſes gives us of the creation and deluge, and the preſent appearances of nature *.

The *ſoil* of the United States, though ſo various that few general obſervations will apply, may be ſaid to be equal to that of any country in the known world. Among the great variety of its productions are the following: Indian corn is a native grain of America, from whence all the other parts of the world have been ſupplied. It agrees with all climates from the equator to latitude 45. The bunched Guinea-corn is a ſmall grain, cultivated by the negroes in the ſouthern ſtates, and affords a fine food for poultry. The ſpiked Indian corn is of a ſimilar kind. Rice

* Morſe's American Geography. Whitehurſt's Inquiry into the original State and Formation of the Earth.

was first brought into Carolina, by sir Nathaniel Johnson, and afterwards by a ship from Madagascar; till which time it was not much cultivated. It flourishes only in Georgia and the Carolinas. Several unsuccessful attempts have been made to cultivate it in Virginia. The wild rice is a grain which grows in the greatest plenty in some of the interior parts of North America, and is the most valuable of all the spontaneous productions of the country. It is of a very sweet and nutritious quality, and, in future periods, may be of great service to infant colonies, in affording them a support, until, in the course of cultivation, other supplies may be obtained. This useful grain grows in the water where it is about two feet deep, and in a rich muddy soil. In its stalk, ears, and manner of growing it, very much resembles oats. It is gathered by the Indians in the following manner. About the time that it begins to turn from its milky state and to ripen, they run their canoes into the midst of it, and tying bunches of it together just below the ears, they leave it in this situation for three or four weeks, till it is perpectly ripe. At the end of this time, commonly about the last of Semptember, they return to the river, and placing their canoes close to the bunches of rice, in such position as to receive the grain when it falls, they beat it out with pieces of wood formed for that purpose. Having done this, they dry it with smoke, and then tread or rub off the outside husk, after which it is fit for use.

A.D. 1696.

Wheat, rye, barley, and oats, are cultivated throughout the states, some few parts excepted. In Pensylvania is a kind of grain called spelts, which grows much like wheat. The grain, however, is better covered, and is good food for horses. The flour made from it is very white, and is frequently mixed with wheat flour for bread. This grain might probably be successfully introduced into the New England states. Potatoes are said to have been originally produced in America. They are of many kinds, and are raised in great quantities. The sweet, or Carolina potatoe, does not thrive well in northern climates, nor do other kinds in the lower parts of the southern states. The culinary roots and plants are beets, carrots, parsnips, turneps, radishes, peas, beans, cabbages, cauliflowers, endive, cellery, angelica, lettuce, asparagus, peppergrass, leeks, onions, water-melons, musk-melons, cantelopes, which are a species of the musk-melon, but much superior in richness and flavour; cucumbers, mandrakes, pumpkins, squashes, &c. Besides these there are several other roots, and plants of a medicinal kind, such as elecampane, spikenard, or petty-morrel, sarsaparilla, liquorice, snake-root, gold-

thread

thread, ſolomon's-ſeal, devils-bit, horſe-radiſh, and blood-root.

The gold-thread is of the vine kind, and grows in ſwamps. The roots ſpread themſelves juſt under the ſurface of the moraſs, and are eaſily drawn out by handfuls. They reſemble a large entangled ſkein of ſilk, and are of a bright yellow. It is exceedingly bitter in taſte, and is an excellent remedy for a ſoreneſs in the mouth. Devils-bit is a wild plant that has the print of teeth in its roots. The Indians have a tradition, that this root was once an univerſal remedy for all diſeaſes; but ſome evil ſpirit, envying mankind the poſſeſſion of ſo efficious a medicine, gave the root a bite, which deprived it of great part of its virtue: hence its name. Blood-root is a ſort of plantain that ſprings out of the ground in ſix or ſeven long rough leaves, the veins of which are red; the root of it is like a ſmall pea; when broken, the inſide is of a deeper colour than the outſide, and diſtils ſeveral drops of juice that looks like blood. This juice is a ſtrong, but dangerous emetic.

Of the various aromatic and other kinds of herbs are balm, ſavory, thyme, ſage, balſam, ſweet marjoram, hyſſop, tanſey, mint, penny-oyal, fennel, yarrow, may-weed, gurgit, ſkunk-cabbage, or poke, wake-robin, bittany, ſcabious, mullen, wild-peaſe, mouſe-ear, wild indigo, cat-mint, or, as it is ſometimes called, catnip, nettles, cinque-foil, eye-bright, ſanikle, plantain of ſeveral kinds, maiden-hair, burdock, field-dock, rock-liverwort, noble-liverwort, blood-wort, mother-wort, wild beans, ground-ivy, water-creſſes, &c.

Apples are the moſt common fruit in the United States. They grow in the greateſt plenty and variety in the northern and middle ſtates, and in the interior, but not in the maritime parts of the ſouthern. In the low country of Georgia, the Carolinas, and ſome other ſtates, grows a ſort of wild crab-apple. The bloſſoms are fragrant, the fruit is ſmall and ſour, and makes an excellent preſerve or ſweet meat. Beſides apples, there are pears, peaches, quinces, apricots, nectarines, plums, cherries of many kinds, currants, gooſeberries, blackberries, bilberries, whortleberries, ſtrawberries, mulberries, cranberries, &c. Of the nuts, there are cheſnuts, black wal-nuts, hiccory-nuts, butter-nuts, beech-nuts, hazle-nuts, filberts, and illinois-nuts, or pecan-nuts. Theſe fruits grow in great abundance and perfection in almoſt every part of North America. Figs, oranges, lemons, and pomegranates, are not natural to any ſtate north of the Carolinas. Grapes of ſeveral ſorts grow ſpontaneouſly in ſeveral provinces.

With

With regard to *population*; from the beſt accounts that can at preſent be obtained, there are, within the limits of the United States, three million eighty-three thouſand and ſix hundred ſouls. This number, which is rapidly increaſing, both by emigrations from Europe, and by natural population, is compoſed of people of almoſt all nations, languages, characters, and religions. The greater part, however, are deſcended from the Engliſh; and, for the ſake of diſtinction, are called Anglo-Americans.

The natural genius of Americans, ſays the celebrated geographer * of that country, has ſuffered much in the deſcriptions of ſome ingenious and eloquent European writers. The aſſertion of the Abbé Raynal, that "America "has not yet produced one good poet, one able mathemati-"cian, one man of genius in a ſingle art or a ſingle ſci-"ence," produced the following reply from one of their learned writers †.

"When we ſhall have exiſted as a people as long as the Greeks did before they produced a Homer, the Romans a Virgil, the French a Racine and Voltaire, the Engliſh a Shakſpeare and Milton, ſhould this reproach be ſtill true, we will enquire from what unfriendly cauſes it has proceeded, that the other countries of Europe, and quarters of the earth, ſhould not have inſcribed any name in the roll of poets? In war, we have produced a *Waſhington*, whoſe memory will be adored while liberty ſhall have votaries; whoſe name will triumph over time, and will, in future ages, aſſume its juſt ſtation amongſt the moſt celebrated worthies of the world, when that wretched philoſophy ſhall be forgotten which would arrange him among the degeneracies of nature. In phyſics, we have produced a *Franklin*, than whom no one of the preſent age has made more important diſcoveries, nor has enriched philoſophy with more ingenious ſolutions of the phænomena of nature. We have ſuppoſed Mr. Rittenhouſe ſecond to no Aſtronomer living; that, in genius, he muſt be the firſt, becauſe he is ſelf-taught. As an artiſt, he has exhibited as great proofs of mechanical genius as the world has ever produced. He has not indeed made a world; but he has, by imitation, approached nearer its Maker than any man who has lived, from the creation to this day. As in philoſophy and war, ſo in government, in oratory, in painting, in the plaſtic art, we might ſhew that America, though but a child of yeſterday, has already given hopeful proofs of genius, as well of nobler kinds, which arouſe the beſt feelings of man, which

* Mr. Morſe. † Mr. Jefferſon.

call

call him into action, which ſubſtantiate his freedom, and conduct him to happineſs, as of the ſubordinate, which ſerve to amuſe him. We therefore ſuppoſe, that this reproach is as unjuſt as it is unkind; and that, of the geniuſes which adorn the preſent age, America contributes its full ſhare. For, comparing it with thoſe countries, where genius is moſt cultivated, where are the moſt excellent models for art, and ſcaffoldings for the attainment of ſcience, as France and England, for inſtance, we calculate thus: The United States contain three millions of inhabitants; France twenty millions; and the Britiſh iſlands ten. We produce a Waſhington, a Franklin, a Rittenhouſe. France then ſhould have had a dozen in each of theſe lines, and Great Britain half that number equally eminent*.

The *literature* of the United States is very flouriſhing. Their progreſs in the art of war, in the ſcience of government, in philoſophy and aſtronomy, in poetry, and the various liberal arts and ſciences, has, for ſo young a country, been aſtoniſhing. Colleges are inſtituted in all the ſtates north of North Carolina excepting Delaware, and liberal proviſion is making for their eſtabliſhment in the others. Theſe colleges are generally well furniſhed with libraries, apparatus, inſtructors and ſtudents. The late important revolution has called to hiſtoric fame many noble and diſtinguiſhed characters, who might otherwiſe have ſlept in oblivion.

But while the fair ſide of the character of Federo-Americans is exhibited, their faults muſt not be forgotten. It has been juſtly obſerved, that "if there be an object truly ridi-"culous in nature, it is an American patriot ſigning reſo-"lutions of independency with the one hand, and, with "the other, brandiſhing a whip over his affright-"ed ſlaves." Though much has been written of late to ſhew the injuſtice and iniquity of enſlaving the Africans, I ſhall here introduce a few obſervations reſpecting the influence of ſlavery upon policy, morals, and manners. From repeated and accurate calculations it has been found, that the expence of maintaining a ſlave, eſpecially if we include the purchaſe money, is much greater than that of maintaining a free man. Influenced by the powerful motive of gain, he is at leaſt twice as profitable to the employer as a ſlave. Slavery is the bane of induſtry. It renders labour among the whites not only unfaſhionable but diſreputable. Induſtry is the offſpring of neceſſity rather than of choice. Slavery precludes this neceſſity; and indolence, which ſtrikes at the root of all ſocial and political happineſs, is the unhappy conſequence.

* Morſe.

Theſe obſervations, without adding any thing upon the injuſtice of the practice, ſhew that ſlavery is impolitic. Its influence on manners and morals is equally pernicious. The negro wenches in many, perhaps I may ſay in moſt inſtances, are nurſes to their miſtreſſes children. The infant babe as ſoon as it is born, is delivered to its black nurſe, and perhaps ſeldom or never taſtes a drop of its mother's milk. The children, by being brought up, and conſtantly aſſociating with the negroes, too often imbibe their low ideas, and vitiated manners and morals; and contract a *negroiſh* kind of accent and dialect, which they often carry with them through life.

To theſe may be added the obſervations of a native* on the unhappy influence of ſlavery, on the manners of our people. "The whole commerce between maſter and ſlave is a perpetual exerciſe of the moſt boiſterous paſſions, the moſt unremitting deſpotiſm on the one part, and degrading ſubmiſſions on the other. Our children ſee this, and learn to imitate; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave, he is learning to do what he ſees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his ſelf-love, for reſtraining the intemperance of paſſion towards his ſlave, it ſhould always be a ſufficient one that his child is preſent. But generally it is not ſufficient. The parent ſtorms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the ſame airs in the circle of ſmaller ſlaves, gives a looſe to his worſt of paſſions, and thus nurſed, educated, and daily exerciſed in tyranny, cannot but be ſtamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man muſt be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals, undepraved by ſuch circumſtances: and with what execration ſhould the ſtateſman be loaded, who permitting one half of the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms thoſe into deſpots and theſe into enemies; deſtroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other. For if a ſlave can have a country in this world, it muſt be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labour for another. With the morals of the people, their induſtry is alſo deſtroyed. For in warm climates no man will labour for himſelf, who can make another labour for him. This is ſo true, that of the proprietors of ſlaves, very few indeed are ever ſeen to labour. And can the liberties of a nation be thought ſecure, when we have removed their only baſis, a conviction in the minds of the people, that theſe liberties are the gift of God?"

* Mr. Jefferſon.

Under

Under the fœderal government which is now eſtabliſhed, there is reaſon to believe that all ſlaves in the United States will in time be emancipated, in a manner moſt conſiſtent with their own happineſs, and the true intereſt of their proprietors. Whether this will be effected by tranſporting them back to Africa; or by colonizing them in ſome part of our own territory, and extending to them our alliance and protection until they ſhall have acquired ſtrength ſufficient for their own defence; or by incorporation with the whites; or in ſome other way, remains to be determined. All theſe methods are attended with difficulties*.

The firſt would be cruel; the ſecond dangerous; and the latter diſagreeable and unnatural. Deep-rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thouſand recollections by the blacks of the injuries they have ſuſtained; new provocations; the real diſtinction which nature has made; beſides many other circumſtances which would tend to divide them into parties, and produce convulſions, are objections againſt retaining and incorporating the blacks with the citizens of the ſeveral ſtates. But juſtice and humanity demand that theſe difficulties ſhould be ſurmounted.

In the middle and northern ſtates there are comparatively but few ſlaves; and of courſe there is leſs difficulty in giving them their freedom. Societies for the manumiſſion of ſlaves have been inſtituted in Philadelphia and New-York; and laws have been enacted, and other meaſures taken in the New-England ſtates to accompliſh the ſame purpoſe. The *Friends*, (commonly called Quakers) have evinced the propriety of their name, by their goodneſs in ſetting on foot and their vigorous exertions in executing, this truly humane and benevolent deſign.

The Engliſh language is univerſally ſpoken in the United States. It is ſpoken with great purity, and pronounced with propriety in New-England, by perſons of education; and, excepting ſome few corruptions in pronunciation, by all ranks of people. In the middle and ſouthern ſtates, where they have had a great influx of foreigners, the language in many inſtances is corrupted, eſpecially in pronunciation. Attempts are making to introduce an uniformity of pronunciation throughout the ſtates, which for political, as well as other reaſons, it is hoped will meet the approbation and encouragement of all literary and eminent characters. Intermingled with the Anglo-Americans are the Dutch, Scotch, Iriſh, French, Germans, Swedes and Jews; all theſe, except the Scotch and Iriſh, retain, in a greater or leſs degree, their native language, in which they perform their pub-

* Morſe.

lic worſhip, converſe, and tranſact their buſineſs with each other.

The ſix following chapters contain ſhort hiſtories of each of the United States.

CHAP. II.

Of the Provinces of New England.

NEW England is divided into four ſtates, New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, Rhode Iſland and Connecticut. Its metropolis, Boſton, is a large handſome and well built city, ſtanding on a peninſula about nine miles from the mouth of Maſſachuſett's bay. It has a noble pier, near two thouſand feet in length; along which, on the north ſide, extends a row of warehouſes for the merchants, and to this pier ſhips of the greateſt burthen may come and unload, without the help of boats. The greateſt part of the town lies round the harbour, in the ſhape of a half moon; the country beyond it riſing gradually, and affording a delightful proſpect from the ſea. The head of the pier joins the principal ſtreet of the town, which is like moſt of the others, ſpacious and well built. Boſton contains, at preſent, about eighteen thouſand inhabitants; fifty years ago they were more numerous. The ſurpriſing increaſe of Newbury port, Salem, Marblehead, Cape Anne, Plymouth, Dartmouth, and the iſland of Nantucket, hath checked the growth and trade of the capital. The trade of Boſton was, however, ſo very conſiderable, that, in the year 1768, twelve hundred ſail entered or cleared at the Cuſtom-houſe there. Both the town and trade of Boſton greatly ſuffered during the war with Great Britain; but ſince that time the trade of Boſton has again conſiderably increaſed.

New England has ſignalized itſelf by many acts of violence; and has been actuated by a turbulent ſpirit. It took its riſe in troubleſome times, and its infant ſtate was diſturbed with many dreadful commotions. It was diſcovered in the beginning of the laſt century, and called North Virginia, but no Europeans ſettled there till the year 1608. The firſt colony, which was weak and ill-directed, did not ſucceed, and for ſome time after, there were only a few adven-

turers who came over at times in the ſummer, built themſelves temporary huts for the ſake of trading with the ſavages, and like them, diſappeared again for the reſt of the year. Fanaticiſm, which had depopulated America in the ſouth, was deſtined to repeople it in the north. Some Engliſh preſbyterians, who had been driven from their own country, and had taken refuge in Holland, that univerſal aſylum of liberty, reſolved to found a church for their ſect in the new hemiſphere. They, therefore, purchaſed in 1621, the charter of the Engliſh North-Virginia company; for they were not reduced to ſuch a ſtate of poverty, as to be obliged to wait till proſperity became the reward of their virtues. Forty-one families, making in all one hundred and twenty perſons, ſet out under the guidance of enthuſiaſm, which, whether founded upon error or truth, is always productive of great actions. They landed at the beginning of a very hard winter, and found a country entirely covered with wood, which offered a very melancholy proſpect to men already exhauſted with the fatigues of their voyage. Near one half periſhed either by cold, the ſcurvy, or diſtreſs; the reſt were kept alive, for ſome time, by a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, and the ſteadineſs of character they had acquired under the perſecution of epiſcopal tyranny. But their courage was beginning to fail, when it was revived by the arrival of ſixty ſavage warriors, who came to them in the ſpring, headed by their chief. Freedom ſeemed to exult that ſhe had thus brought together from the extremities of the world two ſuch different people; who immediately entered into a reciprocal alliance of friendſhip and protection. The old tenants aſſigned for ever to the new ones, all the lands in the neighbourhood of the ſettlement they had formed under the name of New-Plymouth; and one of the ſavages, who underſtood a little Engliſh, ſtaid to teach them how to cultivate the maze, and inſtruct them in the manner of fiſhing upon their coaſt.

This kindneſs enabled the colony to wait for the companions they expected from Europe, with ſeeds, with domeſtic animals, and with every aſſiſtance they wanted. At firſt theſe ſuccours arrived but ſlowly; but the perſecution of the puritans in England increaſed, as uſual, the number of proſelytes to ſuch a degree in America, that in 1630, they were obliged to form different ſettlements, of which Boſton ſoon became the principal. Theſe firſt ſettlers were not merely eccleſiaſtics, who had been deprived of their preferment on account of their opinions, nor thoſe ſectaries influenced by new opinions, that are ſo frequent among the common people. There were among them ſeveral perſons

of high rank, who having embraced puritaniſm either from motives of caprice, ambition, or even of conſcience, had taken the precaution to ſecure themſelves an aſylum in theſe diſtant regions. They had cauſed houſes to be built, and lands to be cleared, with a view of retiring there, if their endeavours in the cauſe of civil and religious liberty ſhould prove abortive. The ſame fanatical ſpirit that had introduced anarchy into the mother-country, kept the colony in a ſtate of ſubordination; or rather a ſeverity of manners had the ſame effect as laws in a ſavage climate.

The inhabitants of New-England lived peaceably for a long time without any regular form of policy. Not that their charter had not authorized them to eſtabliſh any mode of government they might chuſe, but theſe enthuſiaſts were not agreed among themſelves upon the plan of their republic; and government did not pay ſufficient attention to them to urge them to ſecure their own tranquillity. At length they grew ſenſible of the neceſſity of a regular legiſlation, and this great work, which virtue and genius united have never attempted but with diffidence, was boldly undertaken by blind fanaticiſm. It bore the ſtamp of the rude prejudices on which it had been formed.

There was in this new code a ſingular mixture of good and evil, of wiſdom and folly. No man was allowed to have any ſhare in the government, except he were a member of the eſtabliſhed church. Witchcraft, perjury, blaſphemy, and adultery were made capital offences; and children were alſo puniſhed with death, either for curſing or ſtriking their parents. Marriages, however, were to be ſolemnized by the magiſtrate. The price of corn was fixed at two ſhillings and eleven pence halfpenny per buſhel. The ſavages who neglected to cultivate their lands were to be deprived of them; and Europeans were forbidden, under a heavy penalty, to ſell them any ſtrong liquors or warlike ſtores. All thoſe who were detected either in lying, drunkenneſs, or dancing, were ordered to be publicly whipped. But, at the ſame time, that amuſements were forbidden equally with vices and crimes, one might be allowed to ſwear by paying a penalty of eleven pence three farthings, and to break the ſabbath for two pounds nineteen ſhillings and nine pence three farthings. Another indulgence allowed, was, to atone by a fine for a neglect of prayer, or for uttering a raſh oath. But it is ſtill more extraordinary that the worſhip of images was forbidden to the puritans on pain of death, which was alſo inflicted on Roman catholic prieſts, who ſhould return to the colony after they had been baniſhed; and on Quakers who ſhould appear again after having been whipped, branded,

branded, and expelled. Such was the abhorrence for theſe ſectaries, who had themſelves an averſion for every kind of cruelty, that whoever either brought one of them into the country, or harboured him but for one hour, was liable to pay a conſiderable fine.

Thoſe unfortunate members of the colony, who, leſs violent than their brethren, ventured to deny the coercive power of the magiſtrate in matters of religion, were perſecuted with ſtill greater rigour. This was conſidered as blaſphemy by thoſe very divines, who had rather choſen to quit their country than to ſhew any deference to epiſcopal authority. By that natural propenſity of the human heart which leads men from the love of independence to that of tyranny, they had changed their opinions as they changed the climate; and only ſeemed to arrogate freedom of thought to themſelves, in order to deny it to others. This ſyſtem was ſupported by the ſeverities of the law, which attempted to put a ſtop to every difference in opinion, by inflicting capital puniſhment on all who diſſented. Thoſe who were either convicted, or even ſuſpected of entertaining ſentiments of toleration, were expoſed to ſuch cruel oppreſſions, that they were forced to fly from their firſt aſylum, and ſeek refuge in another. They found one on the ſame continent; and as New-England had been firſt founded by perſecution, its limits were extended by it.

This intemperate religious zeal extended itſelf to matters in themſelves of the greateſt indifference. A proof of this is found in the following public declaration, tranſcribed from the regiſters of the colony.

"It is a circumſtance univerſally acknowledged, that the cuſtom of wearing long hair, after the manner of immoral perſons and of the ſavage Indians, can only have been introduced into England, but in ſacrilegious contempt of the expreſs command of God, who declares that it is a ſhameful practice for any man who has the leaſt care for his ſoul to wear long hair. As this abomination excites the indignation of all pious perſons, we, the magiſtrates, in our zeal for the purity of the faith, do expreſsly and authentically declare, that we condemn the impious cuſtom of letting the hair grow; a cuſtom which we look upon to be very indecent and diſhoneſt, which horribly diſguiſes men, and is offenſive to modeſt and ſober perſons, in as much as it corrupts good manners. We, therefore, being juſtly incenſed againſt this ſcandalous cuſtom, do deſire, adviſe, and earneſtly requeſt all the elders of our continent, zealouſly to ſhew their averſion to this odious practice; to exert all their power to put a ſtop to it, and eſpecially to take care that

the members of their church be not infected with it; in order that those persons, who, notwithstanding these rigorous prohibitions, and the means of correction that shall be used on this account, shall still persist in this custom, may have both God and man at the same time against them."

This severity, which a man exercises against himself, or against his fellow-creatures, and which makes him first the victim, then the oppressor, soon exerted itself against the Quakers. They were whipped, banished, and imprisoned. The proud simplicity of these new enthusiasts, who, in the midst of tortures and ignominy, praised God, and called for blessings upon men, inspired a reverence for their persons and opinions, and gained them a number of proselytes. This circumstance exasperated their persecutors, and hurried them on to the most atrocious acts of violence. They caused five of them, who had returned clandestinely from banishment, to be hanged. It seemed as if the English had come to America to exercise upon their own countrymen the same cruelties the Spaniards had used against the Indians; whether it was that the change of climate had rendered the Europeans ferocious; or that the fury of religious zeal can only be extinguished in the destruction of its apostles and its martyrs? This spirit of persecution was, however, at last suppressed by the interposition of the mother country, from whence it had been brought.

Cromwell was no more. Enthusiasm, hypocrisy, and fanaticism, which composed his character; factions, rebellions, and proscriptions, were all buried with him, and England had the prospect of calmer days. Charles the Second, at his restoration, had introduced among his subjects a social turn, a taste for convivial pleasures, gallantry, and diversions, and for all those amusements he had been engaged in while he was travelling from one court to another in Europe, to endeavour to regain the crown which his father had lost upon a scaffold. Nothing but such a total change of manners could have possibly secured the tranquillity of his government upon a throne stained with blood. He was one of those voluptuaries whom the love of sensual pleasures sometimes excites to sentiments of compassion and humanity. Moved with the sufferings of the Quakers, he put a stop to them by a proclamation in 1661; but he was never able totally to extinguish the spirit of persecution that prevailed in America.

The colony had placed at their head Henry Vane, the son of that sir Henry Vane who had had such a remarkable share in the disturbances of his country. This obsti-

nate

nate and enthuſiaſtic young man, in every thing reſembling his father, unable either to live peaceably himſelf, or to ſuffer others to remain quiet, had contrived to revive the obſcure and obſolete queſtions of grace and free-will. This diſpute upon theſe points ran very high, and would probably have plunged the colony into a civil war, if ſeveral of the ſavage nations united had not happened at that very time to fall upon the plantations of the diſputants, and to maſſacre great numbers of them. The coloniſts, heated with their theological conteſts, paid at firſt very little attention to this conſiderable loſs. But the danger at length became ſo urgent and ſo general, that all took up arms. As ſoon as the enemy was repulſed, the colony reſumed its former diſſentions; and the phrenzy which they excited, broke out in 1692 in a war, marked with as many atrocious inſtances of violence as any ever recorded in hiſtory.

There lived in a town in New England, called Salem, two young women who were ſubject to convulſions, accompanied with extraordinary ſymptoms. Their father, miniſter of the church, thought that they were bewitched; and having in conſequence caſt his ſuſpicions upon an Indian girl who lived in his houſe, he compelled her, by harſh treatment, to confeſs that ſhe was a witch. Other women, upon hearing this, ſeduced by the pleaſure of exciting the public attention, immediately believed that the convulſions, which proceeded only from the nature of their ſex, were owing to the ſame cauſe. Three citizens, caſually named, were immediately thrown into priſon, accuſed of witchcraft, hanged, and their bodies left expoſed to wild beaſts and birds of prey. A few days after, ſixteen other perſons, together with a counſellor, who, becauſe he refuſed to plead againſt them, was ſuppoſed to ſhare in their guilt, ſuffered in the ſame manner. From this inſtant, the imagination of the multitude was inflamed with theſe horrid and gloomy ſcenes. The innocence of youth, the infirmities of age, virgin modeſty, fortune, honour, virtue, and the moſt dignified employments of the ſtate, were no ſecurity againſt the ſuſpicions of a people infatuated with viſionary ſuperſtition. Children of ten years of age were put to death, young girls were ſtripped naked, and the marks of witchcraft ſearched for upon their bodies with the moſt indecent curioſity; thoſe ſpots of the ſcurvy which age impreſſes upon the bodies of old men, were taken for evident ſigns of the infernal power. Fanaticiſm, wickedneſs and vengeance united, ſelected their victims at pleaſure. In default of witneſſes, torments were employed to extort confeſſions dictated by the executioners themſelves. If the magiſtrates,

trates, tired out with executions, refuſed to puniſh, they were themſelves accuſed of the crimes they tolerated; the very miniſters of religion raiſed falſe witneſſes againſt them, who made them forfeit with their lives the tardy remorſe excited in them by humanity. Dreams, apparitions, terror and conſternation of every kind increaſed theſe prodigies of folly and horror. The priſons were filled, the gibbets left ſtanding, and all the citizens involved in gloomy apprehenſions. The moſt prudent quitted a country ſtained with the blood of its inhabitants; and thoſe that remained wiſhed only for peace in the grave. In a word, nothing leſs than the total and immediate ſubverſion of the colony was expected, when, on a ſudden, in the heighth of the ſtorm, the waves ſubſided, and a calm enſued. All eyes were opened at once, and the exceſs of the evil awakened the minds which it had firſt ſtupified. Bitter and painful remorſe was the immediate conſequence; the mercy of God was implored by a general faſt, and public prayers were offered up to aſk forgiveneſs for the preſumption of having ſuppoſed that Heaven could have been pleaſed with ſacrifices with which it could only have been offended.

Poſterity will, probably, never know exactly what was the cauſe or remedy of this dreadful diſorder. It had, perhaps, its firſt origin in the melancholy which theſe perſecuted enthuſiaſts had brought with them from their own country, which had increaſed with the ſcurvy they had contracted at ſea, and had gathered freſh ſtrength from the vapours and exhalations of a ſoil newly broken up, as well as from the inconveniences and hardſhips inſeparable from a change of climate and manner of living. The contagion, however, ceaſed, like all other epidemical diſtempers, exhauſted by its very communication; as all the diſorders of the imagination are expelled in the tranſports of a delirium. A perfect calm ſucceeded this agitation, and all the puritans of New England have never ſince been ſeized with ſo gloomy a fit of enthuſiaſm.

But though the colony has renounced the perſecuting ſpirit which hath ſtained all religious ſects with blood, it has preſerved ſome remains, if not of intoleration, at leaſt of ſeverity, which reminds us of thoſe melancholy days in which it took its riſe*.

New Hampſhire is divided into counties and townſhips. Its metropolis is Portſmouth, a town handſomely built and pleaſantly ſituated. This ſtate, emboſoming a number of very high mountains, and lying in the neighbourhood of

* Abbé Raynal.

others,

others, whoſe towering ſummits are covered with ſnow and ice, three quarters of the year, is intenſely cold in the winter ſeaſon. The heat of ſummer is great, but of ſhort duration. The cold braces the conſtitution, and renders the labouring people healthy and robuſt. There is no characteriſtical difference between the inhabitants of this and the New England ſtates. The ancient inhabitants of New Hampſhire were emigrants from England. Their poſterity, mixed with emigrants from Maſſachuſetts, fill the lower and middle towns. Emigrants from Connecticut compoſe the largeſt part of the inhabitants of the weſtern towns, adjoining Connecticut river. Slaves there are none. Negroes, who were never numerous in New Hampſhire, are all free by the firſt article of the Bill of Rights.

The commonwealth of Maſſachuſetts is divided into fourteen counties. In Boſton, the capital of this province (and, as we have before obſerved, of all New England) there are ſeventy-nine ſtreets, thirty-eight lanes, and twenty-one alleys, excluſive of ſquares and courts. There are alſo eighty wharfs and quays, very convenient for veſſels. Next to Pennſylvania, this ſtate has the greateſt number of ſocieties for the promotion of uſeful knowledge and human happineſs; and as they are founded on the broad baſis of *benevolence* and *charity*, they cannot fail to proſper. Theſe inſtitutions, which are faſt increaſing in almoſt every ſtate in the union, are ſo many evidences of the advanced and advancing ſtate of civilization and improvement in this country. They prove likewiſe, that a free republican government, like ours, is of all others the moſt happily calculated to promote a general diffuſion of uſeful knowledge, and the moſt favourable to the benevolent and humane feelings of the human heart *.

Rhode Iſland is divided into five counties. The inhabitants are chiefly of Engliſh extraction. Newport and Providence are the two principal towns. It is an exceedingly pleaſant and healthy country; and is celebrated for its fine women. Travellers, with propriety, call it the *Eden* of of America.

Connecticut is divided into eight counties, and is the moſt populous in proportion to its extent of any of the thirteen ſtates. It is laid out in ſmall farms, from fifty to three or four hundred acres each, which are held by the farmers in fee ſimple, and are generally cultivated as well as the nature of the ſoil will admit. The ſtate is chequered with innumerable roads or highways, croſſing each other in

* Morſe.

every

every direction. A traveller, in any of these roads, even in the most unsettled parts of the state, will seldom pass more than two or three miles without finding a house or cottage, and a farm under such improvements as to afford the necessaries for the support of a family. The whole state resembles a well cultivated garden, which, with that degree of industry that is necessary to happiness, produces the necessaries and conveniences of life in great plenty.

The people of *Connecticut* are remarkably fond of having all their disputes, even those of the most trivial kind, settled *according to law*. The prevalence of this litigious spirit, affords employment and support for a numerous body of lawyers.

With regard to the government of the provinces of New England, there were originally three sorts of governments established by the English on the continent of America, viz. royal governments, charter governments, and proprietary governments. *A royal government* was properly so called, because the colony was immediately dependent on the crown, and the king remained sovereign of the colony; he appointed the governor, council, and officers of state; and the people only elected the representatives, as in England; such were the governments of Canada, Nova Scotia, Virginia, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Georgia, East and West Florida, the West Indies, and the island of St. John's. *A charter government* was so called, because the company incorporated by the king's charter, were in a manner vested with sovereign authority, to establish what sort of government they thought fit; and these charter governments have generally transferred their authority to the people; for, in such governments, or rather corporations, the freemen did not only choose their representatives, but annually chose their governor, council, and magistrates, and made laws without the concurrence, and even without the knowledge, of the king; and were under no other restraint than this, that they enacted no laws contrary to the laws of England; if they did, their charters were liable to be forfeited. Such, as we have already observed, were the governments of Rhode Island and Connecticut in New England, and such was that of the Massachusetts formerly, though some alterations were afterwards made in it. Such likewise were those of the two Carolinas. The third kind of government was the *proprietary*, properly so called, because the proprietor was invested with sovereign authority: he appointed the governor, council, and magistrates, and the representatives were summoned in his name; and by their advice he enacted laws without the concurrence of the crown;

crown; but, by a late ſtatute, the proprietor was to have the king's conſent in the appointing a governor, when he did not reſide in the plantation in perſon, and of a deputy-governor, when he did. And all the governors of the plantations were liable to be called to an account for their adminiſtration, by the court of King's Bench. The only proprietary governors lately ſubſiſting, were thoſe of Pennſylvania and Maryland.

But the government of New England has been in great meaſure changed, in conſequence of the revolt of the colonies from the authority of Great Britain. A conſtitution, or form of government for the commonwealth of Maſſachuſetts, including a declaration of rights, was agreed to, and eſtabliſhed by the inhabitants of that province, and took place in October 1780. In the preamble to this it was declared, that the end of the inſtitution, maintenance, and adminiſtration of government, is to ſecure the exiſtence of the body politic; to protect it, and to furniſh the individuals who compoſe it, with the power of enjoying, in ſafety and tranquillity, their natural rights, and the bleſſings of life; and that whenever theſe great objects are not obtained, the people have a right to alter the government, and to take meaſures neceſſary for their proſperity and happineſs. They expreſſed their gratitude to the great Legiſlator of the Univerſe, for having afforded them, in the courſe of his providence, an opportunity, deliberately and peaceably, without fraud, violence, or ſurpriſe, of entering into an original, explicit, and ſolemn compact with each other; and of forming a new conſtitution of civil government for themſelves and their poſterity. They declared that it was the right, as well as the duty, of all men in ſociety, publicly and at ſtated ſeaſons to worſhip the Supreme Being; and that no ſubject ſhould be hurt, moleſted, or reſtrained, in his perſon, liberty, or eſtate, for worſhipping God in the manner and ſeaſon moſt agreeable to the dictates of his own conſcience; or for his religious profeſſion or ſentiments; provided he did not diſturb the public peace, or obſtruct others in their religious worſhip.

It was alſo enacted, that the ſeveral towns, pariſhes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious ſocieties, ſhould, at all times, have the excluſive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their ſupport and maintenance. That all monies paid by the ſubject to the ſupport of public worſhip, and of the public teachers, ſhould, if he required it, be uniformly applied to the ſupport of the public teacher or teachers of his own religious ſect or denomination, provided there were any on whoſe

whoſe inſtructions he attended; otherwiſe it might be paid towards the ſupport of the teacher or teachers of the pariſh or precinct in which the ſaid monies ſhould be raiſed. That every denomination of Chriſtians, demeaning themſelves peaceably and as good ſubjects of the commonwealth, ſhould be equally protected by the law; and that no ſubordination of any ſect or denomination to another, ſhould ever be eſtabliſhed.

It was likewiſe declared, that as all power reſided originally in the people, and was derived from them, the ſeveral magiſtrates and officers of government, veſted with authority, whether legiſlative, executive, or judicial, are their ſubſtitutes and agents, and are at all times accountable to them. That no ſubject ſhould be arreſted, impriſoned, deſpoiled, or deprived of his property, immunities, or privileges, put out of the protection of the law, exiled, or deprived of his life, liberty, or eſtate, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land. That the legiſlature ſhould not make any law ſubjecting any perſon to a capital or infamous puniſhment, except for the government of the army or navy, without trial by jury. That the liberty of the preſs is eſſential to the ſecurity of freedom in a ſtate; and that it ought not, therefore, to be reſtrained in that commonwealth. That the people have a right to keep, and to bear arms, for the common defence; but that, as in time of peace, armies are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be maintained without the conſent of the legiſlature; and that the military power ſhould always be held in an exact ſubordination to the civil authority, and be governed by it.

It was likewiſe enacted, that the department of the legiſlation ſhould be formed of two branches, a ſenate, and a houſe of repreſentatives, each of which ſhould have a negative on the other. That the ſenators, and the members of the houſe of repreſentatives ſhould be elected annually, and that every male perſon being twenty-one years of age, or upwards, who had reſided in any particular town in the commonwealth for the ſpace of one year, and having a freehold eſtate within the ſaid town, of the annual income of three pounds, or any eſtate of the value of ſixty pounds, ſhould have a right to vote for ſenatorsand repreſentatives of the diſtrict of which he was an inhabitant. It was likewiſe enacted, that there ſhould be a ſupreme executive magiſtrate, who ſhould be ſtyled the governor of the commonwealth of Maſſachuſetts, and alſo a lieutenant-governor, both of whom ſhould be choſen annually, by the whole body of electors in the commonwealth, and aſſiſted by

nine

nine counſellers, choſen by ballot, out of the ſenate. The ſecretary, treaſurer, receiver general, notaries public, and naval officers, are choſen annually by the ſenators and repreſentatives, or general court. The governor has a negative on bills ſent for aſſent from the general court, but has no control on their choice of officers.

The ſtate of Rhode Iſland continues to admit their original charter as the rule of their government, becauſe it contains an ample grant of all powers legiſlative, executive, and judicial.

The conſtitution of New Hampſhire, which was adopted in 1784, is taken almoſt verbatim, from that of Maſſachuſetts. The principal differences, except ſuch as ariſe from local circumſtances, are the following. The ſtiles of the conſtitutions, and of the ſupreme magiſtrates in each ſtate, are different. In one it is *governor* of the *commonwealth* of Maſſachuſetts; in the other *preſident* of the *ſtate* of New Hampſhire. In each ſtate, the ſupreme magiſtrate has the title of *His Excellency*. The preſident of New Hampſhire, like the governor of Maſſachuſetts has not the power of negativing all bills and reſolves of the ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives, and of preventing their paſſing into laws, unleſs approved of by two thirds of the members preſent. In New Hampſhire the preſident of the ſtate preſides in the ſenate; in Maſſachuſetts the ſenate chooſe their own preſident. There are no other differences worth mentioning, except it be in the mode of appointing militia officers, in which New Hampſhire has greatly the advantage of Maſſachuſetts.

It is difficult to ſay what the conſtitution of Connecticut is. Contented with the form of government, which originated from the charter of Charles II. A. D. 1662. the people have not been diſpoſed to run the hazard of framing a new conſtitution ſince the declaration of independence. They have tacitly adopted their old charter as the ground of civil government, ſo far as it is applicable to an independent people. The mode of electing the governor, deputy governor, aſſiſtants, treaſurer and ſecretary is as follows. The freemen in the ſeveral towns meet on Monday the next after the firſt Tueſday in April annually, and give in their votes for the perſons they chooſe for the ſaid offices reſpectively, with their names written on a piece of paper, which are received and ſealed up by a conſtable in open meeting, the votes for each office by themſelves, with the name of the town and office written on the outſide. Theſe votes, thus ſealed, are ſent to the general aſſembly in May, and there counted by a committee from both

both houſes. All freemen are eligible to any office in government. In chooſing aſſiſtants, twenty perſons are nominated, by the vote of each freeman, at the freeman's meeting for chooſing repreſentatives in September annually. Theſe votes are ſealed up, and ſent to the general aſſembly in October, and are there counted by a committee of both houſes, and the twenty perſons who have the moſt votes ſtand in nomination, out of which number the twelve who have the greateſt number of votes, given by the freemen at their meeting in April, are, in May, declared aſſiſtants in the manners above mentioned. The qualifications of freemen, are maturity in years—quiet and peaceable behaviour—a civil converſation, and freehold eſtate to the value of forty ſhillings per annum, or forty pounds perſonal eſtate in the liſt, certified by the ſelect men of the town; it is neceſſary, alſo, that they take the oath of fidelity to the ſtate. Their names are enrolled in the town clerk's office, and they continue freemen for life, unleſs disfranchiſed by ſentence of the ſuperior court, on conviction of miſdemeanour.

New England is the moſt *populous* part of the United States. It contains, at leaſt, eight hundred and twenty three thouſand ſouls. One fifth of theſe are fencible men. New England then, ſhould any great and ſudden emergency require it, could furniſh an army of *one hundred and ſixty-four thouſand men.* The great body of theſe are landholders and cultivators of the ſoil. The former attaches them to their country; the latter, by making them ſtrong and healthy, enables them to defend it. The boys are early taught the uſe of arms, and make the beſt of ſoldiers. Few countries on earth, of equal extent and population, can furniſh a more *formidable army* than this part of the union. New England may, with propriety, be called a nurſery of men, whence are annually tranſplanted, into other parts of the United States, thouſands of its natives. The ſtate of Vermont, which is but of yeſterday; and contains about one hundred thouſand ſouls, has received more inhabitants from Connecticut, than from any other ſtate; and yet between the years 1774 and 1782, notwithſtanding her numerous emigrations to Vermont, Suſquehannah, and other places, and the depopulation occaſioned by ſeven years bloody war, it is found, from actual cenſus of the inhabitants in the year before mentioned, that they have increaſed from one hundred and ninety-ſeven, eight hundred and fifty-ſix, (their number in 1774), to two hundred and nine thouſand one hundred and fifty, their number in 1782. Vaſt numbers of the New Englanders, ſince the war, have emigrated into the northern parts of New York, into Kentucky and

and the weſtern territory, and into Georgia; and ſome are ſcattered into every eſtate, and every town of note in the union.

The inhabitants of New England are almoſt univerſally of Engliſh deſcent, and it is owing to this circumſtance, and to the great and general attention that has been paid to education, that the Engliſh language has been preſerved among them ſo free of corruption. It is true, that from lazineſs, inattention, and want of acquaintance with mankind, many of the people in the country have accuſtomed themſelves to uſe ſome *peculiar phraſes*, and to pronounce certain words in a flat, drawling manner. Hence foreigners pretend they know a New England man from his manner of ſpeaking. But the ſame may be ſaid with regard to a Pennſylvanian, a Virginian, or a Carolinian; for all have ſome phraſes and modes of pronunciation peculiar to themſelves, which diſtinguiſh them from their neighbours.

The New Englanders are generally tall, ſtout, and well built. They glory, and perhaps with juſtice, in poſſeſſing that ſpirit of freedom, which induced their anceſtors to leave their native country, and to brave the dangers of the ocean, and the hardſhips of ſettling in a wilderneſs. Their education, laws, and ſituation, ſerve to inſpire them with high notions of liberty. Their jealouſly is awakened at the firſt motion toward an invaſion of their rights. They are, indeed, often jealous to exceſs; a circumſtance which is a fruitful ſource of imaginary grievances, and of innumerable groundleſs ſuſpicions, and unjuſt complaints againſt government. But theſe ebullitions of jealouſy, though cenſurable, and productive of ſome political evils, ſhew that the eſſence of true liberty exiſts in New England; for *jealouſly is the guardian of liberty*, and a characteriſtic of free republicans. A law reſpecting the deſcent of eſtates that are generally held in fee ſimple, which for ſubſtance is the ſame in all the New England ſtates, is the chief foundation and protection of this liberty*. By this law, the poſſeſſions of the father are to be equally divided among all the children, excepting the eldeſt ſon who has a double portion. In this way is preſerved that happy mediocrity among the people, which, by promoting œconomy and induſtry, removes, from them temptations to luxury, and forms them to habits of ſobriety and temperance. At the ſame time, their induſtry and frugality exempt them from want, and from the neceſſity of ſubmitting to any encroachment on their liberties.

In New England learning is more generally diffuſed

* Morſe.

among all ranks of men than in moſt other parts of the globe. A perſon of mature age, who cannot both read and write, is rarely to be found. The people from their childhood form habits of canvaſſing public affairs, and commence politicians. This naturally leads them to be very inquiſitive. It is with knowledge as with riches; the more a man has, the more he wiſhes to obtain. His deſire has no bound. This deſire after knowledge, in a greater or leſs degree, prevails among all claſſes in New England; and from their various modes of expreſſing it, ſome of which are blunt and familiar, bordering on impertinence, ſtrangers have been induced to mention impertinent inquiſitiveneſs as a diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of New England people. But this is true only with regard to that claſs who have confined themſelves to domeſtic life, and have not had opportunity of mingling with the world: and ſuch people are not peculiar to New England; they compoſe a great part of the citizens of every ſtate. This claſs, it is true, is numerous in New England, where agriculture is the principal employment. But will not a candid and ingenuous mind aſcribe this inquiſitiveneſs in theſe honeſt and well meaning people to a *laudable*, rather than to a cenſurable diſpoſition?

Before the late war, which introduced into this country a flood of corruptions with many improvements, the ſabbath was obſerved with great ſtrictneſs; no unneceſſary travelling, no ſecular buſineſs, no viſiting, no diverſions were permitted on that ſacred day. They conſidered it as conſecrated to divine worſhip, and were generally punctual and ſerious in their attendance upon it. Their laws were ſtrict in guarding the ſabbath againſt every innovation. Since the war, however, a catholic, tolerant ſpirit, occaſioned by a more enlarged intercourſe with mankind, has greatly increaſed, and is becoming univerſal; and if they do not break the proper bound, and liberalize away all true religion, of which there is much danger, they will counteract that ſtrong propenſity in human nature, which leads men to vibrate from one extreme to its oppoſite.

"There is one diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic in the religious character of this people," ſays Mr. Morſe, "which we muſt not omit to mention; and that is, the cuſtom of annually celebrating faſts and thankſgivings. In the ſpring, the ſeveral governors iſſue their proclamations, appointing a day to be religiouſly obſerved in faſting, humiliation, and prayer, throughout their reſpective ſtates, in which the predominating vices, that particularly call for humiliation, are enumerated. In autumn after harveſt, that gladſome æra in the huſbandman's life, the governors again iſſue their

their proclamations, appointing a day of public thanſgiving, enumerating the public bleſſings received in the courſe of the foregoing year. This pious cuſtom originated with their venerable anceſtors, the firſt ſettlers in New England; and has been handed down as ſacred, through the ſucceſſive generations of their poſterity. A cuſtom ſo rational, and ſo happily calculated to cheriſh in the minds of the people a ſenſe of their dependence on the *Great Benefactor* of the world for all their bleſſings, it is hoped will ever be ſacredly preſerved.

" There is a claſs of people in New-England of the baſer ſort, who, averſe to honeſt induſtry, have recourſe to knavery for ſubſiſtence. Skilled in all the arts of diſhoneſty, with the aſſumed face and frankneſs of integrity, they go about, like wolves in ſheep's clothing, with a deſign to defraud. Theſe people, enterprizing from neceſſity, have not confined their knaviſh tricks to New England. Other ſtates have felt the effects of their villainy. Hence they have characteriſed the New Englanders as a knaviſh, artful, and diſhoneſt people. But that conduct which diſtinguiſhes only a ſmall claſs of people in any nation or ſtate, ought not to be indiſcriminately aſcribed to all, or be ſuffered to ſtamp their national character. In New England there is as great a proportion of honeſt and induſtrious citizens as in any of the United States.

" The people of New England generally obtain their eſtates by hard and perſevering labour; by conſequence, they know their value, and ſpend with frugality. Yet in no country do the indigent and unfortunate fare better. Their laws oblige every town to provide a competent maintenance for their poor, and the neceſſitous ſtranger is protected, and relieved from their humane inſtitutions. It may in truth be ſaid, that in no part of the world are the people happier, better furniſhed with the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life, or more independent than the farmers in New England. As the great body of the people are hardy, independent freeholders, their manners are, as they ought to be, congenial to their employment, plain, ſimple, and unpoliſhed. Strangers are received and entertained among them with a great deal of artleſs ſincerity, friendly, and unformal hoſpitality. Their children, thoſe imitative creatures, to whoſe education particular attention is paid, early imbibe the manners and habits of thoſe around them, and the ſtranger, with pleaſure, notices the honeſt and decent reſpect that is paid him by the children as he paſſes through the country.

" As the people, by repreſentation, make their own laws and appoint their own officers, they cannot be oppreſſed; and living under governments, which have few lucrative places, they have few motives to bribery, corrupt canvaſſings, or intrigue. Real abilities and a moral character unblemiſhed, are the qualifications requiſite in the view of moſt people for offices of public truſt. The expreſſion of a wiſh to be promoted, is the direct way to be diſappointed.

" The inhabitants of New England are generally fond of the arts, and have cultivated them with great ſucceſs. Their colleges have flouriſhed beyond any others in the United States. The illuſtrious characters they have produced, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in politics, law, divinity, the mathematics and philoſophy, natural and civil hiſtory, and in the fine arts, particularly in poetry, evince the truth of theſe obſervations.

" Many of the women in New England are handſome. They generally have fair, freſh, and healthful countenances, mixed with much female ſoftneſs and delicacy. Theſe who have had the advantages of a good education (and they are conſiderably numerous) are genteel, eaſy, and agreeable in their manners, and are ſprightly and ſenſible in converſation. They are early taught to manage domeſtic concerns with neatneſs and œconomy. Ladies of the firſt rank and fortune make it a part of their daily buſineſs to ſuperintend the affairs of the family. Employment at the needle, in cookery, and at the ſpinning-wheel, with them is honourable. Idleneſs, even in thoſe of independent fortunes, is univerſally diſreputable. The women in the country manufacture the greateſt part of the clothing of their families. Their linen and woollen cloths are ſtrong and decent. Their butter and cheeſe are not inferior to any in the world.

" Dancing is the principal and favourite amuſement in New England; and of this the young people of both ſexes are extremely fond. Gaming is practiſed by none but thoſe who cannot, or rather do not, find a reputable employment. The gameſter, the horſe-jockey, and the knave, are equally deſpiſed, and their company is avoided by all who would ſuſtain fair and irreproachable characters. The odious and inhuman practices of duelling, cock-fighting and horſe-racing, are ſcarcely known here. The athletic and healthy diverſion of cricket, foot-ball, quoits, wreſtling, jumping, hopping, foot-races and priſon-baſe, are univerſally practiſed in the country, and ſome of them in the moſt populous places, and by people of almoſt all ranks. Squirrel hunting is a noted diverſion in country-places, where this kind of game is plentiful. Some divert themſelves

themſelves with fox hunting, and others with the more profitable ſports of fiſhing and duck hunting; and in the frontier ſettlements, where deer and fur game abound, the inhabitants make a lucrative ſport of hunting them. In the winter ſeaſon, while the ground is covered with ſnow, which is commonly two or three months, ſledging is the general diverſion. A great part of the families are furniſhed with horſes and ſledges. The young people collect in parties, and, with a great deal of ſociability, reſort to a place of rendezvous, where they regale themſelves for a few hours with dancing and a ſocial ſupper, and then retire. Theſe diverſions, as well as all others, are many times carried to exceſs. To theſe exceſſes, and a ſudden expoſure to extreme cold after the exerciſe of dancing, phyſicians have aſcribed the conſumptions, which are ſo frequent among the young people in New England."

With regard to *trade*, the ocean and the foreſt afford the two principal articles of export. Cod-fiſh, mackarel, ſhad, ſalmon, and other fiſh—whale-oil and whale-bone—maſts, boards, ſcantling, ſtaves, hoops, and ſhingles, have been and are ſtill exported in large quantities. The annual amount of cod and other fiſh, for foreign exportation, including the profits ariſing from the whale fiſhery, is eſtimated at upwards of half a million. Beſides the articles enumerated, they export from the various parts of New England ſhips built for ſale, horſes, mules, live ſtock, pickled beef and pork, pot-aſh, pearl-aſh, flax-ſeed, butter and cheeſe.

Concerning the religion of the untaught natives of New England and New Jerſey, a pious and ſucceſsful miſſionary *, who was well acquainted with it, informs us, that after the coming of the white people, the Indians who once held a plurality of deities, ſuppoſed there were only three, becauſe they ſaw people of three kinds of complexions, viz. Engliſh, negroes, and themſelves. It is a notion pretty generally prevailing among them, that the ſame God, who made us, did not made them; but that they were created after the white people: and it is probable they ſuppoſed their God gained ſome ſpecial ſkill, by ſeeing the white people made, and ſo made them better: for it is certain they look upon themſelves and their method of living, which they ſay their God expreſsly preſcribed for them, as vaſtly preferable to the white people and their methods. With regard to a future ſtate of exiſtence, many of them imagine that the *chichung*, that is the ſhadow, or what ſurvives the body, will, at death, go ſouthward, and in an unknown, but curious place, will enjoy ſome kind of happineſs, ſuch

* Mr. Brainard.

as hunting, feaſting, dancing, and the like. And what they ſuppoſe will contribute much to their happineſs in the next ſtate is, that they ſhall never be weary of thoſe entertainments. Thoſe who have any notion about rewards and puniſhments in a future ſtate, ſeem to imagine that moſt will be happy, and that thoſe that are not ſo, will be puniſhed only with *privation*, being only excluded from the walls of the good world where happy ſpirits reſide. Theſe rewards and puniſhments, they ſuppoſe to depend entirely upon their behaviour towards mankind; and have no reference to any thing which relates to the worſhip of the Supreme Being.

Beſides the creator of the world, there is another power; which they call Hobbamocko, in Engliſh, the Devil, of whom they ſtand in great awe, and worſhip merely from a principle of fear.

The firſt *duel* in New England, was fought with ſword and dagger between two ſervants. Neither of them were killed, but both were wounded. For this diſgraceful offence, they were formally tried before the whole company, and ſentenced to have their heads and feet tied together, and ſo to be twenty-four hours without meat or drink! Such, however, was the painfulneſs of their ſituation, and their piteous entreaties to be releaſed, that, upon promiſe of better behaviour in future, they were ſoon releaſed by the governor. Such was the origin, and ſuch, I may almoſt venture to add, was the termination of the odious practice of duelling in New England, for there have been very few duels fought there ſince. The true method of preventing crimes is to render them diſgraceful. Upon this principle, can there be invented a puniſhment better calculated to exterminate this criminal practice than the one already mentioned *?

* Morſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of New York and New Jerſey.

NEW YORK, which is contiguous to New England, being bounded on the eaſt by this principal ſettlement, and on the weſt by New Jerſey, occupies, at firſt, a very narrow ſpace of twenty miles along the ſea ſhore, and, inſenſibly enlarging, extends to the north above an hundred and fifty miles. This country was diſcovered by Henry Hudſon, that celebrated navigator, who, A. D. 1609. after having made vain attempts, under the patronage of the Dutch Eaſt India company, to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage, veered about to the ſouthward, and coaſted along the continent, in hopes of making ſome uſeful diſcovery, that might prove a kind of indemnification to the ſociety for the truſt they had repoſed in him. He entered into a conſiderable river, to which he gave his name, and after reconnoitring the coaſt and its inhabitants, returned to Amſterdam, from whence he ſailed.

According to the European ſyſtem, this country ſhould have belonged to the Dutch. It was diſcovered by a man in their ſervice, who took poſſeſſion of it in their name, and gave up to them any perſonal right he might have in it. His being an Engliſhman did not, in the leaſt, invalidate theſe incontrovertible titles. It muſt therefore have occaſioned great ſurpriſe, when James the Firſt aſſerted his pretenſions to it, upon the principle that Hudſon was born his ſubject; as if any man's country was not that in which he earns his ſubſiſtence. The king was ſo convinced of this that he ſoon gave up the matter; and the republic ſent ſome perſons to lay the foundation A. D. 1610. of the colony in a country which was to be called New Belgia. Every thing proſpered here; and this fortunate beginning ſeemed to promiſe great ſucceſs, when the country was expoſed to a ſtorm which it could not poſſibly foreſee.

England, which had not at that time thoſe intimate connections with Holland, that the ambition and ſucceſſes of Louis the Fourteenth have given birth to ſince, had long ſeen with a jealous eye the proſperity of a ſmall ſtate in its neighbourhood, which, though but juſt formed, was already extending its flouriſhing trade to all parts of the

world. She was ſecretly diſturbed at the thoughts of not being on an equality with a power to whom, in the nature of things, ſhe ought to have been greatly ſuperior. Her rivals in commerce and navigation, by their vigilance and œconomy, ſuperſeded them in all the conſiderable markets of the univerſe. Every effort ſhe made to come in competition, turned either to her loſs or diſcredit, and ſhe was obliged only to act a ſecondary part, while all the trade then known was evidently centering itſelf in the republic. At length, the nation felt the diſgrace of her merchants, and reſolved that what they could not obtain by induſtry ſhould be ſecured to them by force. Charles the Second, notwithſtanding his averſion for buſineſs, and his immoderate love of pleaſure, eagerly adopted a meaſure which gave him the proſpect of acquiring the riches of theſe diſtant regions, together with the maritime empire of Europe. His brother, more active and more enterprizing than himſelf, encouraged him in theſe diſpoſitions, and the deliberation concluded with their ordering the Dutch ſhips to be attacked without any previous declaration of war.

An Engliſh fleet appeared before New Belgia, in the month of Auguſt, with three thouſand men on board; and ſo numerous a force precluding every idea, as well as every hope, of reſiſtance, the colony ſubmitted as ſoon as it was ſummoned. The conqueſt was ſecured to the Engliſh by the treaty of Breda; but it was again taken from them in 1673, when the intrigues of France had found means to ſet theſe two maritime powers at variance, who for their mutual intereſts ought always to be friends. A ſecond treaty reſtored New Belgia to the Engliſh, who have remained in quiet poſſeſſion of it ever ſince, under the name of New York.

It took its name from the duke of York, to whom it was given by the king. As ſoon as he had recover-
A. D. 1664. ed it, he governed it upon the ſame arbitrary principles, which afterwards deprived him of the throne. His deputies, in whoſe hands were lodged powers of every kind, not contented with the exerciſe of the public authority, inſtituted themſelves arbitrators in all private diſputes. The country was then inhabited by Hollanders who had preferred theſe plantations to their own country, and by coloniſts who had come from New England. Theſe people had been too long accuſtomed to liberty, to ſubmit patiently for any time to ſo arbitrary an adminiſtration. Every thing ſeemed tending either to an inſurrection or an emigration, when in 1683 the colony

was

was invited to chuſe repreſentatives to ſettle its form of government *.

By the conſtitution of the ſtate of New York, lately eſtabliſhed, the ſupreme legiſlative power was veſted in two ſeparate and diſtinct bodies of men; the one to be called, "*The Aſſembly of the States of New York*," to conſiſt of ſeventy members annually choſen by ballot; and the other, "*The Senate of the State of New York*;" to conſiſt of twenty-four for four years, who together are to form the legiſlature, and to meet once at leaſt, in every year, for the diſpatch of buſineſs. The ſupreme executive power is to be veſted in a governor, who is to continue in office three years, aſſiſted by four counſellors choſen by and from the ſenate. Every male inhabitant of full age, who ſhall poſſeſs a freehold of the value of twenty pounds, or have rented a tenement of the yearly value of forty ſhillings, and ſhall have paid taxes to the eſtate for ſix months preceding the day of election, is entitled to vote for members of the aſſembly; but thoſe who vote for the governor, and the members of the ſenate, are to be poſſeſſed of freeholds of the value of one hundred pounds. The delegates to the congreſs, the judges, &c. are to be choſen by ballot of the ſenate and aſſembly. A. D. 1777.

The city of New York is inhabited principally by merchants, mechanics, ſhop-keepers, and tradeſmen, compoſed of almoſt all nations and religions. They are generally reſpectable in their ſeveral profeſſions, and ſuſtain the reputation of honeſt, punctual, fair dealers. The manners and character of the inhabitants of every colony or ſtate, will take their colouring in a greater or leſs degree, from the peculiar manners of the firſt ſettlers. It is much more natural for emigrants to a ſettlement to adopt the cuſtoms of the original inhabitants, than the contrary, even though the emigrants ſhould, in a length of time, become the moſt numerous. Hence it is that the neatneſs, parſimony, and induſtry of the Dutch were early imitated by the firſt Engliſh ſettlers in the province, and, until the revolution, formed a diſtinguiſhing trait in their provincial character. It is ſtill diſcernible, though in a much leſs degree, and will probably continue viſible many years to come.

New York is the gayeſt place in America. The ladies, in the richneſs and brilliancy of their dreſs are not equalled in any city in the United States; not even in Charleſton, South Carolina, which has heretofore been called the centre of the *Beau Monde*. The ladies, however, are not ſolely

* Abbé Raynal.

employed

employed in attentions to dreſs. There are many who are ſtudious to add to their brilliant external accompliſhments, the more brillant and laſting accompliſhments of the mind. Nor have they been unſucceſsful; for New York can boaſt of great numbers of refined taſte, whoſe minds are highly improved, and whoſe converſation is as inviting as their perſonal charms. Tinctured with a Dutch education, they manage their families with good œconomy and ſingular neatneſs.

The ſituation of New York, with reſpect to foreign markets, has decidedly the preference to any of the ſtates. It has, at all ſeaſons of the year, a ſhort and eaſy acceſs to the ocean. "In our traffic with other places," ſays a native of this ſtate, "the balance is almoſt conſtantly in our favour*." Their exports to the Weſt Indies are biſcuit, peas, Indian corn, apples, onions, boards, ſtaves, horſes, ſheep, butter, cheeſe, pickled oyſters, beef and pork. But wheat is the ſtaple commodity of the ſtate, of which no leſs than 677,700 buſhels were exported, beſides 2,555 tons of bread, and 2,828 tons of flour. Weſt India goods are received in return for theſe articles.

A. D. 1775.

The miniſters of religion of every denomination in the ſtate, are ſupported by the voluntary contributions of the people, raiſed generally by ſubſcription, or by a tax upon the pews, except the Dutch churches in New York, Albany and Kingſton, which have large eſtates confirmed by charter.

New Jerſey is bounded on the eaſt by New York, on the weſt by Pennſylvania, on the north by Hudſon's river, and on the ſouth eaſt by the ocean, which waſhes its coaſts through an extent of 120 miles. The Swedes were the firſt Europeans who ſettled in this region. Neglected by their own country, which was too weak to be able to extend its protection to them at ſo great a diſtance, they were obliged, at the end of ſixteen years, to ſurrender to the Dutch, who united this acquiſition to New Belgia. When the duke of York received the grant of the two countries, he ſeparated them, and divided the leaſt of them, called New Jerſey, between two of his favourites. Sir George Carteret and lord Berkley, the firſt of whom had received the eaſtern, and the other the weſtern part of the province, ſolicited this vaſt territory with no other view but to put it up to ſale. Several ſpeculative perſons, accordingly, bought large diſtricts

A. D. 1639.

* Smith's Hiſtory of New York.

of

of them at a low price, which they divided and sold again in smaller parcels. In the midst of these subdivisions, the colony became divided into two distinct provinces, each separately governed by the heirs of the original proprietors. The exercise of this right growing at length inconvenient, as indeed it was ill adapted to the situation of a subject, they gave up their charter to the crown in 1702; and from that time the two provinces became one.

By the new charter of rights established by the provincial congress, the government of New Jersey is now vested in a governor, legislative council, and general assembly. The members of the legislative council are to be freeholders, and worth at least one thousand pounds real and personal estate; and the members of the general assembly to be worth five hundred pounds. All inhabitants worth fifty pounds are entitled to vote for representatives in council and assembly, and for all other public officers. The elections of the governor, legislative council, and general assembly, are to be annual; the governor and lieutenant-governor to be chosen from and by the general assembly and council. The judges of the supreme court are chosen for seven years, and the officers of the executive power for five years. A. D. 1776.

This state has all the varieties of soil from the worst to the best kind It also embosoms vast quantities of iron and copper ore. The iron ore is of two kinds; one is capable of being manufactured into malleable iron, and is found in mountains and low barren grounds; the other, called *bog-ore*, grows * in rich bottoms, and yields iron of a hard brittle quality, and is commonly manufactured into hollow ware, and used sometimes instead of stone in building.

Many circumstances concur to render the *manners* of the people of this country various. The inhabitants are a collection of Low Dutch, Germans, English, Scotch, Irish, and New Englanders, or their descendants. National attachment and mutual convenience have generally induced these several kinds of people to settle together in a body; and, in this way, their peculiar national manners, customs and character, are still preserved, especially among the lower class of the people, who have little intercourse with any but those of their own nation. Religion, although its tendency be to unite people in those things that are essential to happiness, occasions wide differences as to manners, cus-

* Some perhaps may be surprised to hear that ore grows; but that it does in fact grow is well known to many curious naturalists, who have carefully observed it.

toms,

toms, and even character. The preſbyterian, the quaker, the epiſcopalian, the baptiſt, the German and Low Dutch calviniſt, the methodiſt and Moravian, have each their diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics, either in their worſhip, their diſcipline, or their dreſs.

CHAP. IV.

Of Pennſylvania and the Progreſs of Population, Agriculture, and Manners in that State.

THE humane and peaceable ſect of the *friends* or *quakers*, aroſe in England amidſt the confuſions of that bloody war which terminated in a monarch's being dragged to the ſcaffold by his own ſubjects. The founder of it, George Fox, was of the lower claſs of the people; a man who had been formerly a mechanic, but whom a ſingular and contemplative turn of mind had induced to quit his profeſſion. In order to wean himſelf entirely from all earthly affections, he broke off all connections with his own family; and for fear of being tempted to renew them, he determined to have no fixed abode. He often wandered alone in the woods without any other amuſement but his bible. In time he even learned to go without that, when he thought he had acquired from it a degree of inſpiration ſimilar to that of the apoſtles and the prophets. He then began to think of making proſelytes, in which he found no difficulty in a country where the minds of all men where filled and diſturbed with enthuſiaſtic notions. He was, therefore, ſoon followed by a multitude of diſciples, the novelty and ſingularity of whoſe opinions upon incomprehenſible ſubjects could not fail of attracting and faſcinating all thoſe who were fond of the marvellous. The firſt thing by which they caught the eye, was the ſimplicity of their dreſs, in which there was no gold or ſilver laces, no embroidery, laces, or ruffles, and from which they affected to baniſh every thing that was ſuperfluous or unneceſſary. They would not ſuffer even a button in the hat, nor a plait in the coat, becauſe it was poſſible to do without them. Such an extraordinary contempt for eſtabliſhed modes reminded thoſe who adopted it, that it became them to be more virtuous than the reſt of men from whom they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by this external modeſty. All outward marks of deference, which the

pride and tyranny of mankind exact from thoſe who are unable to refuſe them, were diſdained by the quakers, who diſclaimed the names of maſter and ſervant. They condemned all titles, as being tokens of pride in thoſe who claimed them, and as meanneſs in thoſe who beſtowed them. They did not allow to any perſon whatever the appellation of excellence or eminence, and ſo far they might be in the right; but they refuſed to comply with thoſe reciprocal demonſtrations of reſpect which we call politeneſs, and in this they were to blame. The name of friend, they ſaid, was not to be refuſed by one chriſtian or citizen to another, but the ceremony of bowing they conſidered as ridiculous and troubleſome. To pull off the hat they held to be a want of reſpect to a man's ſelf, in order to ſhew it to others. They carried this idea ſo far, that even the magiſtrates could not compel them to any external mark of reverence; but they addreſſed both them and princes according to the ancient majeſty of language, in the ſecond perſon and in the ſingular number. The auſterity of their morals ennobled the ſingularity of their manners. The uſe of arms, conſidered in every light, appeared a crime to them. If it was to attack, it was violating the laws of humanity; if to defend one's ſelf, it was breaking through thoſe of chriſtianity. Univerſal peace was the goſpel they had agreed to profeſs. If any one ſmote a quaker upon one cheek, he immediately preſented the other; if any one aſked him for his coat, he offered his waiſtcoat too. Nothing could engage theſe equitable men to demand more than the lawful price for their work; or to take leſs than what they demanded. An oath, even before a magiſtrate, and in ſupport of a juſt cauſe, they deemed to be profanation of the name of God, in any of the wretched diſputes that ariſe between weak and periſhable beings. The contempt they entertained for the outward forms of politeneſs in civil life was changed into averſion for the ritual and ceremonial parts of religion. They looked upon churches merely as the oſtentatious edifices of prieſtcraft, they conſidered the ſabbath as a pernicious and idle inſtitution, and baptiſm, and the Lord's ſupper as ridiculous ſymbols. For this reaſon they rejected all regular orders of clergy. Every one of the faithful they imagined received an immediate illumination from the Holy Ghoſt, which gave a character far ſuperior to that of the prieſthood. When they were aſſembled together, the firſt perſon who found himſelf inſpired aroſe, and imparted the lights he had received from heaven. Even women were often favoured with this gift of ſpeech, which they called the gift of prophecy; ſometimes many of theſe holy brethren ſpoke at the ſame time; but much more frequently

frequently a profound ſilence prevailed in their aſſemblies. The enthuſiaſm occaſioned both by their meditations and diſcourſes excited ſuch a degree of ſenſibility in the nervous ſyſtem, that it threw them into convulſions, for which reaſon they were called quakers. To have cured theſe people in proceſs of time of their folly, nothing more was requiſite than to turn it into ridicule; but inſtead of this, perſecution contributed to make it more general. While every other new ſect met with encouragement, this was expoſed to every kind of puniſhment; impriſonments, whippings, pillories, mad-houſes, were none of them thought too terrible for bigots, whoſe only crime was that of wanting to be virtuous and reaſonable over much. The conſtancy with which they bore their ſufferings, at firſt excited compaſſion, and afterwards admiration for them. Even Cromwell, who had been one of their moſt violent enemies, becauſe they uſed to inſinuate themſelves into his camps, and diſſuade his ſoldiers from their profeſſion, gave them public marks of his eſteem. His policy exerted itſelf in endeavouring to draw them into his party, in order to conciliate to himſelf a higher degree of reſpect and conſideration; but they either eluded his invitations or rejected them, and he afterwards confeſſed that this was the only religion which was not to be influenced by bribery.

Among the ſeveral perſons who caſt a temporary luſtre on this ſect, the only one who deſerves to be remembered by poſterity, is William Penn. He was the ſon of an admiral, who had been fortunate enough to be equally diſtinguiſhed by Cromwell, and the two Stuarts, who held the reins of government after him. This able ſeaman, more ſupple and more inſinuating than men of his profeſſion uſually are, had made ſeveral conſiderable advances to government in the different expeditions in which he had been engaged. The misfortunes of the times had not admitted of the repayment of theſe loans during his life, and as affairs were not in a better ſituation at his death, it was propoſed to his ſon, that inſtead of money, he ſhould accept of an immenſe territory in America. It was a country, which, though long ſince diſcovered and ſurrounded by Engliſh colonies, had always been neglected. A ſpirit of benevolence made him accept with pleaſure this kind of patrimony, which was ceded to him almoſt as a ſovereignty, and he determined to make it the abode of virtue, and the aſylum of the unfortunate. With this generous deſign, towards the end of the
A. D. 1681. year, he ſet ſail for his new poſſeſſions, which, from that time, took the name of Pennſylvania. All the quakers were deſirous to follow him, in order to avoid

avoid the perſecution raiſed againſt them by the clergy, on account of their not complying with the tithes and other eccleſiaſtical fees; but from prudential motives he declined taking over any more than two thouſand.

His arrival in the new world was ſignalized by an act of equity, which made his perſon and principles equally beloved. Not thoroughly ſatisfied with the right given him to his extenſive territories, by the grant he had received of it from the Britiſh miniſtry, he determined to make it his own property by purchaſing it of the natives. The price he gave to the ſavages is not known; but though ſome people accuſe them of ſtupidity for conſenting to part with what they never ought to have alienated upon any terms; yet Penn is not leſs entitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and juſtice in America, which was never thought of before by the Europeans. He made himſelf as much as poſſible a legal poſſeſſor of the territory, and by the uſe he made of it, ſupplied any deficiency there might be in the validity of his title. The Americans entertained as great an affection for his colony, as they had conceived an averſion for all thoſe which had been founded in their neighbourhood without their conſent. From that time there aroſe a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good faith, which nothing has ever been able to ſhake.

Penn's humanity could not be confined to the ſavages only, it extended itſelf to all thoſe who were deſirous of living under his laws. Senſible that the happineſs of the people depended upon the nature of the legiſlation, he founded his upon thoſe two firſt principles of public ſplendour and private felicity, liberty and property. The mind dwells with pleaſure on this part of modern hiſtory, and feels ſome kind of compenſation for the diſguſt, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European ſettlements in America, inſpires. Hitherto we have only ſeen theſe barbarians depopulating the country before they took poſſeſſion of it, and laying ever thing waſte before they cultivated. It is time to obſerve the dawnings of reaſon, happineſs, and humanity riſing from among the ruins of a hemiſphere, which ſtill reeks with the blood of all its people civilized as well as ſavage. This virtuous legiſlator made toleration the baſis of his ſociety. He admitted every man who acknowledged a God to the rights of a citizen, and made every chriſtian eligible to ſtate employments. But he left every one at liberty to invoke the Supreme Being as he thought proper, and neither eſtabliſhed a reigning church in Pennſylvania, nor exacted contributions for building places of public worſhip, nor compelled

any

any perſon to attend them. Deſirous of immortalizing his name, he veſted in his family the right of nominating the chief governor of the colony; but he ordained that no profits ſhould be annexed to his employment, except ſuch as were voluntarily granted; and that he ſhould have no authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens who had an intereſt in the law, by having one in the object of it, were to be electors and might be choſen. To avoid as much as poſſible every kind of corruption, it was ordained that the repreſentatives ſhould be choſen by ſuffrages privately given. To eſtabliſh a law, a plurality of voices was ſufficient; but a majority of two thirds was neceſſary to ſettle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift than a ſubſidy demanded by government; but was it poſſible to grant leſs indulgences to men who were come ſo far in ſearch of peace? Such was the opinion of that real philoſopher Penn.

He gave a thouſand acres to all thoſe who could afford to pay twenty ſhillings for them. Every one who could not obtained for himſelf, his wife, each of his children above ſixteen years old, and each of his ſervants fifty acres of land, for the annual quit rent of about one penny per acre. To fix theſe properties for ever, he eſtabliſhed tribunals to maintain the laws made for the preſervation of property. But it is not protecting the property of lands, to make thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of them purchaſe the degree of juſtice that ſecures them: for in that caſe every individual is obliged to part with ſome of his property, in order to ſecure the reſt; and law, when protracted, exhauſts the very treaſures it ſhould preſerve, and the property it ſhould defend. Leſt any perſons ſhould be found whoſe intereſt it might be to encourage or prolong law-ſuits, he forbad under very ſtrict penalties all thoſe who were engaged in the adminiſtration of juſtice, to receive any ſalary or gratification whatſoever. And further, every diſtrict was obliged to chuſe three arbitrators, whoſe buſineſs it was to endeavour to prevent, and accommodate any diſpute that might happen, before they were carried into a court of juſtice.

This attention to prevent law-ſuits ſprang from the deſire of preventing crimes. All the laws, that they might have no vices to puniſh, were calculated to put a ſtop to them even in their very ſources, poverty and idleneſs. It was enacted that every child above twelve years old, ſhould be obliged to learn a profeſſion, let his condition be what it would. This regulation at the ſame time that it ſecured the poor man a ſubſiſtence, furniſhed the rich man with a reſource againſt every reverſe of fortune, preſerved the natural equality of mankind,

mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original deſtination, which is that of labour, either of the mind or of the body. Such primary inſtitutions would be neceſſarily productive of an excellent legiſlation; and accordingly the advantages of that eſtabliſhed by Penn, were manifeſted in the rapid and continued proſperity of Pennſylvania, which, without either wars, conqueſts, ſtruggles, or any of thoſe revolutions which attract the eye of the vulgar, ſoon excited the admiration of the whole univerſe. Its neighbours, notwithſtanding their ſavage ſtate, were ſoftened by the ſweetneſs of its manners; and diſtant nations, notwithſtanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. All were delighted to ſee thoſe heroic days of antiquity realized, which European manners and laws had long taught every one to conſider as entirely fabulous.

Had William Penn been a native of Greece, he would have had his ſtatue placed next to thoſe of Solon and Lycurgus. His laws, founded on the ſolid baſes of equity, ſtill maintain their force; and as a proof of their effects, it is only neceſſary to mention that land was lately granted at twelve pounds an hundred acres; whereas the terms on which it was formerly granted, were at twenty pounds the thouſand acres, with one ſhilling quit rent for every hundred. Near Philadelphia, before the commencement of the war with the mother-country, land rented at twenty ſhillings the acre, and even at ſeveral miles diſtance from that city, ſold at twenty years purchaſe.

Philadelphia is the capital, not only of this province, but of the United States. It is ſituated on the weſt bank of the river Delaware, on an extenſive plain, about 118 miles from the ſea. The length of the city, from eaſt to weſt, that is from the Delaware to Schuylkill, upon the original plan of Mr. Penn, is 10,300 feet, and the breadth from north to ſouth, is 4,837 feet. Not two fifths of the plot covered by the city charter is yet built. The inhabitants, however, have not confined themſelves within the original limits of the city, but have built north and ſouth along the Delaware, two miles in length. The longeſt ſtreet is Second-ſtreet, about 700 feet from Delaware river, and parallel to it. The circumference of that part of the city, which is built, if we include Kenſington on the north, and Southwark on the ſouth, may be about five miles. Market-ſtreet is 100 feet wide, and runs the whole length of the city, from river to river. Near the middle, it is interſected at right angles by Broad-ſtreet, acroſs the city; and between Broad-ſtreet and the Schuylkill there are nine ſtreets equidiſtant from each other. Parallel to Market-ſtreet are eight

other ſtreets, running eaſt and weſt from river to river, and interſecting the croſs ſtreets at right angles; all theſe ſtreets are 50 feet wide, except Arch-ſteet, which is 65 feet wide. All the ſtreets which run north and ſouth, except Broad-ſtreet, mentioned above, are 50 feet wide. There were four ſquares of eight acres each, one at each corner of the city, originally reſerved for public and common uſes. And, in the center of the city, where Broad-ſtreet and Market-ſtreet interſect each other, there is a ſquare of ten acres, reſerved in like manner to be planted with rows of trees for public walks. The firſt ſtreet between Delaware river and the bank, is called Water-ſtreet. The next, on the top of the bank, is called Front-ſtreet; and weſt of this the ſtreets are numbered, ſecond, third, fourth, &c. On the river Delaware, there are ſixteen public landings, at the diſtance of four or five hundred feet from each other; and private wharfs ſufficient for 200 ſail of ſea veſſels to unload at a time, as well as room to build any neceſſary number. This fine city was A D. 1682. founded by the celebrated William Penn, who granted a charter, incorporating the town with privilege of chooſing a mayor, recorder, eight aldermen, twelve common-council men, a ſheriff and clerk.

It was in Philadelphia that the general congreſs of America met in September 1774; and their meetings continued to be chiefly held there, till the king's troops made themſelves maſters of that city, on the 26th of September 1777. But in June 1778, the Britiſh troops retreated to New York, and Philadelphia again became the reſidence of the congreſs. In 1776, the repreſentatives of the freemen of Pennſylvania met in a general convention at Philadelphia, and agreed upon the plan of a new conſtitution or government for that colony. They determined that the commonwealth, or ſtate of Pennſylvania, ſhould be governed hereafter by an aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the freemen, and a preſident and council. That the ſupreme legiſlative power ſhould be veſted in the houſe of repreſentatives. That the ſupreme executive power ſhould be veſted in the preſident and council of twelve. That every freeman of twenty-one years of age, having reſided in Pennſylvania one year before the day of election for repreſentatives, and paid public taxes during that time, ſhould enjoy the right of an elector; and that the ſons of freeholders, of twenty-one years of age, ſhould be entitled to vote, although they had not paid taxes. That the houſe of repreſentatives ſhould conſiſt of perſons moſt noted for wiſdom and virtue, to be choſen by the freemen of every city and county of this

commonwealth reſpectively; that no perſon ſhould be elected, unleſs he had reſided in the city or county for which he ſhould be choſen two years before the election; and that no member, while he continued ſuch, ſhould hold any other office except in the militia. That no perſon ſhould be capable of being elected a member to ſerve in the houſe of repreſentatives more than four years in ſeven. That the members ſhould be choſen annually by ballot, and ſhould be ſtyled, "The general Aſſembly of the Repreſentatives of the Freemen of Pennſylvania;" and ſhould have power to chooſe their ſpeaker, the treaſurer of the ſtate, and their other officers, to prepare bills, and to enact them into laws, to redreſs grievances, impeach ſtate criminals, and have all other powers neceſſary for the legiſlature of a free ſtate and commonwealth. That delegates to repreſent Pennſylvania in congreſs ſhould be annually choſen by ballot, in the general aſſembly of repreſentatives. That the ſupreme executive council of this ſtate ſhould conſiſt of twelve perſons to be choſen by the freemen of Philadelphia, and the ſeveral counties of Pennſylvania. That a preſident and vice-preſident of this council, ſhould be choſen annually. That the preſident, and, in his abſence, the vice-preſident, with the council, five of whom are to be a quorum, ſhould have power to appoint judges, naval officers, judge of the admiralty, attorney-general, and other officers civil and military. That the preſident ſhall be commander in chief of the forces of the ſtate, but ſhall not command in perſon, except adviſed thereto by the council, and then only ſo long as the council ſhall approve. That all trials ſhall be by jury; and that freedom of ſpeech, and of the preſs, ſhall not be reſtrained. That all perſons in public offices ſhould declare their belief in one God, the Creator, and Governor of the Univerſe; the rewarder of the good, and the puniſher of wicked; and alſo acknowledge the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament to be given by divine inſpiration. A variety of other particulars were contained in this plan of government, particularly that the freemen and their ſons ſhould be trained and armed for the public defence, under ſuch regulations, reſtrictions, and exceptions, as the general aſſembly ſhould by law direct, preſerving always to the people the right of chooſing their colonel, and all commiſſioned officers under that rank, in ſuch manner, and as often as by the ſaid laws ſhould be directed. Two perſons alſo are to be choſen by ballot every year for each county and city, by the freemen, to be called "The Council of Cenſors," who are to examine into the conduct of the legiſlative and executive powers.

The inhabitants of Pennſylvania conſiſt of emigrants from England, Ireland, Germany and Scotland. The friends and epiſcopalians are chiefly of Engliſh extraction, and compoſe about one-third of the inhabitants. Induſtry, frugality, bordering in ſome inſtances on parſimony, enterprize, a taſte and ability for improvements in mechanics, in manufactures, in agriculture, in commerce, and in the liberal ſciences; temperance, plainneſs and ſimplicity in dreſs and manners; pride and humility in their extremes; inoffenſiveneſs and intrigue; in regard to religion, variety and harmony; liberality and its oppoſites, ſuperſtition and bigotry; and in politics an unhappy jargon:—Such are the diſtinguiſhing traits in the Pennſylvanian character.

The remarks of a ſenſible writer on the progreſs of population, agriculture, manners and government of Pennſylvania, here deſerve our attention. "The firſt ſettler in the woods is generally a man who has out-lived his credit or fortune in the cultivated parts of the ſtate. His time for migrating is in the month of April. His firſt object is to build a ſmall cabin of rough logs for himſelf and family. The floor of this cabin is of earth, the roof is of ſplit logs; the light is received through the door, and, in ſome inſtances, through a ſmall window made of greaſed paper. A coarſer building adjoining this cabin afford a ſhelter to a cow, and a pair of poor horſes. The labour of erecting theſe buildings is ſucceeded by felling the trees on a few acres of ground near his cabin; this is done by cutting a circle round the trees, two or three feet from the ground. The ground around theſe trees is then ploughed, and Indian corn planted in it. The ſeaſon for planting this grain is about the 20th of May. It grows generally on new ground, with but little cultivation, and yields, in the month of October following, from 40 to 50 buſhels per acre. After the firſt of September it affords a good deal of nouriſhment to his family, in its green or unripe ſtate, in the form of what is called *roaſting ears*. His family is fed, during the ſummer, by a ſmall quantity of grain, which he carries with him, and by fiſh and game. His cows and horſes feed upon wild graſs, or the ſucculent twigs of the woods. For the firſt year he endures a great deal of diſtreſs from hunger, cold, and a variety of accidental cauſes, but he ſeldom complains or ſinks under them. As he lives in the neighbourhood of the Indians, he ſoon acquires a ſtrong tincture of their manners. His exertions, while they continue, are violent; but they are ſucceeded by long intervals of reſt. His pleaſures conſiſt chiefly in fiſhing and hunting. He loves ſpirituous liquors, and he eats, drinks

drinks and ſleeps in dirt and rags in his little cabin. In his intercourſe with the world he manifeſts all the arts which characterize the Indians of America. In this ſituation he paſſes two or three years. In proportion as population increaſes around him, he becomes uneaſy and diſſatisfied. Formerly his cattle ranged at large, but now his neighbours call upon him to confine them within the fences, to prevent their treſpaſſing upon their fields of grain. Formerly he fed his family with wild animals, but theſe, which fly from the face of man, now ceaſe to afford him an eaſy ſubſiſtence, and he is compelled to raiſe domeſtic animals for the ſupport of his family. Above all, he revolts againſt the operation of laws. He cannot bear to ſurrender up a ſingle natural right for all the benefits of government; and therefore he abandons his little ſettlement, and ſeeks a retreat in the woods, where he again ſubmits to all the toils which have been mentioned. There are inſtances of many men who have broken ground on bare creation, not leſs than four different times in this way, in different and more advanced parts of the ſtate. It has been remarked that the flight of this claſs of people is always increaſed by the preaching of the goſpel. This will not ſurpriſe us, when we conſider how oppoſite its precepts are to their licentious manner of living. If the firſt ſettler was the owner of the ſpot of land which he began to cultivate, he ſells it at a conſiderable profit to his ſucceſſor; but if (as is oftener the caſe) he was a tenant to ſome ſuch landholder, he abandons it in debt; however, the ſmall improvements he leaves behind him, generally make it an object of immediate demand to a *ſecond* ſpecies of ſettler.

This ſpecies of ſettler is generally a man of ſome property; he pays one third or one fourth part in caſh for his plantation, which conſiſts of three or four hundred acres, and the reſt by inſtalments. The firſt object of this ſettler is to build an addition to his cabin. This is done with hewed logs; and as ſaw-mills generally follow ſettlements, his are made of boards. This houſe his divided by two floors, on each of which are two rooms; under the whole is a cellar walled with ſtone. The cabin ſerves as a kitchen to this houſe. His next object is to clear a little meadow-ground, and plant an orchard of two or three hundred apple trees. His ſtable is likewiſe enlarged, and, in the courſe of a year or two, he builds a large log barn, the roof of which is commonly thatched with rye ſtraw: he moreover, increaſes the quantity of his arable land; and, inſtead of cultivating Indian corn alone, he raiſes alſo

wheat and rye: the latter is cultivated chiefly for the purpoſe of being diſtilled into *whiſkey*.

The *third* ſpecies of ſettler is commonly a man of property and good character; ſometimes he is the ſon of a wealthy farmer, in one of the interior and ancient countries of the ſtate. His firſt object is to convert every ſpot of ground, over which he is able to draw water, into meadow; and where this cannot be done, he ſelects the moſt fertile ſpots on the farm, and devotes them, by manure, to that purpoſe. His fences are every where repaired, ſo as to ſecure his grain from his own and his neighbour's cattle. He increaſes the number of the articles of his cultivation, and inſtead of raiſing corn, wheat, and rye alone, he raiſes oats, buck-wheat *, and ſpelts. Near his houſe, he allots an acre or two of ground for a garden, on which he raiſes a large quantity of cabbage and potatoes. His newly cleared fields afford him every year a large increaſe of turnips. Over the ſpring which ſupplies him with water, he builds a milk houſe. He likewiſe adds to the number and improves the quality of his fruit trees. His ſons work by his ſide all the year, and his wife and daughters forſake the dairy and the ſpinning wheel, to ſhare with him in the toils of harveſt. The laſt object of his induſtry is to build a dwelling-houſe; which is generally of ſtone. It is large, convenient, and filled with uſeful and ſubſtantial furniture. The horſes and cattle of this ſpecies of ſettler, bear marks in their ſtrength, fat, and fruitfulneſs, of their being plentifully fed and carefully kept. His table abounds with a variety of the beſt proviſions; his very kitchen flows with milk and honey; beer, cyder, and wine, are the uſual drinks of his family. The greateſt part of the clothing of his family is manufactured by his wife and daughters. In proportion as he increaſes in wealth, he values the protection of laws: hence he punctually pays his taxes towards the ſupport of government. Schools and churches likewiſe, as the means of promoting order and happineſs in ſociety, derive a due ſupport from him: for benevolence and public ſpirit, as to theſe objects, are the natural offſpring of affluence and independence. Of this claſs of ſettlers are two thirds of the farmers of Pennſylvania: theſe are the men to whom Pennſylvania owes her ancient fame and conſequence. If they poſſeſs leſs refinement than their ſouthern neighbours, who cultivate their lands with ſlaves, they poſſeſs more republican virtue. It was from the farms cul-

* The Fagopyrum of Linnæus.

tivated

tivated by these men, that the American and French armies were fed chiefly with bread during the late revolution, and it was from the produce of these farms, that those millions of dollars were obtained from the Havanna after the year 1780, which laid the foundation of the bank of North America, and which fed and cloathed the American army, till the peace of Paris.

From a review of the three different species of settlers, it appears, that there are certain regular stages which mark the progress from savage to civilized life. The first settler is nearly related to an Indian in his manners. In the second, the Indian manners are more diluted. It is in the third species of settlers only, that we behold civilization completed. It is to the third species of settlers only, that it is proper to apply the term of *farmers*.

The unoccupied lands are sold by the state for about six guineas, inclusive of all charges, per hundred acres. But as most of the lands that are settled, are procured from persons who had purchased them from the state, they are sold to the first settler for a much higher price. The quality of the soil, its vicinity to mills, court-houses, places of worship, and navigable water; the distance of land carriage to the sea-ports of Philadelphia or Baltimore, and the nature of the roads, all influence the price of land to the first settler. The quantity of cleared land, and the nature of the improvements, added to all the above circumstances, influence the price of farms to the second and third settlers. Hence the price of land to the first settler is from a quarter of a guinea to two guineas per acre; and the price of farms is from one guinea to ten guineas per acre, to the second and third settlers, according as the land is varied by the before mentioned circumstances. When the first settler is unable to purchase, he often takes a tract of land for seven years on a lease, and contracts, instead of paying a rent in cash, to clear fifty acres of land, to build a log cabin, and a barn, and to plant an orchard on it. This tract, after the expiration of this lease, sells or rents for a considerable profit.

In the mode of extending population and agriculture, above described, we behold a new species of war. The *third* settler may be viewed as a conqueror. The weapons with which he atchieves his conquests, are the implements of husbandry; and the virtues which direct them, are indus- and œconomy. Idleness, extravagance and ignorance, fly before him. Happy would it be for mankind, if the kings of Europe would adopt this mode of extending their territories; it would soon put an end to the dreadful connection,

which has exiſted in every age, between war and poverty, between conqueſt and deſolation*."

Of the great variety of religious denominations in Pennſylvania, the *quakers* are the moſt numerous. The true appellation of theſe people is *friends:* that of quakers was early and unjuſtly given them by way of contempt. During the late war, ſome of their number, contrary to that article of their faith, which *forbids them to fight in any caſe whatever*, thought it their duty to take up arms in defence of their country. This laid the foundation of a ſeceſſion from their brethren, and they now form a ſeparate congregation in Philadelphia, by the name of the "reſiſting or fighting quakers." Next to the quakers, the Preſbyterians are the moſt numerous.

The proteſtant *epiſcopal church* of New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, A. D. 1785. Virginia and South-Carolina, met in convention at Philadelphia, and reviſed the book of common prayer, and adminiſtration of the ſacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, and publiſhed and propoſed the book, thus reviſed, for the uſe of the church. This reviſion was made in part, in order to render the liturgy conſiſtent with the American revolution, and the conſtitutions of the ſeveral ſtates. In this they have diſcovered their liberality and their patriotiſm. In Pennſylvania and the ſouthern ſtates, this reviſed book is pretty generally uſed by the epiſcopal churches. In New York and New Jerſey it has not been adopted.

There are upwards of ſixty miniſters of the Lutheran and Calviniſt religion, who are of German extraction, now in this ſtate; all of whom have one or more congregations under their care; and many of them preach in ſplendid and extenſive churches: and yet the firſt Lutheran miniſter, who arrived in Pennſylvania about forty years ago, was alive in 1787, as was alſo the ſecond Calviniſtical miniſter. The Lutherans do not differ, in any thing eſſential, from the epiſcopalians; nor do the Calviniſts from the Preſbyterians.

The *Moravians* are of German extraction. They call themſelves the *United Brethren of the proteſtant epiſcopal church.* They are called Moravians, becauſe the firſt ſettlers in the Engliſh dominions were chiefly emigrants. Theſe were the remnant and genuine deſcendants of the church of the ancient United Brethren, eſtabliſhed in Bohemia and Moravia, as early as the year 1456. About the middle of the laſt century, they left their native country, to avoid perſe-

* Letter from a citizen of Philadelphia to his friend in England.

cution, and to enjoy liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of the religion of their forefathers. They were received in Saxony, and other protestant dominions, and were encouraged to settle among them, and were joined by many serious people of other denominations. They adhere to the Augustine confession of faith, which was drawn up by the protestant divines at the time of the reformation in Germany, in the year 1530, and presented at the diet of the empire at Augsburg; and which, at that time, contained the doctrinal system of all the established protestant churches. They retain the discipline of their ancient church, and make use of episcopal ordination, which has been handed down to them in a direct line of succession for more than three hundred years*.

Pennsylvania has given birth to many *useful inventions.* Among others are the following: A new model of the planetary world, by Mr. Rittenhouse, commonly called an orrery; a quadrant, by Mr. Godfrey, called by the plagiary name of Hadley's quadrant; a steam boat, so constructed, as that by the assistance of steam, operating on certain machinery within the boat, it moves with considerable rapidity against the stream, without the aid of hands. Messrs. Fitch and Ramsay contend with each other for the honour of this invention.—A new printing press, lately invented and constructed in Philadelphia, worked by one person alone, who performs three fourths as much work in a day, as two persons at a common press. Besides these there have been invented many manufacturing machines, for carding, spinning, winnowing, &c. which perform an immense deal of work with very little manual assistance†.

There are three *remarkable grottos* or caves in this state; one near Carlisle, in Cumberland county; one in the township of Durham, in Bucks county; and the other at Swetara, in Lancaster county. Of the two former there are no particular descriptions. The latter is on the east bank of Swetara river, about two miles above its confluence with the Susquehannah. Its entrance is spacious, and descends so much as that the surface of the river is rather higher than the bottom of the cave. The vault of this cave is of solid lime stone rock, perhaps twenty feet thick. It contains several apartments, some of which are very high and spacious. The water is incessantly percolating through the roof, and falls in drops to the bottom of the cave. These drops petrify as they fall, and have gradually formed solid pillars which

* Crantz's History of the United Brethren's Church.

† Morse.

appear

appear as ſupports to the roof. Thirty years ago there were ten ſuch pillars, each ſix inches in diameter, and ſix feet high; all ſo ranged that the place they encloſed reſembled a ſanctuary in a Roman church. No royal throne ever exhibited more grandeur than this luſus naturæ. The reſemblances of ſeveral monuments are found indented in the walls on the ſides of the cave, which appear like the tombs of departed heroes. Suſpended from the roof is "the bell," (which is nothing more then a ſtone projected in an unuſual form) ſo called from the ſound that it occaſions when ſtruck, which is ſimilar to that of a bell. Some of the ſtalactites are of a colour like ſugar-candy, and others reſemble loaf ſugar; but their beauty is much defaced by the country people. The water, which percolates through the roof, ſo much of it as is not petrified in its courſe, runs down the declivity, and is both pleaſant and wholeſome to drink. There are ſeveral holes in the bottom of the cave, deſcending perpendicularly, perhaps into an abyſs below, which render it dangerous to walk without a light. At the end of the cave is a pretty brook, which, after a ſhort courſe, loſes itſelf among the rocks. Beyond this brook is an outlet from the cave by a very narrow aperture. Through this the vapours continually paſs outwards with a ſtrong current of air, and aſcend, reſembling, at night, the ſmoke of a furnace. Part of theſe vapours and fogs appear, on aſcending, to be condenſed at the head of this great alembic, and the more volatile parts to be carried off, through the aperture communicating with the exterior air before mentioned, by the force of the air in its paſſage.

CHAP. V.

Of Virginia and Maryland.

THIS is the firſt country which the Engliſh planted in America. We derived our right, not only to this, but to all our other ſettlements, from the diſcovery of Sebaſtian Cabot, who, in 1497, firſt made the northern continent of America, in the ſervice of Henry VII. of England. No attempts, however, were made to ſettle it till the reign of queen Elizabeth. It was then ſir Walter Raleigh, a man

of

of the moſt enterpiſing genius of any in that age, applied to court, and got together a company which was compoſed of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, and ſeveral eminent merchants, who agreed to open a trade, and ſettle a colony in that part of the world, which, in honor of queen Elizabeth, he called Virginia. Towards the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, ſeveral attempts were made for ſettling this colony, before any proved ſucceſsful. The three firſt companies who ſailed into Virginia, periſhed through hunger and diſeaſes, or were cut off by the Indians. The fourth was reduced almoſt to the ſame ſituation; and being dwindled to a feeble remainder, had ſet ſail for England, in deſpair of living in ſuch an uncultivated country, inhabited by ſuch hoſtile and warlike ſavages. But in the mouth of Cheſapeak bay they were met with lord Delaware, with a ſquadron loaded with proviſions, and with every thing neceſſary for their relief and defence. At his perſuaſion they returned: by his advice, his prudence, and winning behaviour, the internal government of the colony was ſettled, and its defence provided for. This nobleman, who had accepted the government from the nobleſt motives was compelled, by the decayed ſtate of his health, to return into England. He left behind him, however, his ſon as deputy; with ſir Thomas Gates, ſir George Summers, the honourable George Piercy, and Mr. Newport for his council. By them James-Town, the firſt town built by the Engliſh in the New World, was erected.

The colony continued to flouriſh, and the true ſources of its wealth began to be diſcovered and improved. The firſt ſettlers, like thoſe of Maryland, were generally perſons of conſideration and diſtinction. It remained a ſteady ally to the royal party, during the troubles of great Britain. Many of the cavaliers, in danger at home, took refuge here; and under the government of ſir William Berkley, held out for the crown, until the parliament, rather by ſtratagem than force, reduced them. After the reſtoration there is nothing very intereſting in the hiſtory of this province. Soon after this time, a young gentleman, named Bacon, a lawyer, availed himſelf of ſome diſcontents in the colony, on account of reſtraints in trade, became very popular, and put every thing in confuſion. His natural death, however, reſtored peace and unanimity; and the inhabitants of Virginia ceaſed to deſtroy themſelves.

The government of this province was not at firſt adapted to the principles of the Engliſh conſtitution, and to the enjoyment of that liberty to which a ſubject of Great Britain thinks himſelf entitled in every part of the globe. It

was

was governed by a governor and council, appointed by the king of Great Britain. As the inhabitants increaſed, the inconveniency of this form became more grievous; and a new branch was added to the conſtitution, by which the people, who had formerly no influence, were allowed to elect their repreſentatives from each county, into which this country is divided, with privileges reſembling thoſe of the repreſentatives of the commons of England. Thus two houſes, the upper and lower houſe of aſſembly, were formed. The upper houſe, which was before called the council, remained on its former footing; its members were appointed, during pleaſure, by the crown; they were ſtyled Honourable, and anſwered, in ſome meaſure, to the houſe of peers in the Britiſh conſtitution. The lower houſe was the guardian of the people's liberty. And thus, with a governor repreſenting the king, an upper and lower houſe of aſſembly, this government bore a ſtriking reſemblance to our own. When any bill had paſſed the two houſes, it came before the governor, who gave his aſſent or negative as he thought proper. It now acquired the force of a law, until it was tranſmitted to England, and his majeſty's pleaſure known on that ſubject. The upper houſe of aſſembly acted not only as a part of the legiſlature, but alſo as a privy-council to the governor, without whoſe concurrence he could do nothing of moment; it ſometimes acted as a court of Chancery. The preſent government of this province, as ſettled in convention at Williamſ-
A.D. 1776. burg, is, that the legiſlature, executive and judiciary departments be ſeparate and diſtinct; and that the houſe of delegates be choſen annually by the freeholders.

In this country, one may travel an hundred miles without meeting with a hill. In ſummer the heats are exceſſive, though not without refreſhing breezes from the ſea. The weather is changeable, and the change is ſudden and violent. To a warm day there ſometimes ſucceeds ſuch an intenſe cold in the evening, as to freeze over the largeſt rivers. Towards the ſea ſhore and the banks of the rivers, the ſoil of Virginia conſiſts of a dark rich mould, which, without manure, returns plentifully whatever is committed to it. The variety and perfection of the vegetable productions are aſtoniſhing. The foreſts are covered with all ſorts of loſty trees; and no underwood or buſhes grow beneath; ſo that the people travel with eaſe on horſeback, under a fine ſhade to defend them from the ſun; the plains are enamelled with flowers and flowering ſhrubs of the richeſt colours and moſt fragrant ſcent. Silk grows ſpontaneous

taneouſly in many places, the fibres of which are ſtrong as hemp. Medicinal herbs and roots, particularly the ſnake-root and the ginſeng of the Chineſe, are here in great plenty. There is no ſort of grain but might be cultivated to advantage. The inhabitants, however, are ſo engroſſed with the culture of the tobacco-plant, which is here of a ſuperior quality to what any other country affords, that they think, if corn, ſufficient for their ſupport, can be reared, they do enough in this way.

Tobacco is a ſharp cauſtic, which has been formerly of great repute, and is ſtill uſed in medicine. Every one is acquainted with the general conſumption of it, by chewing, ſmoking, or taking ſnuff. It was diſcovered by the Spaniards, who found it firſt A.D. 1520. in the Jucatan, a large peninſula in the gulf of Mexico, from whence it was carried into the neighbouring iſlands. Soon after, the uſe of it became a matter of diſpute among the learned, which the ignorant alſo took a part in; and thus tobacco acquired ſome reputation. By degrees, faſhion and cuſtom have greatly extended its conſumption, in all parts of the known world. It is at preſent cultivated with more or leſs ſucceſs in Europe, Aſia, Africa, and ſeveral parts of America. The ſtem of this plant is ſtraight, hairy, and viſcous; its leaves are thick, flabby, and of a pale green colour. They are larger at the bottom than at the ſummit of the plant. It requires a binding ſoil, but rich, even, and deep, and not too much expoſed to inundations. A virgin ſoil is very fit for this vegetable, which requires a great deal of moiſture. The ſeeds of the tobacco are ſown upon beds. When it has grown to the height of two inches, and has got at leaſt half a dozen leaves, it is generally pulled up in damp weather, and tranſplanted with great care into a well prepared ſoil, where the plants are placed at the diſtance of three feet from each other. When they are put into the ground with theſe precautions, their leaves do not ſuffer the leaſt injury; and all their vigour is renewed in four and twenty hours. The cultivation of tobacco requires continual attention. The weeds which grow round it muſt be plucked up; the head of it muſt be cut off when it is two feet and a half from the ground, to prevent it from growing too high; it muſt be ſtripped of all ſprouting ſuckers; the leaves which grow too near the bottom of the ſtem, thoſe that are in the leaſt inclined to decay, and thoſe which the inſects have touched, muſt all be picked off, and their number reduced to eight or ten at moſt. One induſtrious man is able to take care of two thouſand five

hundred

hundred plants, which ought to yield one thouſand weight of tobacco. It is left about four months in the ground. As it advances to maturity, the pleaſant and lively green colour of its leaves is changed into a darker hue; the leaves are alſo curved, the ſcent of them grows ſtronger, and extends to a great diſtance. The plant is then ripe and muſt be cut. The plants, when collected, are laid in heaps upon the ſame ground that produced them, where they are left to exude only for one night. The next day they are laid up in warehouſes, conſtructed in ſuch a manner that the air may have free acceſs to them on all ſides. They are left ſeparately ſuſpended for ſuch a time as is neceſſary to dry them properly. They are then ſpread upon hurdles, and well covered over, where they ferment for a week or two. At laſt they are ſtripped of their leaves, which are either put into barrels, or made into rolls. The other methods of preparing the plant, which vary according to the different taſtes of the ſeveral nations that uſe it, have nothing to do with its cultivation. Of all the countries in which tobacco has been planted, there is none where it has anſwered ſo well as in Virginia and Maryland. As it was the only occupation of the firſt planters, they often cultivated much more than they could find a ſale for. They were then obliged to ſtop the growth of the plantations in Virginia, and to burn a certain number of plants in every plantation throughout Maryland. But, in proceſs of time, the uſe of this herb became ſo general that they have been obliged to increaſe the number both of the whites and blacks who were employed in preparing it. At preſent each of the provinces furniſhes nearly an equal quantity. That of Virginia, which is the mildeſt, the moſt perfumed, and the dearеſt, is conſumed in England and in the ſouthern parts of Europe. That of Maryland is fitter for the northern climates on account of its cheapneſs, and even its coarſeneſs, which makes it adapted to leſs delicate organs.

Virginia has produced ſome men of great abilities, who were very active in effecting the late important revolution in America. Her political and military character will rank among the firſt in the page of hiſtory. But it is to be obſerved that this character has been obtained for the Virginians by a few eminent men, who have taken the lead in all their public tranſactions, and who, in ſhort, govern Virginia; for the great body of the people do not concern themſelves with politics; ſo that their government, though nominally republican, is, in fact, oligarchal or ariſtocratical. The climate and external appearance of the country,

ſays

ſays a ſenſible traveller *, conſpire to make them indolent, eaſy, and good-natured; extremely fond of ſocicty, and much given to convivial pleaſures, in conſequence of this they ſeldom ſhow any ſpirit of enterprize, or expoſe themſelves willingly to fatigue. Their authority over their ſlaves renders them vain and imperious, and entire ſtangers to that elegance of ſentiment, which is ſo peculiarly characteriſtic of refined and poliſhed nations. Their ignorance of mankind and of learning, expoſed them to many errors and prejudices, eſpecially in regard to Indians and negroes, whom they ſcarcely conſider as of the human ſpecies; ſo that it is almoſt impoſſible, in caſes of violence, or even murder, committed upon thoſe unhappy people by any of the planters, to have the delinquents brought to juſtice; for either the grand jury refuſe to find the bill, or the petit-jury bring in their verdict, not guilty. The young men, generally ſpeaking, are gamblers, cock-fighters, and horſe-jockies. To hear them converſe, you would imagine that the grand point of all ſcience was properly to fix a gaff, and touch, with dexterity, the tail of a cock, while in combat. He who won the laſt match, the laſt game, or the laſt horſe-race, aſſumes the airs of a hero or German potentate. The ingenuity of a Locke, or the diſcoveries of a Newton, are conſidered as infinitely inferior to the accompliſhments of him who knows when to ſhoulder a blind cock, or ſtart a fleet horſe. A ſpirit for literary inquiries, if not altogether confined to a few, is, among the body of the people, evidently ſubordinate to a ſpirit of gaming and barbarous ſports. At almoſt every tavern or ordinary on the public road, there is a billiard table, a back-gammon table, cards, and other implements for various games. To theſe public houſes, the gambling gentry in the neighbourhood reſort to kill *time*, which hangs heavily upon them; and at this buſineſs they are extremely expert, having been accuſtomed to it from their earlieſt youth. The paſſion for cock-fighting, a diverſion not only inhumanly barbarous, but infinitely beneath the dignity of a man of ſenſe, is ſo predominant, that they even advertiſe their matches in the public newſpapers. This diſſipation of manners is the fruit of indolence and luxury, which are the fruit of the African ſlavery.

Though an entire toleration was allowed to all religions in this country, there were, before the commencement of the civil war, few diſſenters from the church of England. The biſhop of London uſed to ſend over a ſuperintend-

* Burnaby.

ant

ant to inſpect the characters of clergymen who lived comfortably here (a prieſt to each pariſh) with about 100l. per annum paid in tobacco. Here is alſo a college founded by king William, called William and Mary college, who gave 200l. towards it, and 20,000 acres of land, with power to purchaſe and hold lands to the value of 2000l. a year, and a duty of one penny per pound on all tobacco exported to the other plantations. There is a preſident, ſix profeſſors, and other officers, who are named by the governors or viſitors. The honourable Mr. Boyle made a very large donation to the college for the education of Indian children. The preſbyterian denomination of Chriſtians is the moſt numerous in this province; for though the firſt ſettlers were Epiſcopalians, yet, through the indolence of the clergy, two-thirds of the people had become diſſenters at the commencement of the late revolution.

It ſeems as if all the provinces of North America were planted from motives of religion. *Maryland*, like thoſe we have formerly deſcribed, owes its ſettlement to religious conſiderations. When the accuſation of being favourable to popery had alienated the minds of the people from that weak and unfortunate prince, Charles the Firſt, he was obliged to give the Catholics up to the rigour of the laws enacted againſt them by Henry the Eighth. Theſe circumſtances induced lord Baltimore to ſeek an aſylum in Virginia, where he might be indulged in a liberty of conſcience. As he found there no toleration for an excluſive ſyſtem of faith, which was itſelf intolerant, he formed the deſign of a new ſyſtem for that uninhabited part of the the country which lay between the river Potowmack and Pennſylvania. His death, which happened ſoon after he had obtained powers from the crown for peopling this land, put a ſtop to the project for that time; but it was reſumed from the ſame religious motives by his ſon.

A.D. 1633. This young nobleman left England with two hundred Roman Catholics, moſt of them of good families. The education they had received, the cauſe of religion, for which they left their country, and the fortune which their leader promiſed them, prevented thoſe diſturbances which are but too common in infant ſettlements. The neighbouring ſavages, won by mildneſs and acts of beneficence, concurred with eagerneſs to aſſiſt the new coloniſts in forming their ſettlement. With this unexpected help, theſe fortunate perſons, attached to each other by the ſame principles of religion, and directed by the prudent council of their chief, applied themſelves unanimouſly to every kind of uſeful labour: the view of the peace and happineſs

pineſs they enjoyed invited among them a number of men who were either perſecuted for the ſame religion, or for different opinions. The Catholics of Maryland gave up at length the intolerant principles, of which they themſelves had been the victims, after having firſt ſet the example of them, and opened the doors of their colony to all ſects of what religious principles ſoever. Baltimore alſo granted the moſt extenſive civil liberty to every ſtranger who choſe to purchaſe lands in his new colony, the government of which was modelled upon that of the mother country. Theſe wiſe precautions, however, did not ſecure the governor, at the time of the ſubverſion of the monarchy, from loſing all the rights and conceſſions that he had obtained. Deprived of his poſſeſſions by Cromwell, he was reſtored to them by Charles the Second; after which they were again diſputed with him. Though he was perfectly clear from any reproach of mal-adminiſtration, and much attached to the intereſts of the Stuarts, yet he had the mortification of finding the legality of his charter attacked under the arbitrary reign of James the Second, and of being obliged to maintain an action at law for the juridiction of a province which had been ceded to him by the crown, and which he himſelf had peopled. This prince, whoſe misfortune it had always been not to diſtinguiſh his friends from his foes, and who had alſo the ridiculous pride to think, that regal authority was ſufficient to juſtify every act of violence, was preparing, a ſecond time, to deprive Baltimore, of what had been given him by the two kings, his father and his brother; when he was himſelf removed from the throne, which he was ſo unfit to fill. The ſucceſſor of this weak deſpotic prince terminated this conteſt, which had ariſen before his acceſſion to the crown, in a manner worthy of his political character. He left the Baltimores in poſſeſſion of their revenues, but deprived them of their authority, which, however, they alſo recovered upon becoming members of the church of England.

The government of this country exactly reſembled that in Virginia, except that the governor was appointed by the proprietor, and only confirmed by the crown. The cuſtoms too were reſerved to the crown, and the officers belonging to them were independent of the government of the province. At length, as the proteſtants became far more numerous, they excluded the papiſts from all offices of truſt and power, and even adopted the penal laws of England againſt them. The church of England was by law eſtabliſhed here, and the clergy were paid in tobacco: a tax for this purpoſe was annually levied, and every male white

perſon above the age of ſixteen was obliged to pay forty pounds of tobacco; or if he raiſed no tabacco, he muſt take an oath that he did not, and pay the value in caſh; diſſenting clergymen were not exempted. But ſince the civil war, by the declaration of rights and the conſtitution A. D. 1776. agreed to in the convention of delegates at Annapolis, the legiſlature is now to conſiſt of two diſtinct branches, the ſenate and the houſe of delegates; the latter to be annually choſen, *viva voce*, by the freeholders in each county. All perſons appointed to any office of profit or truſt, are to ſubſcribe a declaration of their belief in the Chriſtian religion.

The inhabitants of Maryland, except in populous towns, live on their plantations, often ſeveral miles diſtant from each other. To an inhabitant of the middle, and eſpecially of the eaſtern ſtates, which are very populous, they appear to live very retired and unſocial lives. The effects of this comparative ſolitude are viſible in the countenances, as well as in the manners and dreſs of the country people. You obſerve very little of that chearful ſprightlineſs of look and action which is the invarible and genuine offspring of ſocial intercourſe. Nor do you find that attention paid to dreſs, which is common, and which decency and propriety have rendered neceſſary, among people who are liable to receive company almoſt every day. Unaccuſtomed, in a great meaſure, to theſe frequent and friendly viſits, they often ſuffer a negligence in their dreſs which borders on ſlovenlineſs. There is apparently a diſconſolate wildneſs in their countenances, and an indolence and inactivity in their whole behaviour, which are evidently the effects of ſolitude and ſlavery. As the negroes perform all the manual labour, their maſters are left to ſaunter away life in ſloth, and too often in ignorance. Theſe obſervations, however, muſt in juſtice be limited to the people in the country, and to thoſe particularly, whoſe poverty or parſimony prevents their ſpending a part of their time in populous towns, or otherwiſe mingling with the world. And with theſe limitations they will equally apply to all the ſouthern ſtates. The inhabitants of the populous towns, and thoſe from the country who have intercourſe with them, are in their manners and cuſtoms like the people of the other ſtates in like ſituations. That pride which grows on ſlavery, and is habitual to thoſe who, from their infancy, are taught to believe and to feel their ſuperiority, is a viſible characteriſtic of the inhabitants of Maryland. But with this characteriſtic we muſt not fail to connect that of hoſpitality to ſtrangers, which is equally univerſal and obvious, and is, perhaps, in part, the offspring

offspring of it. The inhabitants are made up of various nations of many different religious ſentiments; few general obſervations, therefore, of a characteriſtical kind will apply

CHAP. VI.

Of North and South Carolina.

CAROLINA was diſcovered by the Spaniards, ſoon after the firſt expeditions into the New world; but as they found no gold there to ſatisfy their avarice, they paid no attention to it. Admiral Coligny, with more prudence and ability, opened an aſylum there to the induſtry of the French proteſtants; but the fanaticiſm that purſued them ſoon deſtroyed all their hopes, which were totally loſt in the murder of that juſt, humane, and enlightened man. Some Engliſh ſucceeded them towards the end of the 16th century: who, by an unaccountable caprice, were induced to abandon this fertile region, in order to go and cultivate a more unfertile ſoil, in a leſs agreeable climate. There was not a ſingle European remaining in Carolina, when the lords Berkeley, Clarendon, Albemarle, Craven and Aſhley; ſir George Carteret, ſir William Berkeley, and ſir William Colleton obtained from Charles II. A. D. 1663. a grant of that fine country. The plan of government for this new colony was drawn up by the famous Locke. A philoſopher, who was a friend to mankind, and to that moderation and juſtice which ought to be the rule of their actions, could not find better means to oppoſe the prevalence of fanaticiſm, than by an unlimited toleration in matters of religion; but not daring openly to attack the prejudices of his time, which were as much the effect of the virtues as of the crimes of the age, he endeavoured, at leaſt, to reconcile them, if poſſible, with a principle of reaſon and humanity. The wild inhabitants of America, ſaid he, have no idea of a revelation; it would, therefore, be the height of extravagance to make them ſuffer for their ignorance. The different ſects of Chriſtians, who might come to people the colony, would, without doubt, expect a liberty of conſcience there, which prieſts and princes refuſe them in Europe: nor ſhould Jews or Pagans be rejected on

account of a blindneſs, which lenity and perſuaſion might contribute to remove. Such was Mr. Lock's reaſoning with men prejudiced and influenced by opinions, which no one had hitherto taken the liberty to call in queſtion. Diſguſted with the troubles and misfortunes which the different ſyſtems of religion had given birth to in Europe, they readily acquieſced in the arguments he propoſed to them. They admitted toleration in the ſame manner as intolerance is received, without examining into the merits of it. The only reſtriction laid upon this ſaving principle was, that every perſon, claiming the protection of that ſettlement, ſhould, at the age of ſeventeen, regiſter himſelf in ſome particular communion. The Engliſh philoſopher was not ſo favourable to civil liberty. Whether it were, that thoſe, who had fixed upon him to trace out a plan of government, had reſtrained his views, as will be the caſe of every writer, who employs his pen for great men, or miniſters; or whether Locke, being more of a metaphyſician than a ſtateſman, purſued philoſophy only in thoſe tracts which had been opened by Deſcartes and Leibnitz; it is certain that the ſame man, who had diſſipated and deſtroyed ſo many errors in his theory concerning the origin of ideas, made but very feeble and uncertain advances in the path of legiſlation *.

The code of Carolina, by a ſingularity not to be accounted for in an Engliſhman and a philoſopher, gave to the eight proprietors, who founded the ſettlement, and to their heirs, not only all the rights of a monarch, but likewiſe all the powers of legiſlation. The court, which was compoſed of this ſovereign body, and was called the Palatine Court, was inveſted with the right of nominating to all employments and dignities, and even with that of conferring nobility; but with new and unprecedented titles. For inſtance, they were to create, in each county, two Caciques, each of whom was to be poſſeſſed of twenty-four thouſand acres of land; and a Landgrave, who was to have four-ſcore thouſand. The perſons on whom theſe honours ſhould be beſtowed, were to compoſe the upper houſe; and their poſſeſſions were made unalienable; a circumſtance totally inconſiſtent with good policy. They had only the right of farming or letting out a third part of them at the moſt for the term of three lives. The lower houſe was compoſed of the deputies from the ſeveral counties and towns. The number of this repreſentative body was to be increaſed in proportion as the colony grew more populous. No tenant was to pay more than about one ſhilling, per acre; and even this rent was redeemable. All the inhabitants, however, both ſlaves and freemen, were under a obligation to take up arms upon the

* Abbé Raynal.

firſt

firſt order they ſhould receive from the Palatine court. It was not long before the defects of a conſtitution, in which the powers of the ſtate were ſo unequally divided, began to be diſcerned. The proprietory lords, influenced by deſpotic principles, uſed every endeavour to eſtabliſh an arbitrary government. On the other hand, the coloniſts, who were not ignorant of the general rights of mankind, exerted themſelves with equal zeal to avoid ſervitude. From this ſtruggle of oppoſite intereſts aroſe an inevitable confuſion, which put a ſtop to every uſeful exertion of induſtry. The whole province, diſtracted with quarrels, diſſentions, and tumult, was rendered incapable of making any progreſs, though great improvements had been expected from the peculiar advantages of its ſituation. Nor were theſe evils ſufficient to call for a redreſs, which was only to ariſe from the exceſs to which they were carried.

Granville, who, as the oldeſt of the proprietors, A. D. 1705. was ſole governor of the colony, formed the reſolution of obliging all the non-conformiſts, who were two-thirds of the people, to embrace the forms of worſhip eſtabliſhed in England. This act of violence, though diſavowed, and rejected by the mother country, inflamed the minds of the people. While this animoſity was ſtill ſubſiſting, the province was attacked by ſeveral bands of ſavages, driven to deſpair by a continual courſe of the moſt atrocious inſolence and injuſtice. Theſe unfortunate wretches were all conquered and put to the ſword; but the courage and vigour, which this war revived in the breaſts of the coloniſts, was the prelude to the fall of their oppreſſors. Thoſe tyrants having refuſed to contribute to the expences of an expedition, the immediate benefits of which they claimed to themſelves, were all expecting Carteret, who ſtill preſerved one-eighth of the country, ſtripped A. D. 1778. of their prerogatives, which they had only made an ill uſe of. They received, however, 23,625*l.* by way of compenſation. From this time, the crown reſumed the government, and in order to give the colony a foretaſte of its moderation, gave it the ſame conſtitution as the reſt. It was likewiſe divided into two ſeparate governments, under the names of North and South Carolina, in order to faciliate the adminiſtration of it. It is from this happy period, that the proſperity of this great province is to be dated.

North-Carolina, on the ſea-coaſt, is a level country, of which a great porportion is covered with foreſts. About ſixty miles from the ſea, it riſes into hills and mountains. Newbern, Edenton, Wilmington, Halifax and Hillſborough, have each in their turns been conſidered as capitals

of the ſtate. At preſent they have no capital. The convention which met to conſider the new conſtitution, fixed on a place in Wake county to be the ſeat of government, but the town is not yet built. The North Carolinians are moſtly planters, and live from half a mile to three or four miles from each other, on their plantations. They have little intercourſe with ſtrangers, and a natural fondneſs for ſociety, which induce them to be hoſpitable to travellers. In the lower diſtricts the inhabitants have very few places for public and weekly worſhip of any kind; and theſe few, being deſtitute of miniſters, are ſuffered to ſtand neglected. The ſabbath of courſe, which, in moſt civilized countries, is profeſſionally and externally, at leaſt, regarded as holy time, and which, conſidered merely in a civil view, is an excellent eſtabliſhment for the promotion of cleanlineſs, friendſhip, harmony, and all the ſocial virtues, is here generally diſregarded, or diſtinguiſhed by the convivial viſitings of the white inhabitants, and the noiſy diverſions of the negroes. The general topic, of converſation among the men, when cards, the bottle, and occurences of the day do not intervene, are negroes, the prices of indigo, rice, tobacco, &c. They appear to have as little taſte for the ſciences as for religion. Political enquiries and philoſophical diſquiſitions, are attended to by a few men of genius and induſtry, but are too laborious for the indolent minds of the people at large. Leſs attention and reſpect are paid to the women here, than in thoſe parts of the United States where the inhabitants have made greater progreſs in the arts of civilized life. Indeed, it is a truth, confirmed by obſervation, that in proportion to the advancement of civilization, in the ſame proportion will reſpect for the women be increaſed; ſo that the progreſs of civilization in countries, in ſtates, in towns, and in families, may be marked by the degree of attention which is paid by huſbands to their wives, and by the young men to the young women. Temperance and induſtry are not to be reckoned among the virtues of the North Carolinians. The time which they waſte in drinking, idling, and gambling, leaves them but very little opportunity to improve their plantations or their minds. The improvement of the former is left to their overſeers and negroes; the improvement of the latter is too often neglected. Were the time, which is thus waſted, ſpent in cultivating the ſoil, and in treaſuring up knowledge, they might be both wealthy and learned; for they have a productive country, and are by no means deſtitute of genius.

By the conſtitution of this ſtate, which was ratified in December, 1776, all legiſlative authority is veſted in two diſtinct

diſtinct branches, both dependent on the people, viz. a ſenate and houſe of commons, which, when convened for buſineſs, are ſtyled the *General Aſſembly*.

In *South-Carolina*, the vegetation of every kind of plant is incredibly quick. The climate and ſoil have ſomething in them ſo kindly, that the latter, when left to itſelf, naturally throws out an immenſe quantity of flowers and flowering ſhrubs. All the European plants arrive at perfection here beyond that in which their native country affords them. At an hundred miles diſtance from Charles Town, the ſoil is of a prodigious fertility, fitted for every purpoſe of human life, nor can any thing be imagined more pleaſant to the eye than the variegated diſpoſition of the back country. Here the air is pure and wholeſome, and the ſummer heat much more temperate than in the flat ſandy coaſt. Both the Carolinas produce quantities of honey, of which they make excellent ſpirits, and mead as good as Malaga ſack. Of all theſe, the three great ſtaple commodities at preſent are, indigo, rice, and the produce of the pine. Nothing ſurpriſes an European more at firſt ſight, than the ſize of the trees here, as well as in Virginia and other American countries. Their trunks are often from fifty to ſeventy feet high, without a branch or limb; and frequently above thirty-ſix feet in circumference. Of theſe trunks when hollowed, the people of Charles-Town, as well as the Indians, make canoes, which ſerve to tranſport proviſions and other goods from place to place; and ſome of them are ſo large, that they will carry thirty or forty barrels of pitch, though formed of one entire piece of timber. Of theſe are likewiſe made curious pleaſure boats.

Charleſton is the only conſiderable town in South Carolina. It is ſituated on the tongue of land which is formed by the confluence of Aſhley and Cooper-rivers, which are large and navigable. Theſe rivers mingle their waters immediately below the town, and form a ſpacious and convenient harbour, which communicates with the ocean at Sullivan's Iſland, ſeven miles ſouth eaſt of the town. The land on which the town is built is flat and low, and the water brackiſh and unwholeſome. The inhabitants are obliged to raiſe banks of earth as barriers to defend themſelves againſt the higher floods of the ſea. The ſtreets from eaſt to weſt extend from river to river, and running in a ſtraight line, not only open beautiful proſpects each way, but afford excellent opportunities, by means of ſubterranean drains, for removing all nuiſances and keeping the city clean and healthy. Theſe ſtreets are interſected by others, nearly at right angles, and throw the town into a number of ſquares,

with dwelling-houſes in front, and office-houſes, and little gardens behind. The houſes which have been lately built, are brick, with tiled roofs. Some of the buildings in Charleſton are elegant, and moſt of them are neat, airy, and well furniſhed. The public buildings are an exchange, ſtate houſe, armoury, poor houſe, two large churches for epiſcopalians, two for congregationaliſts or independents, one for Scotch Preſbyterians, two for the Baptiſts, one for the German Lutherans, one for the methodiſts, one for French proteſtants; beſides a meeting-houſe for quakers, and two Jewiſh ſynagogues, one for the Portugueſe, the other for the German Jews.

The Jews in Charleſton, among other peculiarities in burying their dead, have this: after the funeral dirge is ſung, and juſt before the corpſe is depoſited in the grave, the coffin is opened, and a ſmall bag of earth, taken from the grave, is carefully put under the head of the deceaſed; then ſome powder, ſaid to be earth brought from Jeruſalem and carefully kept for this purpoſe, is taken and put upon the eyes of the corpſe, in token of their remembrance of the holy land; and of their expectation of returning thither in God's appointed time.

There is no peculiarity in the manners of the generality of the inhabitants of this ſtate, except what ariſes from the miſchievous influence of ſlavery; and, in this indeed, they do not differ from the inhabitants of the ſouthern ſtates. Slavery, by exempting great numbers from the neceſſities of labour, leads to luxury, diſſipation, and extravagance. The abſolute authority which is exerciſed over their ſlaves, too much favours a haughty, ſupercilious behaviour. The Carolinians, ſooner arrive at maturity, both in their bodies and minds, than the natives of colder climates. They poſſeſs a natural quickneſs and vivacity of genius ſuperior to the inhabitants of the north; but too generally want that enterpriſe and perſervance, which are neceſſary for the higheſt attainment in the arts and ſciences. They have, indeed, few motives to enterprize. Inhabiting a fertile country, which, by the labour of the ſlaves, produces plentifully, and creates affluence in a climate which favours indulgence, eaſe, and a diſpoſition for convivial pleaſures, they too generally reſt contented with barely knowledge enough to tranſact the common affairs of life.

Hunting is the moſt faſhionable amuſement in this ſtate. At this the country gentlemen are extremely expert, and with ſurpriſing dexterity purſue their game through the woods. Theatrical exhibitions have been prohibited in Charleſton. Gaming of all kinds is more diſcounted

nanced

nanced among faſhionable people in this, than in any of the ſouthern ſtates. Twice a year, ſtatedly, a claſs of ſportive gentlemen, in this and the neighbouring ſtates, have their horſe-races. Bets of ten and fifteen hundred guineas are ſometimes laid on theſe occaſions.

Gentlemen of fortune, before the late war, ſent their ſons to Europe for education. Since that time they have generally ſent them to the middle and northern ſtates. Thoſe who have been at this expence in educating their ſons, have been but comparatively few in number, ſo that the literature of the ſtate is at a low ebb. Since the peace, however, it has begun to flouriſh; and there are now ſeveral eminent academies, not only in Charleſton, but in other parts of the ſtate.

CHAP. VII.

Of Georgia.

CAROLINA and Spaniſh Florida are ſeparated from each other by a great tract of land, which extends one hundred and twenty miles from thence to the Apalachian mountains, and whoſe boundaries to the north and ſouth are the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha. The Engliſh miniſtry had been long deſirous of erecting a colony on this tract of country, that was conſidered as dependent upon Carolina. One of thoſe inſtances of benevolence, which liberty, the ſource of every patriotic virtue, renders more frequent in England than in any other country, ſerved to determine the views of government with regard to this place. A rich and humane citizen, at his death, left the whole of his eſtate to ſet at liberty ſuch inſolvent debtors as were detained in priſon by their creditors. Prudential reaſons of policy concurred in the performance of this will dictated by humanity; and the government gave orders, that ſuch unhappy priſoners as were releaſed, ſhould be tranſplanted into that deſert country, which was now intended to be peopled. It was named Georgia, in honour of the reigning ſovereign. This inſtance of reſpect, the more pleaſing as it was not the effect of flattery; and the execution of a deſign of ſo much real advantage to the ſtate, were entirely the work of the nation. The parliament added ten thouſand pounds to the eſtate left by the will of the citizen;

citizen; and a voluntary ſubſcription produced a much more conſiderable ſum. General Oglethorpe, a man who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Houſe of Commons by his taſte for great deſigns, by his zeal for his country, and his paſſion for glory, was fixed upon to direct theſe public finances, and to carry into execution ſo excellent a project. Deſirous of maintaining the reputation he had acquired, he himſelf choſe to conduct the firſt coloniſts that were ſent to Georgia; where he arrived in January 1733, and fixed his people on a ſpot ten miles diſtant from the ſea, in an agreeable and fertile place on the banks of the Savannah. This riſing ſettlement was called Savannah from the name of the river; and inconſiderable as it was in its infant ſtate, it was, however, to become the capital of a flouriſhing colony. It conſiſted at firſt of no more than one hundred perſons, but before the end of the year, the number was increaſed to ſix hundred and eighteen; of whom one hundred and twenty-ſeven had emigrated at their own expence. Three hundred men, and one hundred and thirteen women, one hundred and twelve lads, and eighty-three girls, formed the beginning of this new population, and the hopes of a numerous poſterity. This ſettlement was in-
A.D. 1735. creaſed by the arrival of ſome Scotch Highlanders. Their national courage induced them to accept an eſtabliſhment offered them upon the borders of the Alatamaha, to defend the colony, if neceſſary, againſt the attacks of the neighbouring Spaniards. Here they built the towns of Darien and Frederica, and ſeveral of their countrymen came over to ſettle among them.

In the ſame year, a great number of proteſtants driven out of Sattzburg by a fanatical prieſt, embarked for Georgia to enjoy peace and liberty of conſcience. At firſt they ſettled on a ſpot juſt above that of the infant colony; but they afterwards choſe to be at a greater diſtance, and to go as far down as the mouth of the Savannah, where they built a town, called Ebenezer. Some Switzers followed the example of theſe wiſe Saltzburghers, though they had not, like them, been perſecuted. They alſo ſettled on the banks of the Savannah; but at the diſtance of four and thirty miles from the Germans. Their colony, conſiſting of an hundred habitations, was named Puryſbury, from Pury, their founder, who having been at the expence of their ſettlement, was deſervedly choſen their chief, in teſtimony of their gratitude to him. In theſe four or five colonies, ſome men were found more inclined to trade than agriculture. Theſe, therefore, ſeparated from the reſt, in order to build the city Auguſta, two hundred and thirty miles diſtant from

the

the ocean. The goodneſs of the ſoil, though excellent in itſelf, was not the motive of their fixing upon this ſituation; but they were induced to it by the facility it afforded them of carrying on the peltry trade with the ſavages. Their project was ſo ſucceſsful, that as early as the year 1739, ſix hundred people were employed in this commerce. The ſale of theſe ſkins was with much greater facility carried on, from the circumſtance of the Savannah admitting the largeſt ſhips to ſail upon it as far as the walls of Auguſta.

The mother-country ought, one would imagine, to have formed great expectations from a colony, where ſhe had ſent near five thouſand men, and laid out 65,000l. excluſive of the voluntary contributions that had been raiſed by zealous patriots. But, to her great ſurpriſe, ſhe received information, in 1741, that there remained ſcarce a ſixth part of that numerous colony ſent to Georgia; who, being now totally diſcouraged, ſeemed only deſirous to fix in a more favourable ſituation. The reaſons of theſe calamities were inquired into and diſcovered. The colony, even in its infancy, brought forth the ſeeds of its decay. The government, together with the property of Georgia, had been ceded to individuals. The example of Carolina ought to have prevented this imprudent ſcheme; but nations any more than individuals, do not learn inſtruction from their paſt miſconduct. An enlightened government, though checked by the watchful eye of the people, is not always able to guard againſt every abuſe of its confidence. The Engliſh miniſtry, though zealouſly attached to the common welfare, ſacrificed the public intereſt to the rapacious views of intereſted individuals. The firſt uſe that the proprietors of Georgia made of the unlimited power they were inveſted with, was to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of legiſlation, that made them entirely maſters, not only of the police, juſtice, and finances of the country, but even of the lives and eſtates of its inhabitants. Every ſpecies of right was withdrawn from the people, who are the original poſſeſſors of them all. Obedience was required of the people, though contrary to their intereſt and knowledge; and it was conſidered here, as in other countries, as their duty and their fate. As great inconveniences had been found to ariſe in other colonies from large poſſeſſions, it was thought proper in Georgia to allow each family only fifty acres of land; which they were not permitted to mortgage, or even to diſpoſe of by will to their female iſſue. This laſt regulation of making only the male iſſue capable of inheritance was ſoon aboliſhed; but there ſtill remained too many obſtacles to excite a ſpirit

of

of emulation. It ſeldom happens that a man reſolves to leave his country, but upon the proſpect of ſome great advantage that works ſtrongly upon his imagination. All limits, therefore, preſcribed to his induſtry, are ſo many checks which prevent him from engaging in any project. The boundaries aſſigned to every plantation muſt neceſſarily have produced this bad effect. Several other errors ſtill affected the original plan of this country, and prevented its increaſe. The taxes impoſed upon the moſt fertile of the Engliſh colonies, were very inconſiderable, and even theſe were not levied till the ſettlements acquired ſome degree of vigour and proſperity. From its infant ſtate, Georgia had been ſubjected to the fines of a feudal government, with which it had been as it were fettered. The revenue raiſed by this kind of ſervice increaſed prodigiouſly in proportion as the colony extended itſelf. The founders of it, blinded by a ſpirit of avidity, did not perceive, that the ſmalleſt duty impoſed upon the trade of a populous and flouriſhing province, would much ſooner enrich them, than the largeſt fines laid upon a barren and uncultivated country.

To this ſpecies of oppreſſion was added another, which, however incredible it may appear, might ariſe from a ſpirit of benevolence. The planters of Georgia were not allowed the uſe of ſlaves. Carolina and ſome other colonies having been eſtabliſhed without their aſſiſtance, it was thought that a country deſtined to be the bulwark of thoſe American poſſeſſions, ought not to be peopled by a ſet of ſlaves, who could not be in the leaſt intereſted in the defence of their oppreſſors. But it was not at the ſame time foreſeen, that coloniſts, who were leſs favoured by their mother-country than their neighbours, who were ſituated in a country leſs ſuſceptible of tillage, and in a hotter climate, would want health and ſpirit to undertake a cultivation that required greater encouragement. The indolence, which ſo many obſtacles gave riſe to, found a further excuſe, in another prohibition that had been impoſed. The diſturbances produced by the uſe of ſpirituous liquors over all the continent of North America, induced the founders of Georgia to forbid the importation of rum. This prohibition, though well intended, deprived the coloniſts of the only liquor that could correct the bad qualities of the waters of the country, which were generally unwholeſome; and of the only means they had to reſtore the waſte of ſtrength and ſpirits that muſt be the conſequence of inceſſant labour. Beſides this, it prevented their commerce with

the

the Antilles, as they could not go thither to barter their wood, corn, and cattle, that ought to have been their moſt valuable commodities in return for the rum of thoſe iſlands. The mother-country, at length, perceived how much theſe defects in the political regulations and inſtitutions had prevented the increaſe of the colony, and freed them from the reſtraints they had before been clogged with. The government of Georgia was ſettled upon the ſame principles as that which had rendered Carolina ſo flouriſhing; and inſtead of being dependent on a few individuals, became one of the national poſſeſſions. From the time Georgia became a royal government, till the peace of Paris, in 1763, ſhe ſtruggled under many difficulties, ariſing from the want of credit, from friends, and the frequent moleſtations of enemies. The good effects of the peace were ſenſibly felt in the province of Georgia. From this time it began to flouriſh under the fatherly care of governor Wright. To form a judgment of the rapid growth of the colony, we need only attend to its exports. A. D. 1752.

In the year 1763, the exports of Georgia conſiſted of 7,500 barrels of rice, 9,633 pounds of indigo, 1,250 buſhels of Indian corn, which together with deer and beaver ſkins, naval ſtores, proviſions, timber, &c. amounted to no more than 27,021l. ſterling. Ten years afterwards, in 1773, it exported commodities to the value of 121,677l. ſterling.

During the late war, Georgia was over-run by the Britiſh troops, and the inhabitants were obliged to flee into the neighbouring ſtates for ſafety. The ſufferings and loſſes of her citizens were as great, in proportion to their numbers and wealth, as in any of the ſtates. Since the peace, the progreſs of the population of this ſtate has been aſtoniſhly rapid. Its growth in improvement and population has been checked by the hoſtile irruptions of the Creek Indians, which have been frequent, and very diſtreſſing to the frontier inhabitants for ſome years paſt. This formidable nation of Indians, headed by one Mac Gilvery, an inhabitant of Georgia, who ſided with the Britiſh in the late war, ſtill continues to haraſs the frontiers of this ſtate. Treaties have been held, and a ceſſation of hoſtilities agreed to between the parties; but all have hitherto proved ineffectual to the accompliſhment of a peace. It is expected that, under the new government conciliatory meaſures will be adopted, and tranquillity reſtored to the ſtate.

The numerous defects in the conſtitution of this ſtate induced the citizens, almoſt univerſally, to peti-
A.D. 1777 tion for a reviſion of it; when it was agreed, in convention, that the legiſlative, executive, and judiciary departments ſhould be diſtinct and ſeparate bodies.

Georgia has two towns, well known in trade. Savannah, the capital, is commodiouſly ſituated for an inland and foreign trade, about ten miles from the ſea, upon a noble river of the ſame name, which is navigable for 200 miles farther for large boats, to the ſecond town, called Auguſta, which ſtands in a country of the greateſt fertility, and carries on a conſiderable trade with the Indians. From the town of Savannah you ſee the whole courſe of the river towards the ſea; and, on the other hand, you ſee the river for about ſixty miles up into the country. About twelve miles from this metropolis, the Rev. George Whitefield, who uſed to croſs the Atlantic every ſecond year, founded an orphan-houſe academy; for the ſupport of which, in his itinerations, he collected large ſums of money from all denominations of Chriſtians both in England and America. Part of this money was expended in erecting proper buildings to accommodate ſtudents, and part in ſupporting them. In 1768, it was propoſed that the orphan-houſe ſhould be erected into a college. Whereupon Mr. Whitefield applied to the crown for a charter, which would have been readily granted, on condition that the preſident ſhould, in all ſucceſſions, be an epiſcopalian of the church of England. Several letters paſſed between the arch-biſhop of Canterbury and Mr. Whitefield on the ſubject, in which the arch-biſhop inſiſted on this condition. But Mr. Whitefield, though himſelf an epiſcopalian, declined it, alledging to his grace, that it would be unjuſt to limit that office to any particular ſect, when the donations for the foundation of the inſtitution had been made and entruſted to him by the various religious denominations, both in England and America. In conſequence of this diſpute, the affair of a charter was given up, and Mr. Whitefield made his aſſignment of the orphan-houſe to the counteſs of Huntingdon. Mr. Whitefield died at Newbury Port, in New England,
A. D. 1770. in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and was buried under the preſbyterian church in that place Soon after his death a charter was granted to his inſtitution n Georgia, and the Rev. Mr. Percy was appointed preſident of the college. Mr. Percy accordingly came over to execute his office, but, unfortunately, on the 30th of May, 1775, the orphan-houſe building caught fire, and was entirely

tirely conſumed, except the two wings, which are ſtill remaining. The American war ſoon after came on, and put every thing into confuſion, and the funds have ever ſince lain in an unproductive ſtate. It is probable that the college eſtate may hereafter be ſo incorporated with the univerſity of Georgia, as to anſwer, in ſome meaſure, the original and pious purpoſes of its founder.

CHAP. VIII.

New American States.

BESIDES the provinces above mentioned, other ſtates have lately riſen in North America, and it is in contemplation to form many more out of the immenſe extent of unappropriated territory.

Kentucky, belonging at preſent to the ſtate of Virginia, is bounded by the Ohio in its whole length. The greateſt part of the ſoil is amazingly fertile, and the climate is more temperate and healthy than any in the New World. The firſt white man we have any certain account of, who diſcovered this province, was one James M'Bride, who in company with ſome others, paſſing down the Ohio in canoes, landed at the mouth of Kentucky river, and there marked a tree with the firſt letters of his name, and the date, which remains to this day. Theſe men reconnoitred the country, and returned home with the pleaſing news of their diſcovery of the beſt tract of land in North America, and probably in the world. From this period it remained concealed till about the year 1767, when one John Finley and ſome others, trading with the Indians, fortunately travelled over the fertile region, now called Kentucky, then but known to the Indians by the name of the Dark and Bloody Grounds, and, ſometimes, the Middle Ground. This country greatly engaged Mr. Finley's attention. Some time after, diſputes ariſing between the Indians and traders, he was obliged to decamp; and returned to his place of reſidence in North Carolina, where he communicated his diſcovery to Colonel Daniel Boon, and a few more, who conceiving it an intereſting object, agreed, in the year 1769, to undertake a journey in order to explore it. After a long fatiguing march, over a mountainous wilderneſs, in a weſtward direction, they at length A. D. 1754.

length arrived upon its borders; and from the top of an eminence, with joy and wonder, decried the beautiful landſcape of Kentucky. Here they encamped, and ſome went to hunt for proviſions, which were readily procured, there being plenty of game, while Colonel Boon and John Finley made a tour through the country, which they found far exceeding their expectations; and, returning to camp, informed their companions of their diſcovery. But, in ſpite of this promiſing beginning, this company, meeting with nothing but hardſhips and adverſity, grew exceedingly diſheartened, and were plundered, diſperſed, and killed by the Indians, except colonel Boon, who continued an inhabitant of the wilderneſs until the year 1771, when he returned home. About this time Kentucky had drawn the attention of ſeveral gentlemen. Doctor Walker of Virginia, with a number more, made a tour weſtward for diſcoveries, endeavouring to find the Ohio river; and afterwards he and general Lewis, at Fort Stanwix, purchaſed from the five nations of Indians the lands lying on the north ſide of Kentucky. Colonel Donaldſon of Virginia, being employed by the ſtate to run a line from ſix miles above the Long Iſland, on Holſtein, to the mouth of the great Kanhaway, and finding thereby that an extenſive tract of excellent country would be cut off to the Indians, was ſolicited, by the inhabitants of Clench and Holſtein, to purchaſe the lands lying on the north ſide of Kentucky river from the Five Nations. This purchaſe he completed for five hundred pounds, ſpecie. It was then agreed to fix a boundary line, running from the Long Iſland on Holſtein to the head of Kentucky river; thence down the ſame to the mouth; thence up the Ohio to the mouth of Great Kanhaway; but this valuable purchaſe the ſtate refuſed to confirm. Colonel Henderſon, of North Carolina, being informed of this country by colonel Boon, he, and ſome other gentlemen, held a treaty with the Cherokee Indians at Wataga, and then
A. D. 1775. purchaſed from them the lands lying on the ſouth ſide of Kentucky river for goods, at valuable rates, to the amount of 6000l. ſpecie. Soon after this purchaſe, the ſtate of Virginia took the alarm, agreed to pay the money colonel Donaldſon had contracted for, and then diſputed colonel Henderſon's right of purchaſe, as a private gentleman of another ſtate, in behalf of himſelf. For his eminent ſervices, however, to this country, and for having been inſtrumental in making ſo valuable an acquiſition to Virginia, that ſtate was pleaſed to reward him with a tract of land, at the mouth of Green river, to the amount of 200,000 acres; and the ſtate of North Carolina

lina gave him the like quantity in Powel's valley. This region was formerly claimed by various tribes of Indians; whoſe title, if they had any, originated in ſuch a manner, as to render it doubtful which ought to poſſeſs it. Hence this fertile ſpot became an object of contention, a theatre of war, from which it was properly denominated the Bloody Grounds. Their contentions not being likely to decide the right to any particular tribe, as ſoon as Mr. Henderſon and his friends propoſed the purchaſe, the Indians agreed to ſell; and notwithſtanding the valuable conſideration they received, have continued ever ſince troubleſome neighbours to the new ſettlers. The progreſs in improvements and cultivation, which have been made in this country, almoſt exceeds belief. Eleven years ago Kentucky lay in foreſts, almoſt uninhabited but by wild beaſts. Now, notwithſtanding the united oppoſition of all the Indians, it exhibits an extenſive ſettlement, divided into ſeven large and populous counties, in which are a number of flouriſhing little towns, containing more inhabitants than are in Georgia, Delaware, and Rhode-Iſland ſtates, and nearly or quite as many as in New Hampſhire. An inſtance of the like kind, where a ſettlement has had ſo large and rapid a growth, can ſcarcely be produced from the page of hiſtory. An idea may be formed of the aſtoniſhing emigrations to this country, from the following account taken by the adjutant of the troops, ſtationed at Fort Harmer, at the mouth of the Muſkingum. From the 10th of October 1786, to the 12th of May 1787, were ſeen to paſs 177 boats, containing 2689 ſouls, 1353 horſes, 766 cattle, 112 waggons, and two phaetons, beſides a very conſiderable number that paſſed in the night unobſerved. It is at preſent peopled by above one hundred and fifty thouſand ſettlers. From the interior ſettlements of this vaſt country, America will derive her future greatneſs, and eſtabliſh new empires to rival, and perhaps outdo the ancient world.

The natural curioſities of Kentucky are aſtoniſhing and innumerable: caves are found amazingly large, in ſome of which you may travel ſeveral miles under a fine lime ſtone rock, ſupported by curious arches and pillars; in moſt of them run ſtreams of water. Near Lexington are to be ſeen curious ſepulchres, full of human ſkeletons. There are three ſprings, or ponds of bitumen near Green river; which diſcharge themſelves into a common reſervoir, and when uſed in lamps, anſwer all the purpoſes of the fineſt oil.*

* Morſe.

There are many alum banks, and different places abounding with copper, which, when refined, is equal to any in the world. At a ſalt ſpring near the Ohio river, very large bones have been found, far ſurpaſſing the ſize of any ſpecies of animals now in America; the head appears to have been conſiderably above three feet long. Doctor Hunter ſaid it could not be the elephant, and that from the form of the teeth it muſt have been carnivorous, and belonging to a race of animals now extinct. Specimens have been ſent both to France and England. What animal this is, and by what means its ruins are found in theſe regions, where none ſuch now exiſt, are very difficult queſtions, and variouſly reſolved. The variety of conjectures ſerves only to prove the futility of all. Among the natural curioſities of this place, the winding banks or rather precipices of Kentucky river, are particularly deſerving to be recorded. The aſtoniſhed eye there beholds almoſt every where three or four hundred feet of a ſolid perpendicular lime ſtone rock; in ſome parts a fine white marble. Theſe precipices are like the ſides of a deep trench or canal; the land above is level, and crowned with fine groves of red cedar.

The warbling tenants of the grove are here numerous, and exhibit all the variety of feathered beauty, as well as the melody of ſylvan ſong. The paroquet is common here, as is the ivory-bill wood-cock, of a whitiſh colour, with a white plume; the bill is pure ivory. Here is an owl like ours, but different in vociferation; it makes a ſurpriſing noiſe like a man in diſtreſs.

The ſtate of *Vermont* is a vaſt country, ſituated eaſtward of New-Hampſhire, ſouth of Maſſachuſets, and weſt of New York. It is one hundred and fifty three miles in length, and ſixty in breadth. The capital of the ſtate is Bennington. The Allens are the chiefs or head men of the country. It is governed by its own laws, independent of Congreſs and the ſtates. Hitherto it has been an object of contention between the ſtates of New York and New Hampſhire. The people had for a long time, no other name than Green Mountain boys, which they gallicized into Verdmont, and ſince corrupted into the eaſier pronunciation of Vermont.

The antique foreſts, into which the arm of man is juſt carrying the deſtructive axe, every where afford the moſt grand and ſublime proſpects. Little of the land of this ſtate is yet cleared, but the emigrations to it from other ſtates are conſiderable, and it will ſoon become well cultivated, and equal in fertility to the ſtates in its neighbourhood. Its population is ſaid already to amount to 150,000. The declaration which they made by their repreſentatives in convention, at

Windſor,

Windſor, on the 25th of December 1777, and which makes a part of their conſtitution, breathes as high a ſpirit of liberty as that of any of their neighbours. They aſſert that all men are born equally free, with equal rights, and ought to enjoy liberty of conſcience—freedom of the preſs—trial by jury---power to form new ſtates in vacant countries, and to regulate their own internal police---that all elections ought to be free---that all power is originally in the people---that government ought to be inſtituted for the common benefit of the community---and that the community have a right to to reform or aboliſh government---that every member of ſociety hath a right to protection of life, liberty, and property ---and in return, is bound to contribute his porportion of the expence of that protection, and yield his perſonal ſervice when neceſſary---that he ſhall not be obliged to give evidence againſt himſelf---that the people have a right to bear arms ---but no ſtanding army ſhall be maintained in time of peace ---that the people have a right to hold themſelves, their houſes, papers, and poſſeſſions free from ſearch or ſeizure, and therefore warrants, without oaths firſt made, affording ſufficient foundation for them, are contrary to that right, and ought not to be granted.

The ſtates of New York and Pennſylvania have *large tracts of fertile land*, extending to the lakes, proper for the forming of ſettlements, and very capital ones have lately been made. This country will in future prove one of the moſt advantageous commercial ſituations in America, having in a manner the key of Canada, and of all the northern Indian trade; the navigation extending from the weſtern ſea to the lakes, has no other obſtruction than ſmall portages, which, in time, will be converted into canals. The fur trade will chiefly centre in this country.

In the inland country of Virginia and North Carolina, the ſettlements, in many parts, extend to the mountains. In the eaſtern parts of Virginia, ſettlements have been made in the mountains themſelves, where ſome induſtrious Germans, who found the land in the vallies taken up, have eſtabliſhed conſiderable plantations. South Carolina has immenſe tracts of fertile land unſettled.

The ſtate of Virginia, poſſeſſing lands on the other ſide of the mountains, (and having more immediate communication with the Ohio country on the river), many thouſands have paſſed over them, and ſettled themſelves in that tract which lies between the mountains and the river. It is ſaid ſome emigrants have croſſed that river, and ſettled in the country bordering on the lakes.

By a late ſettlement, the country to the ſouthward of the Ohio, is included in the ſtate of Virginia. All the country to the northward of this great river, extending from Pennſylvania to the eaſt of the lakes on the north, and the Miſſiſſippi on the weſt, are intended to be divided by congreſs into ten new ſtates, viz. *Waſhington, Metropotamia, Peſiljppa Michigania, Illinoia, Cherſoneſus, Saratoga, Sylvania, Aſſenipi, Polypotamia.*

Theſe ten ſtates, ſpreading over an immeſe tract of land, are traverſed by the great river Ohio, in a courſe of one thouſand two hundred miles, receiving into its waters the innumerable rivers which are ſcattered over the whole country. On the north they are bounded by the five great lakes, *Superior, Michigan, Huron, Ere,* and *Ontario*; which empty themſelves into the river St. Laurence. On the eaſt they have the ſtates of New York, Pennſylvania, and Virginia, whoſe navigation, as well the St. Laurence, affords them a direct communication with the Atlantic Ocean. On the ſouth they are partly bounded by the mountains; and on the weſt by the vaſt river Miſſiſſippi, whoſe ſource is unknown, and which after flowing through the great continent of America, and admitting into its ſwelling waves the tributes of a thouſand waters, falls into the gulf of Mexico.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Weſt Indies in general—Hurricanes—Sugar-Plantations—Negroes—Slave-Trade.

THE climate in all the Weſt India iſlands is nearly the ſame, allowing for thoſe accidental differences which the ſeveral ſituations and qualities of the lands themſelves produce. As they lie within the tropics, and the ſun never recedes farther from any of them than about thirty degrees to the ſouth, they are continually ſubjected to the extreme of an heat, which would be intolerable, if the trade winds, riſing gradually as the ſun gathers ſtrength, did not blow in upon them from the ſea, and refreſh the air in ſuch a manner as to enable the inhabitants to attend their concerns, even under the meridian ſun. On the other hand, as night advances, a breeze begins to be perceived, which blows ſmartly from the land,

land, as it were from the centre, towards the ſea, to all points of the compaſs at once. By the ſame remarkable providence in the diſpoſing of things, it is, that when the ſun has made a great progreſs towards the tropic of Cancer, and becomes in a manner vertical, he draws after him ſuch a vaſt body of clouds, as ſhield them from his direct beams; and diſſolving into rain, cool the air, and refreſh the country, thirſty with the long drought, which commonly reigns from the beginning of January to the latter end of May.

The rains in the Weſt Indies are far more violent than with us. Our heavieſt rains are but dews comparatively. They are rather floods of water, poured from the clouds with prodigious impetuoſity; the rivers riſe in a moment; new rivers and lakes are formed, and in a ſhort time all the low country is under water*. Hence it is, that the rivers which have their ſource within the tropics, ſwell and overflow their banks at a certain ſeaſon; but ſo miſtaken were the ancients in their idea of the torrid zone, that they imagined it to be dryed and ſcorched up with a continual and fervent heat, and to be for that reaſon uninhabitable; when in reality, ſome of the largeſt rivers of the world have their courſe within its limits, and the moiſture is often one of the greateſt inconveniences of the climate. The rains make the only diſtinction of ſeaſons in the Weſt Indies; the trees are green the whole year round; they have no cold, no froſts, no ſnows, and but rarely ſome hail; the ſtorms of hail are, however, very violent when they happen, and the hail ſtones very great and heavy. Whether it be owing to this moiſture, which alone does not ſeem to be a ſufficient cauſe, or to the greater quantity of a ſulphureous acid, which predominates in the air, metals of all kinds that are ſubject to the action of ſuch cauſes, ruſt and canker in a very ſhort time; and this cauſe, perhaps as much as the heat itſelf, contributes to make the climate of the Weſt Indies unfriendly and unpleaſant to European conſtitutions. It is in the rainy ſeaſon, and chiefly in the month of Auguſt, that they are aſſaulted by hurricane; the moſt terrible calamity to which they are ſubject from the climate. This deſtroys at a ſtroke, the labours of many years, and proſtrate the moſt exalted hopes of the planter, and often juſt at a moment when he thinks himſelf out of the reach of fortune. It is a ſudden and violent ſtorm of wind, rain, thunder, and lightning, attended with a furious ſwelling of the ſeas, and ſometimes with an earthquake: in ſhort with every circumſtance, which the elements can aſſemble, that is terrible and deſtructive. Firſt they ſee as

* Wafer's Journey acroſs the Iſthmus of Darien.

the prelude to the enſuing havock, whole fields of ſugar-canes whirled into the air, and ſcattered over the face of the country. The ſtrongeſt trees of the foreſt are torn up by the roots and driven about like ſtubble; their wind-mills are ſwept away in a moment; their utenſils, the fixtures, the ponderous copper boilers, and ſtills of ſeveral hundred weight, are wrenched from the ground, and battered to pieces; their houeſs yield no protection; the roofs are torn off at one blaſt; whilſt the rain, which in an hour riſes five feet, ruſhes in upon them with an irreſiſtible violence.

The hurricanes come on either in the quarters, or at the full or change of the moon. If they happen at the full moon, the ſky is very turbulent, the ſun more red than at other times; a dead calm prevails, and the hills are clear of all thoſe clouds and miſts which uſually hover about them. In the clefts of the earth, and the wells, you hear a hollow rumbling ſound, like the ruſhing of a great wind. At night the ſtars ſeem much larger than uſual, and ſurrounded with a ſort of bars; the north weſt ſky has a black and menacing look; the ſea emits a ſtrong ſmell, and riſes into vaſt waves, often without any wind; the wind itſelf now forſakes its uſual ſteady eaſterly ſtream, and ſhifts about to the weſt from whence it ſometimes blows with intermiſſions, violently and irregularly, for about two hours at a time. The moon herſelf is ſurrounded with a great bar; ſometimes the ſun has the ſame appearance. Theſe are ſigns which the Indians of theſe iſlands taught our planters, by which they can prognoſticate the approach of a hurricane.

The grand ſtaple commodity of the Weſt Indians is ſugar; a commodity not at all known to the Greeks and Romans, though it was made in China in very early times, from whence we had the firſt knowledge of it; but the Portugueſe were the firſt who cultivated it in America, and brought it into requeſt, as one of the materials of very univerſal luxury in Europe. It is not ſettled whether the cane, from which this ſubſtance is extracted, be a native of America, or brought thither to their colony of Braſil, by the Portugueſe, from India and the coaſt of Africa; but, however that matter may be, in the beginning they made the moſt, as they ſtill do the beſt, ſugars which come to market, in this part of the world. The juice within the ſugar cane is the moſt lively, elegant, and leaſt cloying ſweet in nature; and which, ſucked raw, has proved extremely nutritive and wholeſome. From the molaſſes rum is diſtilled, and from the ſcumming of the ſugar a meaner ſpirit is procured. Rum finds its market in North America, where it is conſumed by the inhabitants, or employed in the African trade, or diſtributed from thence to the

fiſhery

fiſhery of Newfoundland, and other parts, beſides what comes to great Britain and Ireland. However, a very great quantity of molaſſes is taken off raw, and carried to New England to be diſtilled there. The tops of the canes, and the leaves which grow upon the joints, make very good provender for their cattle; and the refuſe of the cane, after grinding, ſerves for fire; ſo that no part of this excellent plant is without its uſe.

The ſugar cane commonly riſes eight or nine feet, including the leaves growing out of the top of it. Its moſt ordinary thickneſs is from two to four inches. It is covered with a hardiſh rind, which incloſes a ſpungy ſubſtance. It is interſected at intervals with joints, that ſerve as it were to ſtrengthen and ſupport it; but without impeding the circulation of the ſap, becauſe theſe joints are ſoft and pithy in the inſide. This plant hath been cultivated from the earlieſt antiquity in ſome countries of Aſia and Africa. About the middle of the twelfth century, it became known in Sicily, from whence it paſſed into the ſouthern provinces of Spain. It was afterwards tranſplanted into Maderia and the Canaries.

From theſe iſlands it was brought into the New World, where it ſucceeded as well as if it had been originally a native of it. All ſoils are not equally proper for it. Such as are rich and ſtrong, low and marſhy, environed with woods, or lately cleared, however large and tall the canes may be, produce only a juice that is aqueous, inſipid, of a bad quality, difficult to be boiled, purified and preſerved. Canes planted in ground, where they ſoon meet with ſoft ſtone or rock, have but a very ſhort duration, and yield but little ſugar. A light, porous, and deep ſoil, is by nature moſt favourable to this production. The general method of cultivating it, is to prepare a large field, to make, at the diſtance of three feet from one another, furrows eighteen inches long, twelve broad, and ſix deep; to lay in theſe, two, and ſometimes three ſlips of about a foot each, taken from the upper part of the cane, and to cover them lightly with earth. From each of the joints in the ſlips iſſues the ſtem, which in time becomes a ſugar-cane. Care ſhould be taken to clear it conſtantly from the weeds, which never fail to grow around it. This labour only continues for ſix months. The canes then are ſufficiently thick and near one another, to deſtroy every thing that might be prejudicial to their fertility. They are commonly ſuffered to grow eighteen months, and are ſeldom cut at any other time. From the ſtock of theſe iſſue ſuckers, which are, in their turn, cut fifteen months after.

This ſecond cutting yields only half of the produce of the firſt. The planters ſometimes make a third cutting, and even a fourth, which are always ſucceſſively leſs, however good the ſoil may be. Nothing, therefore, but want of hands for planting afreſh can oblige a planter to expect more than two crops from his cane. Theſe crops are not made in all the colonies at the ſame time. In the Daniſh, Spaniſh, and Dutch ſettlements, they begin in January and continue till October. This method does not imply any fixed ſeaſon for the maturity of the ſugar cane. The plant, however, like others, muſt have its progreſs; and it has been generally obſerved to be in flower in the months of November and December. It muſt neceſſarily follow from the cuſtom theſe nations have adopted of continuing to gather their crops for ten months without intermiſſion, that they cut ſome canes that are not ripe enough, and others that are too ripe, and then the fruit has not the requiſite qualities. The time of gathering them ſhould be at a fixed ſeaſon, and probably the months of March and April are the fitteſt for it; becauſe all the ſweet fruits are ripe at that time, while the ſour ones do not arrive to a ſtate of maturity till the months of July and Auguſt. The Engliſh cut their canes in March and April, but they are not induced to do this on account of their ripeneſs. The drought that prevails in their iſlands renders the rains which follow in September neceſſary to their planting; and as the canes are eighteen months in growing, this period always brings them to the preciſe point of maturity. In order to extract the juice of the canes, when cut, which ought to be done in four and twenty hours, they are paſſed between two cylinders of iron or copper, placed perpendicularly on an immoveable table. The motion of the cylinders is regulated by an horizontal wheel turned by oxen, or horſes; but, in water-mills, this horizontal wheel derives its movement from a perpendicular one, whoſe circumference, meeting a current of water, receives an impreſſion which turns it upon its axis. This motion is from right to left, if the current of water ſtrike the upper part of the wheel; from left to right, if the current ſtrike the lower part. From the reſervoir, where the juice of the cane is received, it falls into a boiler, where thoſe particles of water, which are moſt eaſily ſeparated, are made to evaporate. This liquor is is poured into another boiler, when a moderate fire makes it throw off its firſt ſcum. When it has loſt its clammy conſiſtence, it is made to run into a third boiler, where it throws up much more ſcum by means of an increaſed degree of heat. It then receives the laſt boiling in a fourth

cauldron, whoſe fire is three times ſtronger than the firſt. This laſt fire determines the ſucceſs of the proceſs. If it hath been well managed, the ſugar forms cryſtals that are larger or ſmaller, more or leſs bright, in proportion to the greater or leſs quantity of oil with which they abound. If the fire hath been too violent, the ſubſtance is reduced to a black and charcoal extract, which cannot produce any more eſſential ſalt. If the fire hath been too moderate, there remains a conſiderable quantity of extraneous oils, which diſtinguiſh the ſugar, and render it thick and blackiſh; ſo that when it is to be dried, it becomes always porous, becauſe the ſpaces which theſe oil filled up, remain empty.

As ſoon as the ſugar is cool, it is poured into earthen veſſels of a conic figure; the baſe of the cone is open, and its top has a hole, through which is carried off the water that has not formed any cryſtals. This is called the ſyrup. After this water hath flowed through, the raw ſugar remains, which is rich, brown, and ſalt. Moſt of the iſlands leave to Europeans the care of giving ſugar the other preparations, which are neceſſary to make it fit for uſe. This practice ſpares the expence of large buildings, leaves them more negroes to employ in agriculture, allows them to make their cultures without any interruption for two or three months together, and employs a greater number of ſhips for exportation. The French planters alone have thought it their intereſt to manage their ſugars in a different manner. To whatever degree of exactneſs the juice ſugar-cane may be boiled, there always remains an infinite number of foreign particles attached to the ſalts of ſugar, to which they appear to be what lees are to wine. Theſe give it a dead colour and the taſte of tartar, of which they endeavour to deprive it, by an operation called earthing. This conſiſts in putting the raw ſugars again into a new earthen veſſel, in every reſpect ſimilar to that already mentioned. The ſurface of the ſugar, throughout the whole extent of the baſis of the cone, is then covered with a white marl, on which water is poured. In filtering it through this marl, the water carries with it a portion of calcareous earth, which it finds upon the different ſaline particles, when this earth meets with oily ſubſtances to which it is united. This water is afterwards drained off through the opening of the top of the mould, and a ſecond ſyrup * is procured, which is ſo much the worſe in proportion as the ſugar is finer, and contains leſs extraneous oil: for then the calcareous earth, diſſolved by the water, paſſes alone, and carries

* Moloſſes.

with

with it all its acrid particles. This earthing is followed by the laſt preparation, which is effected by fire, and ſerves for the evaporating of the moiſture with which the ſalts are impregnated, during the proceſs of earthing. In order to do this, the ſugar is taken in its whole form out of the conical veſſel of earth, and conveyed into a ſtove, which receives from an iron furnace a gentle and gradual heat, where it is left till the ſugar is become very dry, which commonly happens at the end of three weeks. Though the expence which this proceſs requires, is in general uſeleſs, ſince the earthed ſugar is commonly refined in Europe in the ſame manner as the raw ſugar; all the inhabitants of the French iſlands, however, who are able to purify their ſugars in this manner, generally take this trouble. To a nation whoſe navy is weak, this method is extremely advantageous, as it enables it, in times of war, to convey into its own mother-country, the moſt valuable cargoes, with a leſs number of ſhips than if only raw ſugars were prepared *.

The value of ſyrup is only a tweſth of that of the price of ſugars. The beſt ſyrup is that which runs from the firſt veſſel into the ſecond, when the raw ſugar is made. It is compoſed of groſſer particles, which carry along with them the ſalts of ſugar. The ſyrup of an inferior kind, which is more bitter, and leſs in quantity, is formed by the water which carries off the tartareous and earthy particles of the ſugar, when it is waſhed. By means of fire, ſome ſugar is beſides extracted from the firſt ſyrup, which, after this operation, is of leſs value than the ſecond. Both theſe kinds are carried into the north of Europe, where the people uſe them inſtead of butter and ſugar. In North America they make the ſame uſe of them, where they are further employed to give fermentation and an agreeable taſte to a liquor called *Pruſs*, which is only an infuſion of the bark of a tree. This ſyrup is ſtill more uſeful, by the ſecret that has been diſcovered, of converting it, by diſtillation, into *rum*. This proceſs, which is very ſimple, is made by mixing a third part of ſyrup with two-thirds of water. When theſe two ſubſtances have ſufficiently fermented, which commonly happens at the end of twelve or fifteen days, they are put into a clean ſtill, where the diſtillation is made as uſual. The liquor that is drawn off is equal to the quantity of the ſyrup employed.

By the particulars we have ſeen, and by others which we may eaſily imagine, the expences of a plantation in the

* Abbé Raynal.

Weſt

Weſt Indies are very great, and the profits, at the firſt view, very precarious; for, the charg able articles of the windmill, the boiling, cooling, and diſtilling houſes, and the buying and ſupporting a ſuitable number of ſlaves and cattle, will not ſuffer any man to begin a ſugar plantation of any conſequence, not to mention the purchaſe of land, which is very high, under a capital of at leaſt 5000l. Neither is the life of a planter, if he means to acquire a fortune, a life of idleneſs and luxury; at all times he muſt keep a watchful eye upon his overſeers, and even overſee himſelf occaſionally. But at the boiling ſeaſon, if he is properly attentive to his affairs, no way of life can be more laborious and more dangerous to the health; from a conſtant attendance day and night, in the extreme united heats of the climate, and ſo many fiery furnaces; add to this the loſſes by hurricanes, earthquakes, and bad ſeaſons; and then conſider when the ſugars are in the caſk, that he quits the hazard of a planter, to engage in the hazard of a merchant, and ſhips his product at his own riſque. Notwithſtanding all this, there are no parts of the world, in which great eſtates are made in ſo ſhort a time, from the produce of the earth, as in the Weſt Indies. The produce of a few good ſeaſons generally provides againſt the ill effects of the worſt, as the planter is ſure of a ſpeedy and profitable market for his produce, which has a readier ſale than perhaps any other commodity in the world.

Large plantations are generally under the care of a manager, or chief overſeer, who has commonly a ſalary of 150l. a year, with overſeers under him in proportion to the greatneſs of the plantation, one to about thirty negroes, with a ſalary of about 40l. Such plantations too have a ſurgeon at a fixed ſalary, employed to take care of the negroes which belong to them. But the courſe which is leaſt troubleſome to the owner of the eſtates is, to let the land, with all the works, and the ſtock of cattle and ſlaves, to a tenant, who gives ſecurity for the payment of the rent and the keeping up repairs and ſtock. The eſtate is generally eſtimated to ſuch a tenant at half the net produce of the beſt years; ſuch tenants, if induſtrious and frugal men, ſoon make good eſtates for themſelves. The negroes in the plantations are ſupported at a very eaſy rate. This generally is by allotting to each family of them a ſmall portion of land, and allowing them two days in a week, Saturday and Sunday, to cultivate it. Some are ſupported in this manner, but others find their negroes a certain portion of Guinea or Indian corn, and, to ſome a ſalt herring, or a ſmall portion of bacon or ſalt pork a day. All the reſt of the

the charge conſiſts in a cap, a ſhirt, a pair of breeches, and a blanket; and the profits of their labour yield 10 or 12l. annually. The price of male negroes, upon their firſt arrival is from 30 to 36l. women and grown boys fifty ſhillings leſs; but ſuch negro families as are acquainted with the buſineſs of the iſland generally bring above 40l. upon an average one with another; and there are inſtances of a ſingle negro man, expert in buſineſs, bringing 150 guineas; and the wealth of a planter is generally computed from the number of ſlaves he poſſeſſes.

With regard to ſlavery, however, let none endeavour to juſtify by policy what morality condemns. Monteſquieu could not prevail upon himſelf to treat the queſtion concerning ſlavery in a ſerious light. He ſaid, it would be degrading reaſon to employ it, in refuting an abuſe ſo repugnant to it. A late eloquent writer delivers his ſentiments on the ſubject, in the following words: "Cartouche, the highwayman, ſitting at the foot of a tree in a deep foreſt, calculating the profits and loſſes of his robberies, the reward and pay of his aſſociates, and adjuſting with them the ideas of proportion and diſtributive juſtice; this Cartouche is not a very different character from that of the planter, who reclined on his counter, with his pen in his hand, ſettles the number of attacks which he can order to be made on the coaſt of Guinea; who deliberately examines how many firelocks each negro will coſt him, in order to ſupport the war which is to ſupply him with ſlaves; how many iron fetters to confine him on board, how many whips to make him work? How much each drop of blood is well worth to him with which each negro will water his plantation? Whether the black women will contribute more to his eſtate by the labours of their hands, or by thoſe of bearing children? What think you of this parallel? The highwayman attacks you and takes your money, the trader carries off even your perſon. The one invades the rights of ſociety, the other thoſe of nature." This certainly is the truth. "But theſe negroes (ſay ſome) are a race of men born for ſlavery; their diſpoſitions are narrow and treacherous, and wicked; they themſelves allow the ſuperiority of our underſtandings, and almoſt acknowledge the juſtice of our authority. The minds of the negroes are contracted; becauſe ſlavery deſtroys all the ſprings of the ſoul. They are treacherous, becauſe they are under no obligations to ſpeak truth to their tyrants. They acknowledge the ſuperiority of our underſtandings;

ſtandings; becauſe we have abuſed their ignorance; they allow the juſtice of our authority, becauſe we have abuſed their weakneſs. I might as well ſay, that the Indians are a ſpecies of men born to be cruſhed to death, becauſe there are fanatics among them, who throw themſelves under the wheels of their idol's car before the temple of Jaguernat.—But theſe negroes, it is further urged, were born ſlaves. Can a man be the property of a ſovereign, a ſon the property of a father, a wife the property of a huſband, a domeſtic the property of a maſter, a negro the property of a planter?—But theſe ſlaves have ſold themſelves. Could a man ever, by compact, or by any oath, permit another to uſe and abuſe him? If he aſſented to this compact, or confirmed it by an oath, it was in a tranſport of ignorance or folly; and he is releaſed from it the moment that he either knows himſelf or his reaſon returns.—But they had been taken in war. What does this ſignify to you? Suffer the conqueror to make what ill uſe he pleaſes of his own victory. Why do you make yourſelves his accomplices? —But they were criminals condemned in their country to ſlavery. Who was it that condemned them? Do you not know, that in a deſpotic ſtate, there is no criminal but the tyrant.—Let us therefore endeavour to make the light of reaſon and the ſentiments of nature take place of the blind ferocity of our anceſtors. Let us break the bonds of ſo many victims to our mercenary principles, ſhould we even be obliged to diſcard a commerce which is founded only on injuſtice, and whoſe object is luxury. But even this is not neceſſary. Theſe is no occaſion to give np thoſe conveniences which cuſtom hath ſo much endeared to us. We may draw them from our colonies, without peopling them with ſlaves. Theſe productions may be cultivated by the hands of freemen, and then be reaped without remorſe. The iſlands are filled with blacks, whoſe fetters have been broken. They ſucceſſively clear the ſmall plantations that have been given them, or which they have acquired by their induſtry. Such of theſe unhappy men, as ſhould recover their independence, would live quietly, upon the ſame manual labours that would be then free and advantageous to them.—At the time that we gradually confer liberty on theſe unhappy beings, as a reward for their œconomy, their good behaviour, and their induſtry, we muſt be careful to ſubject them to our laws and manners, and to offer them our ſuperfluities. We muſt give them a country, give them intereſts to ſtudy, productions to cultivate, and an object adequate to their reſpective taſtes, and our colonies

will

will never want hands, which, being eaſed of their chains, will be more active and robuſt *.

To particulariſe the commodities proper for the Weſt Indian merchant, would be to enumerate all the neceſſaries, conveniences, and luxuries of life; for they have nothing of their own but cotton, coffee, tropical fruits, ſpices, and the commodities already mentioned. Traders there make a very large profit upon all they ſell; but from the numerous ſhipping conſtantly arriving from Europe, and a continual ſucceſſion of new adventurers, each of whom carry out more or leſs as a venture, the Weſt India market is frequently overſtocked; money muſt be raiſed, and goods are ſometimes ſold at prime coſt, or under. But thoſe who can afford to ſtore their goods, and wait for a better market, acquire fortunes equal to any of the planters. All kind of handicraftſmen, eſpecially carpenters, bricklayers, braziers and coopers, get very great encouragement. But it is the misfortune of the Weſt Indies, that phyſicians and ſurgeons even outdo the planter and merchant, in accumulating riches.

Before the late war, there were allowed to be in our Weſt Indies at leaſt 230,000 negro ſlaves; and, upon the higheſt calculation, the whites did not amount to 90,000 ſouls. This diſproportion between the freemen and the negroes, which grows more viſible every day, ſome writers have endeavoured to account for, by alledging that the enterpriſing ſpirit, which the novelty of the ſubject and various concurrent cauſes, had produced in the laſt century, has very much decayed; and that the diſpoſition of the Weſt Indians themſelves, who, for cheapneſs chooſe to do every thing by negroes which can poſſibly be done by them, contribues greatly to the ſmall number of whites of the lower ſtation. Such, indeed, is the powerful influence of avarice, that though the whites are kept in conſtant terror of inſurrections and plots, many families employ twenty-five or thirty negroes, as menial ſervants, who are infinitely the moſt dangerous of the ſlaves, and, in caſe of any inſurrection, have it more in their power to ſtrike a a ſudden and fatal blow; and the cruelty with which the negroes are often treated, gives the white inhabitants too much reaſon for their apprehenſions.

The firſt obſervation that has been mentioned, in order to account for the preſent diſproportion between the freemen and the negroes in the Weſt Indies, is not, perhaps, well founded. That enterpriſing ſpirit, which firſt led

* Abbé Raynal.

Britons

Britons out to discovery and colonization, still animates, in a very considerable degree, the people of this nation; but the field has been lately more ample and enlarged, and emigrants have had greater scope to range. Besides the vast continent of North America, which takes in such a variety of climates, and discovers such a richness of soil, the East Indies, an inexhaustible mine of riches, have in some degree drawn the attention of mankind from that of the West. Many of the best families of this nation are ambitious of procuring places for their sons in the East Indies. Here is an ample field for all adventurous spirits, who, disdaining an idle life at home, and ambitious of becoming useful to themselves, their connections, or the community, boldly venture into the immense regions of the Eastern world.

CHAP. X.

Jamaica—Port Royal destroyed by an Earthquake—Condition of the Negroes.

THE islands of the West Indies lie in the form of a bow, or semicircle, stretching from north to south from the coast of Florida, to the river Oronoco, in the main continent of South America. The most important island belonging to Great Britain is Jamaica, which lies near 4500 miles south west of England. It is intersected by a ridge of steep rocks, tumbled, by the frequent earthquakes, in a stupendous manner, upon one another. The rocks, though containing no soil on their surface, are covered with a great variety of beautiful trees flourishing in a perpetual Spring; being nourished by the rains, which often fall, or the mists which continually brood on the mountains, and which their roots penetrating the crannies of the rocks industriously seek out for their own support. From the rocks issue a vast number of small rivers of pure wholesome water, which tumble down in cataracts, and, together with the stupendous height of the mountains, and the bright verdure of the trees through which they flow, form a most delightful landscape. On each side of the chain of mountains are ridges of lower ones, which diminish as they

they remove from it. On theſe coffee grows in great plenty. The vallies or plains between theſe ridges, are level beyond what is ordinary in moſt other countries, and the ſoil is prodigiouſly fertile.

The longeſt day in ſummer is about thirteen hours, and the ſhorteſt in winter is about eleven; but the moſt uſeful diviſions, of the ſeaſons in the Weſt Indies are into the dry and wet ſeaſons. The air of this iſland is, in many places, exceſſively hot and unfavourable to European conſtitutions; but the cold ſea breezes, which ſet in every morning at ten o'clock, render the heat more tolerable; and the air upon the high ground is temperate, pure and cooling, lightens almoſt every night, but without much thunder; which when it happens is very terrible, and the lightning in theſe violent ſtorms frequently does great damage. In February or March they expect earthquakes, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. During the months of May and October, the rains are extremely violent, and continue ſometimes for a fortnight together. In the plains are found ſeveral ſalt fountains; and in the mountains, not far from the Spaniſh town, is a hot bath, of great medicinal virtues. It gives relief in the dry belly-ach, which excepting the bilious and yellow fever, is one of the moſt terrible endemial diſtempers of Jamaica.

Sugar is the greateſt and moſt valuable production of this iſland. Cocoa was formerly cultivated in it to great extent. It produces alſo ginger, and the pimento, or, as it is called, Jamaica pepper; the wild cinnamon-tree, whoſe bark is ſo uſeful in medicine; the manchineal, whoſe fruit, though uncommonly delightful to the eye, contains one of the worſt poiſons in nature; the mahogany, in ſuch uſe with our cabinet makers, and of the moſt valuable quality; but this wood begins to wear out, and of late is very dear. Excellent cedars, of a large ſize, and durable; the cabbage-tree remarkable for the hardneſs of its wood, which, when dry, is incorruptible, and hardly yields to any kind of tool; the palma affording oil, much eſteemed by the ſavages, both in food and medicine; the ſoap-tree, whoſe berries anſwer all purpoſes of waſhing; the mangrove and olive bark, uſeful to tanners; the fuſtic and red wood for dying; and lately the logwood. The cotton tree is alſo much cultivated. No ſort of European grain grows here; they have only maize, or Indian corn, Guinea corn, peaſe of various kinds, but none of them reſembling ours, with variety of roots. Fruits are produced in great abundance; citrons, Seville and China oranges, common and ſweet lemons, limes, ſhadocks, pomegranates, mamees, ſourſops, papas, pine-apples, cuſtard apples,

ples, tar-apples, prickly-pears, allicuda-pears, melons, pompions, guavas, and ſeveral kinds of berries; alſo garden ſtuffs in great plenty and good. The cattle bred on this iſland are but few; their beef is tough and lean; the mutton and lamb are tolerable; they have great plenty of hogs; many plantations have hundreds of them, and their fleſh is exceedingly ſweet and delicate. Their horſes are ſmall, mettleſome, and hardy, and often ſell for 30 or 40*l.* ſterling. Jamaica likewiſe ſupplies the apothecary with guaiacum, ſarſaparilla, china, caſſia, and tamarinds. Among the animals are the land and ſea turtle, and the alligator. Here is a great variety of fowl, wild and tame, and in particular more parrots than in any of the other iſlands; beſides parroquets, pellicans, ſnipes, teal, Guinea-hens, geeſe, ducks, and turkies; the humming-bird, and many others. The rivers and bays abound with fiſh. The mountains breed numberleſs adders, and other noxious animals, as the fens and marſhes do the guana and gallewaſp, but theſe laſt are not venomous. Among the inſects are the ciror, or chego, which eat into the nervous and membranous parts of the fleſh of the negroes, and the white people are ſometimes infected with them. Theſe inſects get into any part of the body, but chiefly the legs and feet, where they breed in great numbers, and ſhut themſelves up in a bag. As ſoon as the perſon feels them, which is not perhaps till a week after they have been in the body, they pick them out with a needle, or the point of a pen-knife, taking care to deſtroy the bag entirely, that none of the breed, which are like nits, may be left behind. They ſometimes get into the toes, and eat the fleſh to the very bone*.

This iſland was originally a part of the Spaniſh empire in America. Several deſcents had been made upon it by the Engliſh, prior to 1656; but it was not till that year that Jamaica was reduced under our dominion. Cromwell had fitted out a ſquadron, under Penn and Venables, to reduce the Spaniſh of Hiſpaniola, but this ſquadron was unſucceſsful. The commanders of their own accord to atone for this misfortune, made a deſcent on Jamaica, and having carried the capital, St. Jago, ſoon compelled the whole iſland to ſurrender. Ever ſince it has been ſubject to the Engliſh, and the government of it is one of the richeſt places, next to that of Ireland, in the diſpoſal of the crown, the ſtanding ſalary being 2500*l.* per annum, and the aſſembly commonly voting the governor as much more; which, with other perquiſites, make it on the whole little inferior to 10,000*l.* per

* Sloane.

annum. The government of all the American iſlands is the ſame, namely, that kind which has been formerly deſcribed under the name of a royal government. Their religion too is univerſally of the church of England; though they have no biſhop, the biſhop of London's commiſſiary being the chief religious magiſtrate in thoſe parts. About the beginning of this century, it was computed, that the number of whites in Jamaica amounted to ſixty thouſand, and that of the negroes to one hundred and twenty thouſand. It appears, at preſent, that Jamaica is rather on the decline, as is the number of inhabitants, the whites not exceeding twenty-five thouſand and the blacks ninety thouſand. Beſides theſe, a number of fugitive negroes, have formed a ſort of colony, among the Blue Mountains, independent of the whites, with whom they make treaties, and to whom they ſend back fugitive ſlaves.

Indigo was once much cultivated in Jamaica, and enriched the iſland to ſuch a degree, that in the pariſh of Vere, where this drug was chiefly cultivated, they are ſaid to have had no leſs than 300 gentlemen's coaches; a number perhaps the whole iſland exceeds not at this day; and there is great reaſon to believe, that there were many more perſons of property in Jamaica formerly, than are now, though they had not thoſe vaſt fortunes which dazzle us in ſuch a manner at preſent. However, the inhabitants of Jamaica were undoubtedly very numerous, until reduced by earthquakes, and by terrible epidemical diſeaſes, which, treading on the heels of the former calamities, ſwept away vaſt multitudes. Among the cauſes of their decline, the Weſt Indians complain of being deprived of the moſt beneficial part of their trade, the loſs of which they aſcribe to the great improvements the French make in their ſugar colonies, who are enabled to underſell them, owing to the comparative ſmallneſs of their duties. They likewiſe complain of the trade carried on from Ireland and the northern colonies to the French and Dutch iſlands, where they pay no duties, and are ſupplied with goods at an eaſier rate. Some of theſe complaints have been heard, and ſome remedies applied; others remain unredreſſed. Both the logwood trade and the contraband have been the ſubject of much contention, and the cauſe of a war between Great Britain and the Spaniſh nation. The former we always avowed, and claimed as our right, and at the peace of 1763, it was confirmed to us, the latter was permitted; becauſe we thought, and very juſtly, that if the Spaniards found themſelves aggrieved by any contraband trade, it lay upon them, and not upon us, to put a ſtop to it, by their guarda coſtas, which cruiſe in thoſe ſeas, purpoſely to ſeize and confiſcate

ſiſcate ſuch veſſels and cargoes as are found in this trade. In this manner did the Britiſh court argue, till the politics of this nation, in compliance with the court of Spain, thought proper to ſend Engliſh cruiſers to the American coaſt, effectually to cruſh that lucrative trade, of which the whole body of Britiſh ſubjects in America loudly complained, as it put a ſtop to the principal channel which hitherto enabled them to remit ſo largely to Great Britain.

Port Royal was formerly the capital of Jamaica. It ſtood upon the point of a narrow neck of land, which, towards the ſea, formed part of the border of a very fine habour of its own name. The conveniency of this harbour, which was capable of containing a thouſand ſail of large ſhips, and of ſuch depth as to allow them to load and unload with the greateſt eaſe, weighed ſo much with the inhabitants, that they choſe to build their capital on this ſpot, though the place was a hot dry ſand, and produced none of the neceſſaries of life; not even freſh water. But the advantage of its harbour, and the reſort of pirates, made it a place of great conſideration. About the beginning of the year 1692, no place, for its ſize, could be compared to this town for trade, wealth, and an entire corruptions of manners. In the month of June, during this year, an earthquake, which ſhook the whole iſland to the foundations, totally overwhelmed this city, ſo as to leave, in one quarter, not even the ſmalleſt veſtige remaining. In two minutes, the earth opened and ſwallowed up nine tenths of the houſes, and tumbled the people on heaps; but ſome of them had the good fortune to catch hold of beams and rafters of houſes, and were afterwards ſaved by boats. Several ſhips were caſt away in the harbour; and the Swan frigate, which lay in the dock to careen, was carried over the tops of ſinking houſes, and did not overſet, but afforded a retreat to ſome hundreds of people, who ſaved their lives upon her. An officer, who was in the town at this time, ſays, the earth opened and ſhut very quick in ſome places, and he ſaw ſeveral people ſink down to the middle, and others appeared with their heads juſt above ground, and were ſqueezed to death. At Savannah, above a thouſand acres were ſunk, with the houſes and people in them; the place appearing for ſome time like a lake, was afterwards dried up, but no houſes were ſeen. In ſome parts, mountains were ſplit; and at one place a plantation was removed to the diſtance of a mile. They again rebuilt the city; but, ten years after it was deſtroyed by a great fire. The extraordinary convenience of the harbour tempted them to build it once more; and once more it was laid in rubbiſh by a hurricane, the moſt terrible on record. Such A. D. 1722.

repeated calamities ſeemed to mark out this place as a devoted ſpot; the inhabitants therefore reſolved to forſake it for ever, and to reſide at the oppoſite bay, where they built Kingſton, which is lately become the capital of the iſland.

Kingſton conſiſts of upwards of one thouſand houſes, of which many are handſomely built, and in the taſte of theſe iſlands, as well as the neighbouring continent. They are one ſtory high, with porticoes, and every conveniency for a comfortable habitation in that climate. Not far from Kingſton, ſtands St. Jago de la Vega, or Spaniſh town, which though at preſent inferior to Kingſton, was once the capital of Jamaica, and is ſtill the ſeat of government, and the place where the courts of juſtice are held.

The whole product of the iſland may be reduced to theſe heads. Firſt, ſugars, of which they exported, in 1753, twenty thouſand three hundred and fifteen hogſheads, ſome of them a ton weight; which cannot be worth leſs in England than 424,725*l.* Moſt of this goes to London, Briſtol, and Glaſgow, and ſome part of it to North America, in return for the beef, pork, cheeſe, corn, peas, ſtaves, planks, pitch, and tar, which they have from thence. Secondly, rum, of which they export about four thouſand puncheons. The rum of this iſland is generally eſteemed the beſt, and is the moſt uſed in Great Britain. Thirdly, molaſſes, in which they make a great part of their returns for New England, where there are vaſt diſtilleries. All theſe are the produce of the grand ſtaple, the ſugar cane. According to the late teſtimony of a reſpectable planter in Jamaica, that iſland hath two hundred and eighty thouſand acres in canes, of which two hundred and ten thouſand are commonly cut, and make from ſixty-eight to ſeventy thouſand tons of ſugar, and four millions two hundred thouſand gallons of rum. Fourthly, cotton, of which they ſend out two thouſand bags. The indigo, formerly much cultivated, is now inconſiderable; but ſome cocoa and coffee are exported, with a conſiderable quantity of pepper, ginger, drugs for dyers and apothecaries, ſweet meats, mahogany, and manchineel planks. But ſome of the moſt conſiderable articles of their trade are with the Spaniſh continent of New Spain and Terra Firma; for in the former they cut great quantities of logwood, and both in the former and latter they carry on a very profitable trade in negroes, and all kinds of European goods. And even in time of war with Spain, this trade between Jamaica, and the Spaniſh main goes on, which it will be impoſſible for Spain entirely to ſtop, while it is ſo profitable to the Britiſh merchant, and while the Spaniſh officers, from the higheſt to the loweſt, ſhew ſo great a reſpect to preſents properly made. Upon

the

the whole, many of the people of Jamaica, whilſt they appear to live in ſuch a ſtate of luxury, as in moſt other places leads to beggary, acquire great fortunes. Their equipages, their cloths, their furniture, their tables, all bear the tokens of the greateſt wealth and profuſion.

On ſundays or court time, gentlemen wear wigs and appear very gay in coats of ſilk, and veſts trimmed with ſilver. At other times they generally wear only thread ſtockings, linen drawers, a veſt, a Holland cap, and a hat upon it. Men ſervants wear a coarſe linen frock, with buttons at the neck and hands, long trowſers of the ſame, and a check ſhirt. The negroes, except thoſe who attend gentlemen, who have them dreſſed in their own livery, have once a year Oſnaburghs, and a blanket for clothing, with a cap or handkerchief for the head. The morning habit of the ladies is a looſe night-gown, careleſsly wrapped about them; before dinner they put off their diſhabille, and appear with a good grace in all the advantage of a rich and becoming dreſs.

The common drink of perſons in affluent circumſtances is Madeira wine mixed with water. Ale and claret are extravagantly dear. London porter ſells for a ſhilling per bottle. But the general drink, eſpecially among thoſe of an inferior rank, is rum-punch, which they call kill-devil, becauſe, being frequently drank to exceſs, it heats the blood, and brings on fevers, which, in a few hours, ſend them to the grave, eſpecially thoſe who are juſt come to the iſland, which is the reaſon that ſo many die here upon their firſt arrival. Engliſh money is ſeldom ſeen here, the current coin being entirely Spaniſh. There is no place where ſilver is ſo plentiful, or has a quicker circulation. You cannot dine for leſs than a piece of eight, and the common rate of boarding is three pounds per week; though, in the markets, beef, pork, fowl, and fiſh, may be bought as cheap as in London; but mutton ſells at nine pence per pound.

The miſery and hardſhips of the negroes are truly moving; and though great care is taken to make them propagate, the ill treatment they receive ſo ſhortens their lives, that inſtead of increaſing by the courſe of nature, many thouſands are annually imported to the Weſt Indies, to ſupply the place of thoſe who pine and die through hard uſage. It is ſaid, they are ſtubborn and untractable, and that they muſt be ruled with a rod of iron; but they ought not to be cruſhed with it, or to be thought inferior creatures, without ſouls, as ſome of their maſters, or overſeers do at preſent; though ſome of theſe tyrants are themſelves the dregs of this nation, and the refuge of the jails of Europe. Many of the negroes, however, who fall into the hands of gentlemen of huma-

nity, find their ſituation eaſy and comfortable; and it has been obſerved that in North America and other countries, where in general theſe poor wretches are better uſed, there is leſs waſte of negroes, they live longer and propagate better; and it ſeems clear, from the whole courſe of hiſtory, that thoſe nations who have behaved with the greateſt humanity to their ſlaves, were always beſt ſerved, and ran the leaſt hazard from their rebellions. The ſlaves, on their firſt arrival from the coaſt of Guinea, are expoſed naked to ſale; they are then generally very ſimple and innocent creatures, but they ſoon become roguiſh enough; and when they come to be whipped, excuſe their faults by the example of the whites. They believe every negro returns to his native country after death. This thought is ſo agreeable, that it cheers the poor creatures and renders the burden of life eaſy, which would otherwiſe, to many of them, be quite intolerable. They look on death as a bleſſing, and it is ſurpriſing to ſee with what courage and intrepidity ſome of them meet it. When a negro is about to expire, his fellow ſlaves kiſs him and wiſh him a good journey, and ſend their hearty good wiſhes to their relations in Guinea. They make no lamentations, but with a great deal of joy inter his body, believing he is gone and happy.—When will the voice of humanity be properly attended to, and the opprobrium of cultivated nations ceaſe!

CHAP. XI.

Of the Buccaneers.

BEFORE the Engliſh had made any ſettlement at Jamaica, and the French at St. Domingo, ſome pirates of both nations, who have ſince been ſo much diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Buccaneers*, had driven the Spaniards out of the ſmall iſland of Tortuga; and, fortifying themſelves there, had, with amazing intrepidity, made excurſions againſt the common enemy. They formed themſelves into ſmall companies, conſiſting of fifty, a hundred, or a hundred and fifty men each. A boat, of a greater or ſmaller ſize, was their only armament. Here they were expoſed, night and day, to all the inclemency of the weather, without having ſcarce room enough to lie down. A love of independence, the greateſt bleſſing to thoſe who are not

proprietors

proprietors of land, rendered them averſe to thoſe mutual reſtraints which the members of ſociety impoſe upon themſelves for the common good; ſome of them choſe to ſing, while others were deſirous of going to ſleep. As the authority they had conferred on their captain was confined to his giving orders in battle, they lived in the greateſt confuſion. Like the ſavages, having no apprehenſion of want, nor any care to preſerve the neceſſaries of life, they were conſtantly expoſed to the ſevereſt extremities of hunger and thirſt; but deriving, even from their very diſtreſſes, a courage ſuperior to every danger, the ſight of a ſhip tranſported them to a degree of frenzy. They never deliberated on the attack, but it was their cuſtom to board the ſhip as ſoon as poſſible. The ſmallneſs of their veſſels, and the ſkill they ſhewed in the management of them, ſcreened them from the fire of the greater ſhips; and they preſented only the fore-parts of their little veſſels filled with fuſileers; who fired at the port-holes with ſo much exactneſs, that it entirely confounded the moſt experienced gunners. As ſoon as they threw out the grappling, the largeſt veſſels ſeldom eſcaped them. In caſes of extreme neceſſity, they attacked the people of every nation, but fell upon the Spaniards at all times. They thought that the cruelties they had exerciſed on the inhabitants of the New World, juſtified the implacable averſion they had ſworn againſt them. But this was heightened by a perſonal pique, from the mortification they felt, in ſeeing themſelves debarred from the privilege of hunting and fiſhing, which they juſtly conſidered as natural rights. Such were their principles of juſtice and religion, that whenever they embarked on any expedition, they uſed to pray to heaven for the ſucceſs of it; and they never came back from the plunder, but they conſtantly returned thanks to God for their victory. The ſhips that ſailed from Europe into America ſeldom tempted their avidity. The merchandiſe they contained would not eaſily have been ſold, nor been very profitable to theſe barbarians in thoſe early times. They always waited for them on their return, when they were certain that they were laden with gold, ſilver, jewels, and all the valuable productions of the New World. If they met with a ſingle ſhip, they never failed to attack her. As to the fleets, they followed them, till they ſailed out of the gulf of Bahama; and as ſoon as any one of the veſſels was ſeparated by accident from the reſt, it was taken. The Spaniards, who trembled at the approach of the Buccaneers, whom they called devils, immediately ſurrendered. Quarter was granted if the cargo was a rich one, if not, all the priſoners were thrown into the ſea.

When the Buccaneers had got a conſiderable booty, at firſt they held their rendezvous at the iſland of Tortuga, in order to divide the ſpoil; but afterwards the Engliſh went to Jamaica, and the French to St. Domingo. Each perſon, holding up his hand, ſolemnly proteſted that he had ſecreted nothing of what he had taken. If any among them was convicted of perjury, a caſe that ſeldom happened, he was left, as ſoon as an opportunity offered, upon ſome deſert iſland, as a traitor unworthy to live in ſociety. Such brave men among them as had been maimed in any of their expeditions, were firſt provided for; and the remainder of the booty was divided into as many ſhares as there were Buccaneers. The commander could only lay claim to a ſingle ſhare like the reſt; but they complimented him with two or three, in proportion as he had acquitted himſelf to their ſatisfaction. When the veſſel was not the property of the company, the perſon who had fitted it out, and furniſhed it with neceſſary arms and proviſions, was entitled to a third of all the prizes. Favour never had any influence in the diviſion of the booty; for every ſhare was determined by lot. Inſtances of ſuch rigid juſtice as this, are not eaſily met with; and they extended even to the dead *. Their ſhare was given to the man who was known to be their companion when alive. If the perſon who had been killed had no intimate, his part was ſent to his relations, when they were known. If there were no friends or relations, it was diſtributed in charity to the poor, and to churches, in which prayers were to be offered up for the perſon in whoſe name their benefactions were given.

When theſe duties had been complied with, they then indulged themſelves in all kinds of profuſion. Unbounded licentiouſneſs in gaming, wine, and every kind of ſenſual indulgence was carried to the utmoſt pitch of exceſs, and was ſtopt only by the want which ſuch irregularities brought on. Thoſe men who were enriched with ſeveral millions, were in an inſtant totally ruined, and deſtitute of clothes and proviſions. They returned to ſea, and the new ſupplies they acquired were ſoon laviſhed in the ſame manner. If they were aſked what ſatisfaction they could find in diſſipating ſo rapidly, what they had gained with ſo much difficulty; they made this very ingenious reply: "Expoſed as we "are to ſuch a variety of dangers, our life is totally different "from that of other men. Why ſhould we, who are alive "to-day, and may be dead to-morrow, think of hoarding "up? We reckon only the day we have lived, but never

* Univerſal Hiſtory.

"think

" think on that which is to come. Our concern is rather " to ſquander life away than to preſerve it."

The Spaniſh colonies flattering themſelves with the hopes of ſeeing an end to their miſeries, and reduced almoſt to deſpair, in finding themſelves a perpetual prey to theſe ruffians, grew weary of navigation. They gave up all the power, conveniencies, and fortune their connexions procured them, and formed themſelves almoſt into ſo many diſtinct and ſeparate ſtates. They were ſenſible of the inconveniencies ariſing from ſuch a conduct, and avowed them; but the dread of falling into the hands of rapacious and ſavage men, had greater influence over them than the dictates of honour, intereſt, and policy. Such was the riſe of that ſpirit of inactivity, which continues to this time. This deſpondency ſerved only to increaſe the boldneſs of the Buccaneers. As yet they had only appeared on the Spaniſh ſettlements, in order to carry off ſome proviſions, when they were in want of them. They no ſooner found the captures began to diminiſh, than they determined to recover by land what they had loſt at ſea. The richeſt and moſt populous countries of the continent were plundered and laid waſte. The culture of lands was equally neglected with navigation; and the Spaniards dared no more appear in their public roads than ſail in the latitudes which belonged to them.

Among the Buccaneers who ſignalized themſelves in this extraordinary ſpecies of excurſions, Montbar, a gentleman of Languedoc, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf. Having, by chance, in his infancy, met with a circumſtantial account of the cruelties practiſed in the conqueſt of the New World, he conceived an averſion, which he carried to a degree of frenzy againſt the nation that had committed ſuch enormities. Upon this point a ſtory is told of him, that when he was at college, and acting in a play the part of a Frenchman, who quarrelled with a Spaniard, he fell upon the perſon who perſonated the Spaniard, with ſuch fury, that he would have ſtrangled him, had he not been reſcued out of his hands. His heated imagination continually repreſented to him innumerable multitudes of people maſſacred by ſavage monſters who came out of Spain. He was animated by an irreſiſtible ardour to revenge ſo much innocent blood. The enthuſiaſm this ſpirit of humanity worked him up to, was turned into a rage more cruel than that of religious fanaticiſm, to which ſo many victims had been ſacrificed. The names of theſe unhappy ſufferers ſeemed to rouze him, and call upon him for vengeance. He had heard ſome account of the Buccaneers, who were ſaid

to be the moſt inveterate enemies to the Spaniſh name: he therefore embarked on board a ſhip in order to join them.

In the paſſage they met with a Spaniſh veſſel, attacked it, and, as it was uſual in thoſe times, immediately boarded it. Montbar, with a ſabre in his hand, fell upon the enemy, broke through them, and hurrying twice from one end of the ſhip to the other, levelled every thing that oppoſed him. When he had compelled the enemy to ſurrender, leaving to his companions the happineſs of dividing ſo rich a booty, he contented himſelf with the ſavage pleaſure of contemplating the dead bodies of the Spaniards, lying in heaps together, againſt whom he had ſworn a conſtant and deadly hatred. Freſh opportunities ſoon occurred, which enabled him to exert the ſpirit of revenge, without extinguiſhing it. The ſhip he was in arrived at the coaſt of St. Domingo; where the Buccaneers on land immediately applied to barter ſome proviſions for brandy. As the articles they offered were of little value, they alledged an excuſe, that their enemies had over-run the country, laid waſte their ſettlements, and carried off all they could. "Why," replied Montbar, "do you tamely ſuffer "ſuch inſults?"--"Neither do we, (anſwered they in the ſame tone); "the Spaniards, have experienced what kind of men "we are, and have therefore taken advantage of the time "when we were engaged in hunting. But we are going "to join ſome of our companions, who have been ſtill more "ill treated than we, and then we ſhall have warm work." ---"If you approve it (anſwered Montbar) I will head you, "not as your commander, but as the foremoſt to expoſe "myſelf to danger." The Buccaneers perceiving, from his appearance, that he was ſuch a man as they wanted, cheerfully accepted his offer. The ſame day they overtook the enemy, and Montbar attacked them with an impetuoſity that aſtoniſhed the braveſt. Scarce one Spaniard eſcaped the effects of his fury. The remaining part of his life was equally diſtinguiſhed as this day. The Spaniards ſuffered ſo much from him, both by land and ſea, that he acquired the name of the *Exterminator*.

Mean while Morgan, the moſt renowned of the Engliſh Buccaneers, ſailed from Jamaica to attack Porto Bello. His plan of operations was ſo well contrived, that he ſurpriſed the city, and took it without oppoſition. In order to ſecure the fort with the ſame facility, he compelled the women and the prieſts to fix the ſcaling ladders to the walls, from a full conviction that the gallantry and ſuperſtition of the Spaniards would never ſuffer them to fire at the perſons they conſidered as the objects of their love and reverence,

rence. But the garriſon was not to be deceived by this artific, and was only to be ſubdued by force of arms; the treaſures that were carried away from this famous port, were acquired at the expence of much blood-ſhed. The conqueſt of Panama was an object of much greater importance. To ſecure this, Morgan thought it neceſſary to ſail in the latitudes of Coſta-Ricca, to procure ſome guides in the iſland of St. Catherine's, where the Spaniards confined their malefactors. This place was ſo ſtrongly fortified, that it ought to have held out for ten years againſt a conſiderable army. Notwithſtanding this, the governor, on the firſt appearance of the pirates, ſent privately to concert meaſures how he might ſurrender himſelf without incurring the imputation of cowardice. The reſult of this conſultation was, that Morgan, in the night time, ſhould attack a fort at ſome diſtance, and the governor ſhould ſally out at the citadel, to defend a poſt of ſo much conſequence; that the aſſailants ſhould then attack him in the rear, and take him priſoner, which would conſequently occaſion a ſurrender of the place. It was agreed that a ſmart firing ſhould be kept up on both ſides, without doing miſchief to either. This farce was admirably carried on. The Spaniards, without being expoſed to any danger, appeared to have done their duty; and the Buccaneers, after having totally demoliſhed the fortifications, and put on board their veſſels a prodigious quantity of war-like ammunition, which they found at St. Catherine's, ſteered their courſe towards the river Chagre, the only channel that was open to them, to arrive at that place which was the object of their utmoſt wiſhes. At the entrance of this conſiderable river a fort was built upon a ſteep rock, which the waves of the ſea conſtantly beat againſt. This bulwark, very difficult of acceſs, was defended by an officer, whoſe extraordinary abilities were equal to his courage, and by a garriſon that deſerved ſuch a commander. The Buccaneers, for the firſt time, here met with a reſiſtance that could only be equalled by their perſeverance: it was a doubtful point whether they would ſucceed, or be obliged to raiſe the ſiege, when a lucky accident happened, that proved favourable to their glory and their fortune. The commander was killed, and the fort accidentally took fire. The beſiegers then taking advantage of this double calamity, made themſelves maſters of the place.

Morgan left his veſſels at anchor, with a ſufficient number of men to guard them, and ſailed up the river in his ſloops for thirty-three miles, till he came to Cruces, where it ceaſes to be navigable. He then proceeded, by land, to Panama,

Panama, which was only five leagues diſtant. Upon a large and extenſive plain that was before the city, he met with a conſiderable body of troops, whom he put to flight with the greateſt eaſe, and entered into the city that was now abandoned. Here were found prodigious treaſures concealed in the wells and caves. Some valuable commodities were taken upon the boats that were left aground at low water. In the neighbouring foreſts were alſo found ſeveral rich depoſits. But the party of Buccaneers, who were making excurſions into the country, little ſatisfied with this booty, exerciſed the moſt ſhocking tortures on the Spaniards, negroes, and Indians they diſcovered, to oblige them to confeſs where they had ſecreted their own as well as their maſter's riches. A beggar accidentally going into a caſtle, which had been deſerted through fear, found ſome apparel that he put on. He had ſcarcely dreſſed himſelf in this manner, when he was perceived by theſe pirates who demanded of him where his gold was. The unfortunate man ſhewed them the ragged cloaths he had juſt thown off. He was inſtantly tortured, but as he made no diſcovery, he was given up to ſome ſlaves, who put an end to his life. Thus the treaſures the Spaniards had acquired in the New World by maſſacres and tortures, were reſtored again in the ſame manner. In the midſt of ſuch ſcenes of horror*, the ſavage Morgan fell in love. His character was not likely to inſpire the object of his attachment with favourable ſentiments towards him. He was reſolved, therefore, to ſubdue by force the Spaniard that inflamed and tormented him. Stop, cried ſhe to this ſavage, as ſhe ſprung with eagerneſs out of his arms, *Stop; thinkeſt thou then, that thou canſt raviſh my honour from me, as thou haſt wreſted from me my fortune and my liberty? Be aſſured that I can die and be revenged.* Having ſaid this, ſhe drew out from under her gown a poniard, which ſhe would have plunged into his heart had not he avoided the blow. But Morgan, ſtill inflamed with a paſſion, which this determined reſiſtance had turned into madneſs, inſtead of the tenderneſs and attention he had made uſe of to ſubdue his captive, now proceeded to treat her with the greateſt inhumanity. But the fair Spaniard, immoveably reſolute, excited, at the ſame time that ſhe reſiſted the frantic behaviour of Morgan; till at the laſt the pirates, expreſſing their reſentment, at being kept ſo long in a ſtate of inactivity, by a caprice which appeared extravagant to them, he was under the neceſſity of liſtening to their complaints, and giving up his purſuit. Panama was burnt. They then

* Hiſtory of the Buccaneers.

ſet

ſet ſail with a great number of priſoners, who were ranſomed a few days after, and came to the mouth of the Chagre with a prodigious booty. Before the break of the day that had been fixed upon for the diviſion of the ſpoil, Morgan, while the reſt of the pirates were in a deep ſleep, with the principal Buccaneers of his own country, ſailed for Jamaica, in a veſſel which he had laden with the rich ſpoils of a city that ſerved as the ſtaple of commerce between the Old and the New World. This inſtance of treachery, unheard of before, occaſioned a rage and reſentment not to be deſcribed. The Engliſh purſued the robber, in hopes of wreſting from him the booty of which they had been diſappointed. The French, though ſharers in the ſame loſs, retired to the iſland of Tortuga, where they made ſeveral expeditions. But they were all trifling, till, in the year 1603, they attempted one of the greateſt conſequence.

The plan of this expedition was formed by Van Horn, a native of Oſtend, though he had ſerved all his life among the French. His intrepidity would never let him ſuffer the leaſt ſigns of cowardice among his aſſociates. In the heat of an engagement he went about his ſhip, ſucceſſively obſerved his men, and immediately killed thoſe who ſhrunk at the ſudden report of a piſtol, gun, or cannon. This extraordinary diſcipline had made him became the terror of the coward, and the idol of the brave. In other reſpects, he readily ſhared with the men of ſpirit and bravery the immenſe riches that were acquired by a ſo truly warlike diſpoſition. When he went upon theſe expeditions, he generally ſailed in a frigate, which was his own property. But theſe new deſigns requiring greater numbers to carry them into execution, he took to his aſſiſtance Grammont, Godfrey, and Jonque, three Frenchmen, diſtinguiſhed by their exploits; and Lawrence de Graff, a Dutchman, who had ſignalized himſelf ſtill more than they; twelve hundred Buccaneers joined themſelves to theſe famous commanders, and ſailed in ſix veſſels for Vera Cruz. The darkneſs of the night favoured their landing, which was effected at the diſtance of three leagues from the place, where they arrived without being diſcovered. The governor, the fort, the barracks, and the poſts of the greateſt conſequence; every thing, in ſhort, that could occaſion any reſiſtance, was taken by the break of day. All the citizens, men, women, and children, were ſhut up in the churches, where they had fled for ſhelter. At the door of each church were placed barrels of gunpowder to blow up the building. A Buccaneer, with a lighted match, was to ſet fire to it upon the leaſt appearance of an inſurrection. While the city was kept in ſuch terror, it was ea-

ſily pillaged; and after the Buccaneers had carried off what was moſt valuable, they made a propoſal to the citizens who were kept priſoners in the churches, to ranſom their lives and liberties by a contribution of ten millions of livres. Theſe unfortunate people, who had neither eaten nor drank for three days, cheerfully accepted the terms that were offered them. Half of the money was paid the ſame day; the other part was expected from the internal parts of the country; where there appeared on an eminence a conſiderable body of troops advancing, and near the port a fleet of ſeventeen ſhips from Europe. At the ſight of this armament the Buccaneers, without any marks of ſurpriſe, retreated quietly with fifteen hundred ſlaves they had carried off with them, as a trifling indemnification for the reſt of the money they expected, the ſettling of which they referred to a more favourable opportunity. Theſe ruffians ſincerely believed, that whatever they pillaged or exacted by force of arms upon the coaſts where they made a deſcent, was their lawful property; and that God and their arms gave them an undoubted right not only to the capital of theſe contributions they compelled the inhabitants to ſign a written engagement to fulfil, but even to the intereſt of that part of the ſum which was not yet paid. Their retreat was equally glorious and daring. They boldly ſailed through the midſt of the Spaniſh fleet, which let them paſs without firing a ſingle gun; and were in fact, rather afraid of being attacked and beaten. The Spaniards would not probably have eſcaped ſo eaſily, and with no other inconvenience, but what aroſe from their fears, if the veſſels of the pirates had not been laden with ſilver, or if the Spaniſh fleet had been freighted with any other effects but ſuch articles as were little valued by theſe pirates.

As the Spaniards generally fled at the approach of theſe terrible beings, they knew of no other method of revenging themſelves, but by burning or cutting in pieces a Buccaneer. As ſoon as theſe adventurers had quitted the place they had plundered, and any of them had been killed in the attack, the body was dug up again, mangled in different parts, or made to paſs through the various kinds of torture, which would have been practiſed upon the man had he been alive. This abhorrence of the Buccaneers was extended even to the places on which they had exerciſed their cruelties. The cities they had taken were excommunicated; the very walls and ſoil of the places which had been laid waſte were anathematized, and the inhabitants abandoned them for ever. This rage, equally impotent and childiſh, contributed only to embolden that of their enemies. As ſoon as they took a

town,

town, it was directly ſet on fire, unleſs a ſum, proportioned to its value, was given to ſave it. The priſoners taken in battle were maſſacred without mercy, if they were not ranſomed by the governor or ſome of the inhabitants. Gold, pearls, or precious ſtones, were the only things accepted of for the payment of their ranſom. Silver being too common, and too weighty for its current value, would have been troubleſome to them. The chances of fortune, that ſeldom leaves guilt unpuniſhed, nor adverſity without a compenſation for its ſuffering, atoned for the crimes committed in the conqueſt of the New World, and the Indians were amply revenged of the Spaniards.

But it happened in this, as it generally does in events of this nature, that thoſe who committed ſuch outrages, did not long enjoy the fruits of them. Several of them died in the courſe of theſe piracies, from the effects of the climate, from diſtreſs, or debauchery. Some were ſhipwrecked in paſſing the ſtreights of Magellan and at Cape Horn. Moſt of thoſe who attempted to get to the northern ſea by land, fell into the ambuſcade that was laid for them, and loſt either their lives or the booty they had acquired. The Engliſh and French colonies gained very little by an expedition that laſted four years, and found themſelves deprived of their braveſt inhabitants.

The Buccaneers would have conquered all America, if conqueſt and not piracy had been the motive of their actions. Without any regular ſyſtem, without laws, without any degree of ſubordination, and even without any fixed revenue, they became the aſtoniſhment of that age in which they lived, as they will be alſo of poſterity. England, France, and Holland had ſent at different times conſiderable fleets into the New World. The unwholeſomeneſs of the climate, the want of ſubſiſtence, the dejection of the troops, rendered the beſt concerted ſchemes unſucceſsful. Neither of theſe nations acquired any national glory, nor made any conſiderable progreſs by them. Upon the very ſcene of their diſgrace, and on the very ſpot where they were ſo ſhamefully repulſed, a ſmall number of adventurers, who had no other reſources to enable them to carry on a war, but what the war itſelf afforded them, ſucceeded in the moſt difficult enterpriſes. They ſupplied the want of numbers and of power, by their activity, their vigilance, and bravery. An unbounded paſſion for liberty and independence, excited and kept up in them that energy of ſoul, which enables us to undertake and execute every thing. It produced that vigour, and that ſuperiority in action, which the moſt approved military diſcipline, the moſt powerful combinations of ſtrength,

the

the beſt regulated governments, the moſt honourable and moſt ſtriking rewards and marks of diſtinction, will never be able to excite.

The principle which actuated theſe extraordinary and romantic men is not eaſily diſcovered. It cannot be aſcribed to want. The earth they trod upon offered them immenſe treaſures, collected ready to their hand by men of inferior capacities. Can it then be imputed to avarice? But would they then have ſquandered away in a day the ſpoils acquired in a whole campaign! As they properly belonged to no country, they did not therefore ſacrifice themſelves in its defence, for the aggrandizing its territories, or revenging its quarrels. The love of glory, had they known it, would have prevented them from committing ſuch numberleſs enormities and crimes, which caſt a ſhade on all their brighteſt actions. Neither could a ſpirit of indolence and care, ever make men ruſh into conſtant fatigues, and ſubmit to the greateſt dangers. "If we are deſirous," ſays an eloquent hiſtorian, "of tracing the origin of this revolution, "we may perceive that it ariſes from the Buccaneers having "lived under the ſhackles of European governments. The "ſpirit of liberty being repreſſed for ſo many ages, exerted "its power to a degree almoſt inconceiveable, and occaſioned "the moſt terrible effects that ever appeared in the moral "world. Reſtleſs and enthuſiaſtic men of every nation "joined themſelves to theſe adventurers, as ſoon as they "heard of the ſucceſs they had met with. The charms of "novelty, the idea and deſire excited by diſtant objects, the "want of a change in ſituation, the hopes of better fortune, "the impulſe which excites the imagination to the undertaking of great actions, admiration, which eaſily induces "men to imitation, the neceſſity of getting the better of "thoſe impediments that are the conſequences of imprudence, the force of example, and the being equally partakers of the ſame good and bad fortune among thoſe who "have frequenſty aſſociated together; in a word, the temporary ferment which all the elements together, with ſeveral accidental circumſtances, had raiſed in the mind of "men, alternately elevated to the greateſt proſperity, or ſunk "in the deepeſt diſtreſs, at one time ſtained with blood, at "another plunged into voluptuouſneſs, rendered the Buccaneers a people wholly diſtinct in hiſtory; but a people "whoſe duration was ſo tranſient, that its glory laſted, as it "were, but a moment *."

We are, however, accuſtomed to conſider theſe ruffians with a kind of abhorrence. This they deſerve; as the inſtances of fidelity, integrity, diſintereſtedneſs and generoſity,

* Abbé Raynal.

they

they ſhewed to one another, did not prevent the outrages they perpetually committed againſt mankind. But amidſt ſuch enormities, it is impoſſible not to be ſtruck with a variety of brave and noble actions, that which have reflected honour on the moſt virtuous people. Some Buccaneers had agreed for a certain ſum to eſcort a Spaniſh ſhip, very richly laden. One of them ventured to propoſe to his companions to enrich themſelves at once, by making themſelves maſters of the ſhip. The famous Mountauban, who was the commander of the troop, had no ſooner heard the propoſal, than he deſired to reſign the command, and to be ſet on ſhore. "What!" replied theſe brave men, "would you then leave us? Is there any one who approves of the treachery that you abhor?" A council was immediately held; and it was determined that the guilty perſon ſhould be thrown upon the firſt coaſt they came to. They took an oath, that ſo diſhoneſt a man ſhould never be admitted in any expedition in which any of the brave men preſent ſhould be concerned, as they would think themſelves diſhonoured by ſuch a connection. If this is not to be looked upon as an inſtance of heroiſm, muſt we then expect to meet with heroes in an age, in which every thing great is turned into ridicule, under the idea of enthuſiaſm?

CHAP. XII.

Of Barbadoes, and other Britiſh Iſlands in the Weſt Indies.

WHEN the Engliſh firſt landed on the iſland of Barbadoes, they found it the moſt ſavage and deſtitute place they had hitherto viſited. It had not the leaſt appearance of ever having been peopled even by the ſavages. There were no beaſts of paſture, or of prey, no fruit, no herb, no root, fit for ſupporting the life of man. Yet as the climate was ſo good, and the ſoil appeared fertile, ſome gentlemen of ſmall fortunes in England reſolved to become adventurers thither. The trees were ſo large, and of a wood ſo hard and ſtubborn, that it was with great difficulty they could clear as much ground as was neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence. By unremitting perſeverance, however, they brought it to A. D. 1627.

yield them a tolerable ſupport; and they found that cotton and indigo agreed well with the ſoil, and that tobacco, which was beginning to come into repute in England, anſwered tolerably. Theſe proſpects, together with the ſtorm between the king and parliament, which was beginning to break out in England, induced many new adventurers to tranſport themſelves to this iſland. And what is extremely remarkable, ſo great was the increaſe of people in Barbadoes, twenty-five years after its firſt ſettlement, that in 1650, it contained more than 50,000 whites, and a much greater number of negro and Indian ſlaves; the latter they acquired by means not at all to their honour; for they ſeized upon all thoſe unhappy men, without any pretence, in the neighbouring iſlands, and carried them into ſlavery. —a practice which has rendered the Caribbee Indians irreconcileable to us ever ſince. They had begun, a little before this, to cultivate ſugar, which ſoon rendered them extremely wealthy. The number of the ſlaves therefore was ſtill augmented; and in 1676, it is ſuppoſed that their number amounted to 100,000, which, together with 50,000 whites, make 150,000 on this ſmall ſpot; a degree of population unknown in Holland, China, or any other part of the World moſt renowned for numbers. At this time Barbadoes employed 400 ſail of ſhips, one with another of 150 tons, in their trade. Their annual exports in ſugar, indigo, ginger, cotton, and citron water, were above 350,000l. and their circulating caſh at home was 200,000l. Such was the increaſe of population, trade, and wealth, in the courſe of fifty years. But ſince that time, this iſland has been much on the decline, which is to be attributed partly to the growth of the French ſugar colonies, and partly to our own eſtabliſhments in the neighbouring iſles. Their numbers at preſent are ſaid to be 20,000 whites, and 100,000 ſlaves. Their commerce conſiſts in the ſame articles as formerly, though they deal in them to leſs extent. Their capital is Bridgetown, where the governor reſides, whoſe employment is ſaid to be worth 5000l. per annum. They have a college founded and well endowed by colonel Codrington, who was a native of this iſland. Barbadoes, as well as Jamaica, has ſuffered much by hurricanes, fires, and the plague. On the 10th of October 1780, a dreadful hurricane occaſioned vaſt devaſtation in Barbadoes, great numbers of the houſes were deſtroyed, not one houſe in the iſland was wholly free from damage, many perſons were buried in the ruins of the buildings, and great numbers were driven into the ſea, and there periſhed.

Barbadoes

Barbadoes is twenty-one miles in length, and fourteen in breadth. It is one of thoſe iſlands which, ſince the diſcovery of the New World, are known by the name of the Caribbees. Thoſe that lie neareſt the eaſt, have been called the Windward iſlands; the others, the Leeward, on account of the wind blowing generally from the eaſtern point in thoſe quarters. They form a continued chain, one end of which ſeems to be attached to the continent, near the gulf of Maracabo; the other, to cloſe the entrance of the gulf of Mexico. They may, perhaps, with ſome degree of probability, be conſidered as the tops of very high mountains formerly belonging to the continent, which have been changed into iſlands by ſome revolution that has laid the flat country under water. All the iſlands of the world ſeem to have been detached from the continent by ſubterraneous fires or earthquakes*. The celebrated Atlantica, whoſe very name would ſome thouſand years ago have been buried in oblivion, had it not been tranſmitted down to us by a celebrated philoſopher †, from the obſcure tradition of Egyptian prieſts, was probably a large tract of land ſituated between Africa and America. Several circumſtances render it probable that England was formerly a part of France; and Sicily has evidently been detached from Italy. The Cape de Verd Iſlands, the Azores, Maderia, and the Canaries muſt have been part of the neighbouring continents, or of others that have been deſtroyed. The late obſervations of Engliſh navigators leave us ſcarce any room to doubt that all the iſlands of the South Sea formerly compoſed one entire continent. New Zealand, the largeſt of them, is full of mountains, on which may be perceived the marks of extinguiſhed volcanoes. Its inhabitants are neither beardleſs nor copper-coloured as thoſe of America; and though they are ſeparated ſix hundred and eighty leagues from each other, they ſpeak the ſame language as the natives of the iſland of Otaheite.

Indiſputable monuments evince that ſuch changes have happened, of which the attentive naturaliſt every where diſcovers ſome traces ſtill remaining. Shells of every kind, corals, beds of oyſters, ſea-fiſh entire or broken, regularly heaped up in every quarter of the globe, in places the moſt diſtant from the ſea, in the bowels and on the ſurfaces of mountains; the variableneſs of the continent ſubject to all the changes of the ocean by which it is conſtantly beaten, worn away, or ſubverted; while at a diſtance, perhaps, on one ſide it loſes immenſe tracts of land, on the other diſcovers to us new countries, and long banks of ſand heaped

* Abbé Raynal. † Plato.

up before thoſe cities that formerly were celebrated ſea ports: the horizontal and parallel poſition of the ſtrata of the earth and of marine productions collected and heaped up alternately in the ſame order, compoſed of the ſame materials, which are regularly cemented by the conſtant and ſucceſſive exertion of the ſame cauſe: the correſpondent ſimilarity obſervable between ſuch coaſts as are ſeparated by an arm of the ſea: the direction of mountains and rivers towards the ſea, as to their common origin: the formation of hills and vallies, on which this immenſe body of fluid hath, as it were, ſtamped indelible marks of its undulations: all theſe ſeveral circumſtances atteſt, that the ocean has broken its natural limits, or, perhaps, that its limits have never been inſurmountable; and that varying the ſurface of the globe, according to the irregularity of its own motions, it hath in turns taken the earth from its inhabitants, and reſtored it to them again. Whatever may be the ſecret cauſes of theſe particular revolutions, the general cauſe of which reſults from the known and univerſal laws of motion, their effects, however, will be always ſenſible to every man who attentively obſerves them. They will be more particularly evident in regard to the Caribbee iſlands, if it can ever be proved that they undergo violent ſhocks whenever the volcanoes of the Cordeleras throw out their contents, or when all Peru is ſhaken. This archipelago, as well as that of the Eaſt Indies, ſituated nearly in the ſame degree of latitude, ſeems to be produced by the ſame cauſe; namely, the motion of the ſea from eaſt to weſt: a motion impreſſed by that which cauſes the earth's revolution from weſt to eaſt; more rapid at the equator, where the globe being more elevated, revolves in a larger circle and in a more agitated zone; where the ocean ſeems, as it were, willing to break through all the boundaries nature oppoſes to it, and opening to itſelf a free and uninterrupted courſe, forms the equinoctial line.

St. Chriſtopher's Iſland, commonly called, by the ſailors, St. Kitt's, is about fourteen leagues from Antigua, and is twenty miles long and ſeven broad. It has its name from the famous Chriſtopher Columbus, who diſcovered it for the Spaniards. That nation, however, abandoned it as unworthy of their attention, and it was ſettled by
A. D. 1626. the French and Engliſh conjunctly; but entirely ceded to us by the peace of Utrecht. Beſides cotton, ginger, and the tropical fruits, it generally produces near as much ſugar as Barbadoes, and ſometimes quite as much. It is computed that this iſland contains 6000 whites, and 36,000 negroes. In February 1782, it was taken by the

French, but reſtored to England by the late treaty of peace.—*Antigua* is of a circular form, near twenty miles over every way. This iſland, which was formerly thought uſeleſs, has now got the ſtart of the reſt. It has one of the beſt harbours in the Weſt Indies, and its capital St. John's, which, before the fire in 1769, was large and wealthy, is the ordinary ſeat of the governor of the Leeward iſlands. Antigua is ſuppoſed to contain about 7000 whites, and 30,000 ſlaves.—*Nevis* and *Montſerrat*, two ſmall iſlands, lying between St. Chriſtopher's and Antigua, neither of them exceeding eighteen miles in circumference, contain together 5000 whites, and 10,000 ſlaves. The ſoil in theſe four iſlands is pretty much alike, light and ſandy, but fertile in a high degree; and their principal exports are derived from the ſugar-cane. Both theſe iſlands were taken by the French in 1782, but were reſtored by the peace.—*Barbuda*, about thirty-five miles north of Antigua, is twenty miles in length and twelve in breadth. It is fertile, and has a good road for ſhipping, but no direct trade with England. The inhabitants are chiefly employed in huſbandry and raiſing freſh proviſions for the uſe of the neighbouring iſles. It belongs to the Codrington family, and the inhabitants amount to about 1500.—Anguilla is about thirty miles long, and ten broad. This iſland is perfectly level, and the climate nearly the ſame with that of Jamaica. The inhabitants, who are not numerous, apply themſelves to huſbandry, and feeding of cattle.

Dominica lies about half way between Guadaloupe and Martinico. It is near twenty-eight miles in length, and thirteen in breadth: it got its name from being diſcovered by Columbus on a Sunday. The ſoil of this iſland is thin, and better adapted to the rearing of cotton than ſugar; but the ſides of the hills bear the fineſt trees in the Weſt Indies, and the iſland is well ſupplied with rivulets of fine water. The French have always oppoſed our ſettling here, becauſe it muſt cut off their communication, in the line of war, between Martinico and Guadaloupe. However, by the peace of Paris, it was ceded in expreſs terms to the Engliſh; but we have derived little advantage from this conqueſt, the iſland being, till lately, no better than a harbour for the natives of the other Caribbees, who being expelled their own ſettlements, took refuge here. But, on account of its ſituation between the principal French iſlands, and Prince Rupert's Bay, being one of the moſt capacious in the Weſt Indies, it has been judged expedient to form Dominica into a government of itſelf, and to declare it a free port. It A. D. 1763.

was taken by the French in 1778, but was reſtored again to Great Britain by the late peace.

St. Vincent, which is fifty miles north-weſt of Barbadoes, and thirty miles ſouth of St. Lucia, is about twenty-four miles in length and eighteen in breadth. It is extremely fruitful, being a black mould upon a ſtrong loam, the moſt proper for the raiſing of ſugar. Indigo thrives here remarkably well; but this article is leſs cultivated than formerly throughout the Weſt Indies. Many of the inhabitants are Caribbeans, and there are many fugitives from Barbadoes and the other iſlands. The Caribbeans are ſaid to have been treated with ſo much injuſtice and barbarity, after this iſland came into poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, to whom it was ceded by the peace in 1763, that they greatly contributed towards enabling the French to get poſſeſſion of it again in 1779; but it was reſtored to Great Britain by the late treaty of peace.

Granada is about thirty leagues ſouth-weſt of Barbadoes, and almoſt the ſame diſtance north of New Andaluſia, or the Spaniſh Main. This iſland is ſaid to be thirty miles in length and fifteen in breadth. Experience has proved, that the ſoil is extremely proper for producing ſugar, coffee, tobacco, and indigo; and, upon the whole, it carries with it all the appearance of becoming as flouriſhing a colony as any in the Weſt Indies, of its dimenſions. A lake on the top of a hill, in the middle of the iſland, ſupplies it plentifully with fine rivers, which fertilize it. Several bays and harbours lie round the iſland, ſome of which may be fortified to great advantage, which renders it very convenient for ſhipping; and it is not ſubject to hurricanes. St. George's Bay has a ſandy bottom, and is extremely capacious, but open. In its harbour, or careening place, one hundred large veſſels may be moored with perfect ſafety. This iſland was long the theatre of bloody wars between the native Indians and the French, during which this handful of Caribbees defended themſelves with the moſt reſolute bravery. In the laſt war but one, when Granada was attacked by the Engliſh, the French inhabitants, who were not numerous, were ſo amazed at the reduction of Guadaloupe and Martinico, that they loſt all ſpirit, and ſurrendered without making the leaſt oppoſition; and the full property of this iſland, together with the ſmall iſlands on the north, called the Granadines, which yield the ſame produce, were confirmed to the crown of Great Britain by the treaty of Paris in 1763. In July, 1779, the French made themſelves maſter of this iſland, which was reſtored to Great Britain by the late treaty of peace.

Excluſive

Excluſive of the Weſt India ſugar iſlands lying between the two continents of America, Great Britain claims ſome others, at the diſtance of ſome thouſand miles from each other, upon the coaſt of this quarter of the globe.

Newfoundland, ſituated to the eaſt of the gulf of St. Lawrence, is ſeparated from Labrador, or New Britain, by the ſtraits of Belleiſle, and from Canada, by the bay of St. Lawrence, being 350 miles long, and 200 broad. The coaſts are extremely ſubject to fogs, attended with almoſt continual ſtorms of ſnow and ſleet, the ſky being uſually overcaſt. From the ſoil of this iſland, which is rocky and barren, we are far from reaping any ſudden or great advantage, for the cold is long continued and ſevere; and the ſummer heat, though violent, warms it not enough to produce any thing valuable. However, it is watered by ſeveral good rivers, and hath many large and good harbours. This iſland, whenever the continent ſhall come to fail of timber (which on the ſea-coaſt is perhaps no very remote proſpect) will afford a large ſupply for maſts, yards, and all ſorts of lumber for the Weſt India trade. But what at preſent it is chiefly valuable for, is the great fiſhery of cod, carried on upon thoſe ſhoals which are called the Banks of Newfoundland. Great Britain and North America, at the loweſt computation, annually employ 3000 ſail of ſmall craft in this fiſhery; on board of which, and on ſhore, to cure and pack the fiſh, are upwards of 10,000 hands; ſo that this fiſhery is not only a very valuable branch of trade to the merchant, but a ſource of livelihood to many thouſands of poor people, and a moſt excellent nurſery for the royal navy. This fiſhery is computed to increaſe the national ſtock 300,000l. a year in gold and ſilver, remitted to us for the cod we ſell in the north, in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the Levant. The plenty of cod, both on the great bank and the leſſer ones, which lie to the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt of this iſland, is inconceiveable; and not only cod, but ſeveral other ſpecies of fiſh are caught there in abundance; all of which are nearly in an equal plenty along the ſhores of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New England, and the iſle of Cape Breton; ſo that where our colonies are thinly peopled, or ſo barren as not to produce any thing from their ſoil, their coaſts make us ample amends, and pour in upon us a wealth of another kind, and no where inferior to that ariſing from the moſt fertile ſoil. This iſland, after various diſputes about the property, was entirely ceded to England by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713; but the French were left at liberty to dry their nets on its northern ſhores; and by the treaty of 1763, they were permitted to fiſh in the gulf of St. Lawrence,

but with this limitation, that they ſhould not approach within three leagues of any of the coaſts belonging to England. The ſmall iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, ſituated to the ſouthward of Newfoundland, were alſo ceded to the French, who ſtipulated to erect no fortifications on them, nor to keep more than fifty ſoldiers to enforce the police. By the laſt treaty of peace, the French are to enjoy the fiſheries on the north and the weſt coaſts of the iſland; and the Americans are allowed the ſame privileges in fiſhing as before their independence. The chief towns in Newfoundland are Placentia, Bonaviſta, and St. John: but not above 1000 families remain here in the winter. A ſmall ſquadron of men of war are ſent out every ſpring to protect the fiſheries and inhabitants, the commander of which is governor of the iſland.

Cape Breton, ſituated between Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, is, in length, about 110 miles. The ſoil is barren, but it has good harbours, particularly that of Louiſburgh, which is near four leagues in circumference, and has every where ſix or ſeven fathoms water. The French began a ſettlement in this iſland, in 1714, which they continued to increaſe, and fortified it in 1720. They were, however, diſpoſſeſſed in 1745, by the inhabitants of New England, with little aſſiſtance from Great Britain; but it was again, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, ceded to the French, who ſpared no expence to fortify and ſtrengthen it. Notwithſtanding which, it was again reduced, in 1758, by the Britiſh troops under general Amherſt and admiral Boſcawen, together with a large body of New England men, who found in that place two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, and eighteen mortars, together with a large quantity of ammunition and ſtores; and it was ceded to the crown of Great Britain by the peace of 1763; ſince which the fortifications have been blown up, and the towns of Louiſburgh diſmantled.

St. John's, ſituated in the gulf of St. Lawrence, is about ſixty miles in length, and thirty or forty broad, has many fine rivers, and though lying near Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, has greatly the advantage of both in pleaſantneſs and fertility of ſoil. Upon the reduction of Cape Breton, the inhabitants of this iſland, amounting to 4000, ſubmitted quietly to the Britiſh arms; and, to the diſgrace of the French governor, there were found in his houſe ſeveral Engliſh ſcalps, which were brought there to market by the ſavages of Nova Scotia; this being the place where they were encouraged to carry on that barbarous and inhuman trade. The iſland was ſo well improved by the French,

that

that it was ſtyled the granary of Canada, which it furniſhed with great plenty of corn, as well as of beef and pork.

The Bermudas, or Summer Iſlands, received their name from their being firſt diſcovered by John Bermudas, a Spaniard; and were called the Summer Iſlands, from ſir George Summers, who was ſhipwrecked on their rocks in 1609, in his paſſage to Virginia. They are ſituated at a vaſt diſtance from any continent, in 32 deg. north latitude, and in 65 deg. weſt longitude. Their diſtance from the land's end is computed to be near 1500 leagues, from the Madeiras about 1200, and from Carolina 300. The Bermudas are but ſmall, not containing in all above 20,000 acres; and are very difficult of acceſs, being, as Waller the poet, who reſided ſome time there, expreſſed it, "walled with rocks *." The air of theſe iſlands, which Waller celebrates in one of his poems, has been always eſteemed extremely heathful; and the beauty and richneſs of the vegetable productions are delightful. Though the ſoil of theſe iſlands is admirably adapted to the cultivation of the vine, the chief and only buſineſs of the inhabitants, who conſiſt of about 10,000, is the building and navigating of the light ſloops and brigantines, which they employ chiefly in the trade between North America and the Weſt Indies. Theſe veſſels are remarkable for their ſwiftneſs; as the cedar of which they are built, is for its hard and durable quality. The town of St. George, which is the capital, is ſeated at the bottom of a haven in the iſland of the ſame name, and is defended with ſeven or eight forts, and ſeventy pieces of cannon. It contains above 1000 houſes, a handſome church, and other elegant public buildings.

Lucay's or *Bahama Iſlands* are ſituated to the ſouth of Carolina. They extend along the coaſt of Florida quite down to the iſle of Cuba, and are ſaid to be five-hundred in number, ſome of which are only mere rocks; but twelve of them are large, fertile, and in nothing different from the ſoil of Carolina: all are, however, uninhabited, except Providence, which is two hundred miles eaſt of the Floridas; though ſome others are larger and more fertile, on which the Engliſh have plantations. Between them and the continent of Florida is the gulf of Bahama, or Florida, through which the Spaniſh galleons ſail in their paſſage to Europe. Theſe iſlands were the firſt fruits of Columbus's diſcoveries; but they were not known to the Engliſh till 1667, when captain Seyle, being driven among them in his paſſage to Carolina gave his name to one of them; and being a ſecond time driven upon it, gave it the name of Providence. The Engliſh, obſerving the advantageous ſituation

* Waller's Poems.

of

of theſe iſlands, as a check on the French and Spaniards, attempted to ſettle them in the reign of Charles II. Some unlucky accidents prevented this ſettlement from being of any advantage; and the iſle of Providence became an harbour for the Buccaneers, or pirates, who for a long time infeſted the American navigation. This obliged
A. D. 1718. the government to ſend out captain Woods Rogers, with a fleet to diſlodge the pirates, and to make a ſettlement. This the captain effected; a fort was erected, and an independent company was ſtationed in the iſland. Ever ſince this laſt ſettlement, theſe iſlands have been improving, though they advance but ſlowly. In time of war people gain conſiderably by the prizes condemned there; and, at all times, by the wrecks, which are frequent in this labyrinth of rocks and ſhelves. The Spaniards and Americans captured theſe iſlands during the laſt war, but they were retaken by a detachment from St. Auguſtine, April 7, 1783.

Falkland Iſlands are ſituated near the ſtraits of Magellan, at the utmoſt extremity of ſouth America. King Charles II. of England thought the diſcovery of this coaſt of ſuch conſequence, that ſir John Narborough was purpoſely fitted out to ſurvey the ſtraits of Magellan, the neighbouring coaſt of Patagonia, and the Spaniſh ports in that neighbourhood; with directions, if poſſible, to procure ſome intercourſe with the Chilian Indians, who are generally at war, or at leaſt on ill terms, with the Spaniards; and to eſtabliſh a commerce and laſting correſpondence with them. Though ſir John, through accidental cauſes, failed in his attempt, which, in appearance, promiſed many advantages to this nation, his tranſactions upon that coaſt, beſides the many valuable improvements he furniſhed to geography and navigation, are rather an encouragement for farther trials of this kind, than any objection againſt them. It appeared by the precautions and fears of the Spaniards, that they were extremely alarmed with the apprehenſion of its conſequences. It is ſaid, that his majeſty Charles II. was ſo far prepoſſeſted with the belief of the emoluments which might redound to the public from this expedition, and was ſo eager to be informed of the event of it, that having intelligence of ſir John Narborough's paſſing through the Downs, on his return, he had no patience to attend his arrival at court, but went himſelf in his barge to Graveſend to meet him. "As therefore it appears," ſays a judicious writer, "that all our future expe-
"ditions to the ſouth ſeas muſt run a conſiderable riſk of
"proving abortive, whilſt in our paſſage thither we are un-
"der the neceſſity of touching at the Portugueſe ſettlement
"of

" of Braſil, the diſcovery of ſome place more to the ſouth-
" ward, where ſhips might refreſh, and ſupply themſelves
" with the neceſſary ſea ſtock for their voyage round Cape
" Horn, would be an expedient that would relieve us from
" theſe embarraſſments, and would ſurely be a matter wor-
" thy the attention of the public. Nor does this ſeem dif-
" ficult to be effected; for we have already the imperfect
" knowledge of two places, which might, perhaps, on exa-
" mination, prove extremely convenient for this purpoſe;
" one of them is Pepys' iſland, in the latitude of 47 ſouth,
" and laid down by Dr. Halley, about eighty leagues to the
" eaſtward of Cape Blanco, on the coaſt of Patagonia; the
" other is *Falkland Iſles*, in the latitude of 51 and a half, ly-
" ing nearly ſouth of Pepys' iſland. The laſt of theſe have
" been ſeen by many ſhips, both French and Engliſh.
" Woods Rogers, who ran along the north-eaſt coaſt of
" theſe iſles in the year 1708, tells us that they extended
" about two degrees in length, and appeared with gentle deſ-
" cents from hill to hill, and ſeemed to be good ground, in-
" terſperſed with woods, and not deſtitute of harbours.
" Either of theſe places, as they are iſlands at a conſiderable
" diſtance from the continent, may be ſuppoſed, from their
" latitude to lie in a climate ſufficiently temperate. This,
" even in time of peace, might be of great conſequence to
" this nation; and, in time of war, would make us maſters
" of thoſe ſeas*."

Falkland iſlands were firſt diſcovered by ſir Richard Hawkins; the principal of which he named Hawkins' Maidenland, in honour of queen Elizabeth. The preſent Engliſh name Falkland was probably given them by captain Strong, in 1689, and being adopted by Halley, it has from that time been generally received. In the year 1764, the late lord Egmont, then firſt lord of the almiralty, revived the ſcheme of a ſettlement in the ſouth ſeas, and commodore Byron was ſent to take poſſeſſion of Falkland iſlands in the name of his Britainnic majeſty; and, in his journal, repreſents them as a valuable acquiſition. On the other hand, they are repreſented by captain Mc Bride, who, in 1766, ſucceeded that gentleman, as the outcaſts of nature. " We found," ſays he, " a maſs of iſlands and broken lands of which the ſoil was nothing but a bog, with no better proſpect than that of barren mountains, beaten by ſtorms almoſt perpetual. Yet this is ſummer; and if the winds of winter hold their natural proportion, thoſe who lie but two cables length from the ſhore, muſt A. D. 1594.

* Author of Anſon's Voyage.

paſs

paſs weeks without any communication with it." The plants and vegetables which were planted by Mr. Byron's people, and the fir-trees, natives of ragged and cold climates, had withered away; but goats, ſheep, and hogs, that were carried thither, were found to thrive and increaſe as in other places. Geeſe of a fiſhy taſte, ſnipes, foxes, ſea-lions, penguins, plenty of good water, and, in the ſummer months, wild celery and ſorrel, are the natural luxuries of thoſe iſlands.

But though the ſoil be barren, and the ſea tempeſtuous, an Engliſh ſettlement was made here, of which we were diſpoſſeſſed by the Spaniards in 1770. That meaſure was, however, diſavowed by the Spaniſh ambaſſador, and ſome conceſſions were made to the court of Great Britain; but the ſettlement was finally abandoned in 1774, in order to avoid giving umbrage to the court of Spain.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Brazil, belonging to the Portugueſe.

BRAZIL is an immenſe continent in South America. It is bounded on the north by the river of the Amazons, on the ſouth by Paraguay, on the weſt by a long ridge of mountains that divide it from Peru, and on the eaſt by the northern ocean. The extent of the ſea-coaſt is ſuppoſed to be no leſs than twelve hundred leagues. The inland parts are too little known to enable us to form any eſtimate of their extent. A ſucceſſion of hills runs all along from north to ſouth, from whence iſſue many large rivers, ſome of which fall into the ocean, and ſome into the Plata. If Columbus, in his third voyage, had continued his courſe to the ſouth, when he came to the entrance of the Oronoco, he could not poſſibly have miſſed the Brazils; but he choſe to ſteer to the north-weſt, towards the gulf that lies between that river and Florida. The ſettlements already made there, the gold they produced, and the hopes of finding a way to the Eaſt Indies, were ſo many inducements to purſue that track. *Peter Alvarez Cabral* had the honour of diſcovering the Brazils the following year by chance. This Portugueſe admiral was going

A. D. 1499.

going with a fleet beyond the Cape of Good Hope. To avoid falling in with the calms on the coaſt of Africa, he kept ſo far out at ſea, that he came within ſight of an unknown land lying to the weſtward. He was driven thither by ſtreſs of weather, and anchored on the coaſt in the 15th degree of ſouth latitude, at a place which he called Porto-Seguro. He took poſſeſſion of the country, but made no ſettlement in it, and gave it the name of Santa Cruz, which was afterwards changed for that of Brazil; becauſe the Brazil wood was the moſt valuable production of that country to the Europeans, who uſed it in dying.

As this country had been diſcovered in going to India, and it was doubtful whether it was not a part of that, it was at firſt compriſed under the ſame general title, but was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Weſt Indies, becauſe the Portugueſe went to India by the eaſt, and to the Brazils by the weſt. This name was afterwards given to all America, and the Americans were very improperly called Indians. Thus it is that the names of places and things, accidentially given by ignorant men, have always perplexed philoſophers, who have been deſirous of tracing the origin of theſe names from nature, and not from circumſtances merely incidental, and oftentimes quite foreign to the natural properties of the things denoted by them.

Europeans have often made a very improper uſe of their diſcoveries in America. As ſoon as the court of Liſbon had ordered a ſurvey to be taken of the harbours, bays, rivers and coaſts of Brazil, and was convinced that the country afforded neither gold nor ſilver, they held it in ſuch contempt that they ſent thither none but condemned criminals and abandoned women. Two ſhips were ſent every year from Portugal, to carry the refuſe of the kingdom to this new world, and to bring home parrots, and wood for the dyers and cabinet makers. Ginger was afterwards added, but was ſoon prohibited leſt it ſhould interfere with the ſale of the ſame article from India. Aſia was then the object that attracted all men. It was the road to fortune, to power and to fame. The great exploits of the Portugueſe in India, and the wealth they brought from thence, gave their nation ſuch a ſuperiority in all parts of the world, that every individual wiſhed to partake of it. The enthuſiaſm was general. No perſon, indeed, went out voluntarily to America, but thoſe unfortunate men, whom the inquiſition had doomed to deſtruction, were added to the convicts already tranſported thither.

There never was a ſtronger and more inveterate hatred, than that which the Portugueſe have always entertained againſt the Spaniards. Notwithſtanding this national antipathy,

pathy, which is of ſo long a ſtanding, that its origin cannot be traced, and ſo confirmed that it can never be expected to ceaſe, they have borrowed moſt of their maxims from a neighbour, whoſe power they dreaded as much as they deteſted its manners. Whether from a ſimilarity of climate and temper, or from a conformity of circumſtances, they have adopted the worſt of its inſtitutions. They could not imitate any one more horrid than the *inquiſition.*

A. D. 1482. This bloody tribunal, erected in Spain by a combination of policy and fanaticiſm, under the reign of Ferdinand and Iſabella, was no ſooner adopted by John III. than it ſtruck terror into every family. To eſtabliſh its authority, and afterwards to ſupport it, no leſs than four or five hundred victims were annually ſacrificed, ſome of whom were burnt alive, and the reſt baniſhed to Africa or to the Brazils. The fury of this tribunal was particularly exerted againſt ſorcerers, who, in thoſe times of ignorance, were as much dreaded as their number was multiplied by the credulity, bigotry, and barbariſm that prevailed all over Europe. The Mahometans, though greatly decreaſed ſince they had loſt the empire, were alſo perſecuted by the inquiſition; but more eſpecially the Jews, becauſe they were the richeſt. It is well known that when the Jews, who had long been confined to a very ſmall ſpot upon the face of the earth, were diſperſed by the Romans, many of them took refuge in Portugal. There they multiplied after the Arabs had conquered Spain, were ſuffered to enjoy all the rights of citizens, and were not excluded from public offices, till that country had received its independence. This firſt act of oppreſſion did not prevent twenty thouſand Jewiſh families from removing thither, when after the conqueſt of Granada, the catholic kings compelled them to quit Spain or change their religion. Each family paid ſeventeen ſhillings for the liberty of ſettling in Portugal; ſuperſtition ſoon induced John II. to aggravate the ſufferings of that perſecuted nation; he demanded of them 20,000 crowns, and afterwards reduced them to a ſtate of ſlavery. In 1496, Emanuel baniſhed all thoſe who refuſed to embrace the Chriſtian religion; thoſe who complied were reſtored to their freedom, and ſoon engroſſed the Aſiatic trade, which then began to be laid open to every one. The eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition in 1548, proved a check to their activity. Their miſtruſt was increaſed by the frequent confiſcations made by that odious tribunal, and by the taxes which government extorted from them at different times. They were in hopes of purchaſing ſome tranquillity, by furniſhing Sebeſtian with money for his African expedition; but unfortunately for them,

them, that imprudent monarch came to an untimely end. Philip II. who ſoon after extended his dominion over Portugal, enacted that ſuch of his ſubjects as were deſcended from a Jew or a Moor, ſhould be excluded from all eccleſiaſtical or civil employments. This mark of infamy, with which all the new converts to Chriſtianity were branded, gave them ſuch a diſguſt for a country, where even the greateſt opulence could not exempt them from being ſtigmatized, that they removed with their wealth to Bourdeaux, Antwerp, Hamburgh, and other towns with which they had regular connections. This emigration was the occaſion of a great revolution; it diverted the commerce, which till then had centered in Spain and Portugal, into other countries, and deprived thoſe two nations of the advantages the one derived from the Eaſt, and the other from the Weſt Indies.

Before theſe laſt periods, the Jews who had been ſtripped of their property by the inquiſition, and baniſhed to the Brazils, were not yet entirely forſaken. Many of them found kind relations and faithful friends; others, who were known to be men of probity and underſtanding, obtained money in advance from merchants of different nations with whom they had formerly had tranſactions. By this aſſiſtance, ſome enterpriſing men among them were enabled to cultivate ſugar-canes, which they firſt procured from the iſland of Madeira.

Sugar, which till then on account of its ſcarcity had been uſed only in medicine, became an article of luxury. Princes, and the rich and great, were all eager to procure themſelves this new ſpecies of indulgence. This circumſtance proved favourable to Brazil, and enabled it to extend its ſugar plantations. The court of Liſbon, notwithſtanding its prejudices, began to be ſenſible that a colony might be beneficial to the mother country, without producing gold or ſilver. It now looked with leſs contempt on an immenſe region that chance had thrown in its way, and which it had always conſidered as a place fit only to contain the refuge of the kingdom. This ſettlement, which had been wholly left to the capricious management of the coloniſts, was now thought to deſerve ſome kind of attention, and accordingly
Thomas de Scuſa was ſent thither to regulate A. D. 1549.
and ſuperintend it. This able governor began
by reducing theſe men, who had always lived in a ſtate of anarchy, into proper ſubordination, and bringing their ſcattered plantations cloſer together; after which he applied himſelf to acquire more information reſpecting the natives, with whom he knew he muſt be inceſſantly engaged, either in traffic or in war. It was no eaſy matter to accompliſh this.

Brazil

Brazil was full of ſmall nations, ſome of which inhabited the foreſts, and others lived in the plains and along the rivers. Some had ſettled habitations, but a greater number led a roving life. Moſt of them had no intercourſe with each other. Thoſe that were not divided by inceſſant wars, were ſo by hereditary hatred and jealouſy. Some lived by hunting and fiſhing, others by agriculture. All theſe cauſes muſt have produced a viſible difference in the employments and cuſtoms of theſe ſeveral nations; yet their general character was very ſimilar.

The Brazilians in general are of the ſize of the Europeans, but not ſo ſtout. They are ſubject to fewer diſtempers, and it is no uncommon thing among them to ſee men live upwards of a *hundred years*. Formerly they wore no clothing, but ſince the Europeans have become acquainted with them, they commonly cover the middle part of their bodies. The ornaments of the women differ from thoſe of the men, for they wear their hair extremely long, whereas the women cut theirs quite ſhort; the women wear bracelets of bones of a beautiful white, the men necklaces of the ſame; the women paint their faces, and the men their bodies. In ancient times the food of the Brazilians was very ſimple. It might have been expected to have been more varied, when they came to be acquainted with our domeſtic animals; yet thoſe who live by the ſea-ſide ſtill continue to feed upon the ſhell-fiſh they pick up on the ſhore. Along the rivers they always live by fiſhing, and in the foreſts by hunting. When theſe precarious proviſions fail, they feed upon roots, which either grow ſpontaneouſly, or require but little culture. Theſe ſavages are averſe to all labour, and paſs their time in idleneſs, eating, and dancing. Their ſongs are but one tedious uniform tone, without any modulations, and commonly turn upon their loves or their warlike actions.

The Brazilians all follow their own inclinations, and, like moſt other ſavages, ſhew no particular attachment to their native place. The love of our country, which is a ruling paſſion in civilized ſtates; which in good governments riſes to enthuſiaſm, and in bad ones grows habitual; which for whole centuries together perpetuates in every nation its diſpoſition, cuſtoms, and taſte—this love of our country is but an adventitious ſentiment ariſing from ſociety, but unknown in the ſtate of nature*. The moral life of the ſavage is the very reverſe of that of the civilized man. The latter enjoys the gifts of nature only in his infancy. As his ſtrength increaſes and his underſtanding unfolds itſelf, he loſes ſight

* Abbé Raynal.

of

of the preſent, and is wholly intent upon the future. Thus the age of paſſions and pleaſures, the time deſtined by nature for enjoyment, is ſpent in ſpeculation and diſappointment. The heart denies itſelf what it wiſhes for, laments the indulgences it has allowed itſelf, and is equally tormented by its ſelf denials and its gratifications. The civilized man, inceſſantly deploring his liberty which he has always ſacrificed, looks back with regret on his earlieſt years, when a ſucceſſion of new objects conſtantly awakened his curioſity, and kept his hopes alive. He recollects, with pleaſure, the ſpot where he paſſed his infant days; the remembrance of his innocent delights endears them to his imagination, and forcibly attracts him to his native ſpot; whereas the ſavage, who enjoys all the pleaſures and advantages peculiar to every period of his life, and does not abſtain from them in expectation of greater indulgence in old age, finds equally in all places objects ſuited to his deſires, and feels that the ſource of his pleaſures is in himſelf, and that his country is every where.

Though the tranquillity of the Brazilians is not the reſult of any laws, diſſentions are ſeldom heard of in their little ſocieties. If drunkenneſs, or ſome unfortunate incident ſhould occaſion a diſpute, and any life ſhould be loſt, the murderer is inſtantly delivered up to the relations of the deceaſed, who immediately ſacrifice him to their vengeance without heſitation; then both the families meet, and their reconciliation is ſealed by a joyous and noiſy feaſt. Travellers are received with diſtinguiſhed marks of civility in the Brazils. Wherever they come they are ſurrounded with women, who waſh their feet and welcome them with the moſt obliging expreſſions. Nothing is ſpared for their entertainment; but it would be an unpardonable affront, were they to leave the family where they are firſt entertained, in hopes of a better accommodation in another. This ſpirit of hoſpitality is one of the moſt certain indications that man was intended for ſociety; it is the moſt valuable diſpoſition of the ſavage nations; and the point where the improvement of policy, and of all ſocial inſtitutions ought, perhaps, to reſt. The Brazilians aſſiſt one another in ſickneſs with more than brotherly kindneſs and affection. If one of them receives a wound, his neighbour immediately comes and ſucks it, and performs every office of humanity with the ſame readineſs. They do not neglect the uſe of the healing plants that grow in their foreſts; but they truſt more to abſtinence than to medicine, and never allow their ſick to taſte any food. Far from ſhewing that indifference or weakneſs which makes us ſhun the dead, and

makes us unwilling to ſpeak of them, or to remain in the places that might recal their image to our minds, theſe ſavages behold their dead with tender emotions, recount their exploits with complacency, and celebrate their virtues with tranſport. They are buried upright in a round grave; and if the deceaſed was the head of a family, his plumes, his necklaces, and his arms are interred with him. When a clan removes to another place, which often happens merely for the ſake of changing, every family fixes ſome remarkable ſtones over the graves of their moſt reſpectable relations, and they never approach thoſe monuments of grief without breaking out into dreadful outcries, not unlike the ſhouts with which they make the air reſound when they are going to battle.

Motives of intereſt or ambition have never prompted the Braziliens to war. The deſire of avenging their relations, or friends, has always been the occaſion of their moſt ſanguinary conteſts. Their chiefs, or rather their orators, are old men, who determine the commencement of hoſtilities, give the ſignal for marching, and exert themſelves during the march, in repeated expreſſions of implacable hatred. Sometimes even the march of the army is ſuſpended to liſten to theſe paſſionate harangues, that laſt for many hours. This cuſtom makes thoſe long ſpeeches we meet with in Homer and in the Roman hiſtorians appear more probable; but, in thoſe days, the noiſe of the artillery did not drown the voices of the generals. The combatants are armed with a club of ebony ſix feet long, one foot broad, and an inch thick. Their bows and arrows are of the ſame wood. Their inſtruments of martial muſic are flutes made of the bones of their enemies. They are equally calculated to inſpire courage, as our drums, which ſtifle our ſenſe of danger, and as our trumpets, which give the ſignal, and, perhaps, the fear of death. Their generals are the ſoldiers who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in former wars. When the aggreſſion arrives on the enemy's frontiers, the women who carry the proviſions halt, while the warriors advance through the woods. The attack is never made openly. They conceal themſelves at ſome diſtance from the habitations, that they may have the advantage of ſurpriſing their enemies. When it is dark, they ſet fire to the huts, and avail themſelves of the confuſion which this occaſions, to ſatisfy their fury that knows no bounds. Thoſe who cannot avoid coming to open fight, divide into platoons, and lie in ambuſh. If they are diſcovered and routed by ſuperior forces, they hide themſelves

in the deepeſt receſſes of the woods. Their courage ſeldom conſiſts in maintaining their ground.

The Brazilians have but very faint ideas of a Supreme Being, or a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. They have, however, magicians, who, by ſtrange contortions, ſo far work upon the credulity of the people as to throw them into violent convulſions. If the impoſtures of theſe magicians are detected, they are immediately put to death, which ſerves in ſome degree to check the ſpirit of deceit. They are ſtrangers to all notions of ſubordination and ſubmiſſion, which, among ourſelves, are originally derived from the idea of a Supreme Being. They cannot conceive how any perſon can have the audacity to command, much leſs how any one can be ſo weak as to obey. But they ſhew moſt deference to the man who has killed the greateſt number of his enemies. They have no *words* to convey *general* and *abſtract ideas*. This poverty of language, which is common to all the nations of South America, is a convincing proof of the little progreſs the human underſtanding has made in theſe countries. The analogy between the words in the ſeveral languages of this continent ſhews that the reciprocal tranſmigrations of theſe ſavages have been frequent. By a compariſon of their languages with thoſe of Africa, of the Eaſt Indies, and of Europe, the origin of the different tribes of Americans may, perhaps, be traced.

In the beginning of this century the diſcovery of the gold mines gave this colony an additional luſtre that occaſioned univerſal aſtoniſhment. The circumſtances that produced this diſcovery are variouſly related. The moſt common opinion is, that a caravan of Portugueſe, who went from Rio-Janeiro, penetrated into the continent. They met with the Pauliſts, who, in exchange for A.D. 1695. ſome European goods, gave them gold duſt which they found was procured from the mines of Panama ſituated in that neighbourhood. A few years after this a company of ſoldiers from Rio-Janeiro, who were ſent to quell ſome Indians in the inland parts, found in their march ſome gold fiſh-hooks, and were informed that many torrents, ruſhing down from the mountains, brought gold into the valleys. Upon this information a ſtrict ſearch was made, and upon the high grounds were found ſome rocks that contained gold; but this deceitful appearance of treaſure was neglected on account of the expence it would have required to get at it; nor was a vein of gold, which runs along an immenſe ſpace, found rich enough to anſwer the working of it. After many fruitleſs trials

the Portugueſe contented themſelves like the ſavages, with picking up gold out of the ſand, when the waters had ſubſided. This practice had proved very ſucceſsful at Villa-Rica, and through a very conſiderable extent of country. The government freely grants from three to five leagues of this precious ſoil to any one who is able to go and make a fortune there. Some blacks are employed in looking for gold in the beds of torrents and rivers, and ſeparating it from the ſand and mud, in which it is naturally concealed. The moſt uſual cuſtom is, that every ſlave is required to bring in the eighth part of an ounce of gold a day; and if any of them are ſo fortunate, or ſo diligent as to pick up more, the overplus is their own property. The firſt uſe they make of it, is to buy other ſlaves to do their work for them, that they, in their turn, may live in idleneſs. If a ſlave brings in the quantity of gold preſcribed, his maſter can require nothing more. It is ſome conſolation to him to be able to alleviate the burden of his ſlavery, by the very labours that are attached to that ſtate.

If we were to eſtimate the quantity of gold that Brazil annually ſupplies, by the fifth that the king of Portugal receives from thence, it might be valued at near two millions of pounds; but we ſhall not be ſuppoſed to exaggerate, when we aſſert that the deſire of eluding the duties deprives the government, notwithſtanding its vigilance, of the eighth part of the produce: To this account muſt be added the ſilver drawn from the illicit trade with Buenos Ayres, which was formerly immenſe; but the meaſures lately taken by Spain, have reduced it to 130,000l. per annum. Many people are even ſurpriſed that ſuch intercourſe ſhould ſubſiſt between two nations, who, having no manufactures of their own, and impoſing nearly the ſame taxes on all foreign induſtry, ought certainly to have nothing to ſell. It is now conſidered that the coaſt of Portugal is very extenſive, and acceſſible in all parts, ſo that the duties exported to America, may be eluded with much greater facility on that coaſt, than in the peninſula of Cadiz. Beſides, exchanges are not the only means by which the Spaniſh ſpecie is conveyed into the Portugueſe coffers. Independent of all ſale or purchaſe, the Peruvians find a great advantage in ſending their money over to Europe by this indirect road. The firſt political writers who turned their thoughts towards the probable conſequences of the diſcovery made in Brazil, did not heſitate to foretel, that the difference of value between gold and ſilver would be diminiſhed. The experience of all countries and of all ages had taught them, that, though many ounces of ſilver had always been given

for

for an ounce of gold, becauſe mines of the former had always been more common than of the latter, yet the value of both metals had varied in every country, in proportion to the abundance of either. In Japan, the proportion of gold or ſilver is as one to eight; in China, as one to ten; in other parts of India, as one to eleven, twelve, thirteen, or fourteen, as we advance further weſt. The like variations are to be met with in Europe. In ancient Greece, gold was to ſilver as one to thirteen. When the produce of all mines in the univerſe was brought to Rome, the miſtreſs of the world, the moſt ſettled proportion was one to ten. It was as far as one to thirteen under Tiberius; numberleſs and infinite variations are to be met with in the barbarous ages. In a word, when Columbus penetrated into America, the proportion was leſs than one to twelve. The quantity of the metals which was then brought from Mexico and Peru, not only made them more common, but ſtill increaſed the value of gold above ſilver, as there was greater plenty of the latter in thoſe parts. Spain, which was of courſe the beſt judge of the proportion, ſettled it as one to ſixteen in the coin of the kingdom, and this ſyſtem, with ſome ſlight variations, was adopted throughout Europe. This proportion ſtill exiſts; but we have no reaſon on that account to contradict thoſe who had foretold that it would alter. If gold has fallen but little in the markets, and not at all in the coin, ſince the Brazils furniſhed a great quantity of it; this is owing to particular circumſtances, which do not affect the principle. A great deal of gold is now uſed for ſetting of jewels, and for gilding, which has prevented the price of ſilver from falling ſo much as it would have done if our faſhions had not altered. It is the ſame ſpirit of luxury that has always kept up the price of diamonds, though they are grown more common.

At all times men have been fond of making a parade of their riches, either becauſe originally they were the reward of ſtrength, and the mark of power; or becauſe they have every where obtained that regard with is due only to abilities and virtue. A deſire of attracting the attention of others, prompts a man to ornament himſelf with the choiceſt and moſt brilliant things nature can ſupply. The ſame vanity, in this reſpect, prevails among ſavages as in civilized nations. Of all the ſubſtances that repreſent the ſplendor of opulence, none is ſo precious as the diamond; nor has any been of ſuch value in trade, or ſo ornamental in ſociety. There are diamonds of all colours, and of every ſhade of the ſeveral colours. The diamond has the red of the ruby, the orange of the hyacinth, the blue of the

ſapphire, and the green of the emerald. This laſt is the deareſt, when it is of a beautiful tint. The roſe diamonds, blue and yellow, are the next in value. The yellowiſh and the blackiſh are leaſt eſteemed. Tranſparency and clearneſs are the natural and eſſential properties of the diamond, to which art has added the brilliant and ſparkling luſtre of the ſeveral faces.

There are not many diamond mines in the world. Till of late years, we knew of none but in the Eaſt Indies. The oldeſt is in the river Gouel, which comes down from the mountains, and falls into the Ganges. It is called the mine of Soulempour, from the name of a village ſituated near that part of the river where the diamonds are found. Very few diamonds have ever been taken out of it, no more than out of the Succadan, a river in the iſland of Borneo. The chain of mountains that extends from Cape Comorin to Bengal, has yielded infinitely more. They are not found in cluſters, but ſcattered up and down, in a ſandy, ſtony and barren ſoil; lying at ſix, eight, ten, and twelve feet below the ſurface, and ſometimes deeper. The right of digging for them is purchaſed, and the purchaſer is ſometimes enriched and ſometimes ruined, according as he is either ſucceſsful or unfortunate. Some apprehenſions were raiſed that the continual wars in India would put an end to this ſource of riches, but theſe were removed by a diſcovery that was made at Serra-de-Frio in Brazil. Some ſlaves who were condemned to look for gold, uſed to find ſome little bright ſtones, which they threw away among the ſand and gravel. Some curious miners preſerved ſeveral of theſe ſingular pebbles, which were ſhewn to Pedro d'Almeyda, governor general of the mines. As he had been at Goa, he ſuſpected that they might be diamonds. To aſcertain this point the court of Liſbon commiſſioned d'Acugna, their miniſter in Holland, to make neceſſary enquiries. He put ſome of theſe pebbles into the hands of able artificers, who having cut them, declared they were very fine diamonds. The Portugueſe immediately ſearched for them with ſuch ſucceſs, that the Rio Janeiro fleet brought home 1146 ounces. This produced ſuch a plenty, that their price fell conſiderably; but the miniſtry took ſuch meaſures as ſoon made them riſe to their original value, which they have maintained ever ſince. We conferred on a company the excluſive right of ſearching for and ſettling diamonds; and to reſtrain the avidity of the company itſelf, it was required to employ no more than 600 ſlaves in that buſineſs. It has ſince been permitted to employ as many as it pleaſes, upon condition that ſixty-ſix pounds be paid for every minor. In both contracts,

tracts, the court has reſerved to itſelf all diamonds that ſhall exceed a certain number of carrats. A law which forbade, on pain of death, to encroach upon this privilege, was not ſufficient to inſure the obſervance of it. It was imagined to be more effectual to depopulate the places, which lay near that rich mine, and to make a ſolitary waſte of all the regions, which might be tempted to interfere in ſo lucrative a trade. Throughout the ſpace of an hundred leagues, there is but one large village left, which is wholly inhabited by the company's agents and ſlaves. Their privilege, conſtantly protected by the mother-country, has never met with the leaſt oppoſition. The government itſelf is their agent in Europe. Whatever be the produce of the mines, which muſt neceſſarily be fluctuating, the court delivers annually diamonds to the value of 548,000*l.* to certain contractors, who engage to ſell no others. They are bought up in the rough ſtate by the Engliſh and Dutch, who cut them, and then diſpoſe of them all over Europe. They are neither ſo hard nor ſo clear ae thoſe of the Eaſt-Indies, nor do they ſparkle ſo much, but they are whiter. They are ſold ten per cent. cheaper, ſuppoſing the weight to be equal.

The fineſt diamonds in the world are the following; that of the great Mogul, which weighs 279 carrats; that of the Grand Duke, which weighs 139 carrats; the great Sancy, of 106 carrats; and the Pitt, of 136 carrats. All theſe are ſtill very trifling, when compared to the diamond ſent from Brazil to the king of Portugal, which weighs 1680 carrats, or *twelve ounces and a half.* Though we know of no proportion by which to aſcertain the value of ſuch a gem, it has been eſtimated at 57,000,000*l.* A great abatement muſt be made in this eſtimate, if, as ſome very ſkilful lapidaries ſuſpect, it ſhould prove to be but a topaz.

It is not known whether the diamonds of Brazil grow in the valley, where they are found, or whether they are brought down by an infinite number of torrents that ruſh into them, and by five ſmall rivers that flow from the neighbouring mountains. It is certain, however, that the diamonds do not come from a quarry, but that they are ſcattered about, and picked up in larger quantities during the rainy ſeaſons, and after violent ſtorms.

The trade of Portugal, in this country, is carried on upon the ſame excluſive plan on which the ſeveral nations of Europe trade with their colonies of America; and it more parcularly reſembles the ancient Spaniſh method, in not ſending out ſingle ſhips, as the convenience of the ſeveral places, and the judgment of the European merchants, may direct; but by annual fleets, which ſail at ſtated times from Portu-

gal, and compoſe three flotas, bound to as many ports in Brazil; namely, to Pernambuco, in the northern part; to Rio Janeiro, at the ſouthern extremity, and to the Bay of All-Saints, in the middle.

In this laſt is the capital, which is called *St. Salvador*, and ſometimes the city of Bahia, where all the fleets rendezvous on heir return to Portugal. This city commands a noble, ſpacious, and commodious harbour. It is built upon a high and ſteep rock, having the ſea upon one ſide, and a lake forming a creſcent on the other. The ſituation makes it, in a manner, impregnable by nature; and they have beſides added to it very ſtrong fortifications. It is populous, magnificent, and beyond compariſon the moſt gay and opulent city in all Brazil. As the ſituation of this metropolis will not admit of coaches, the rich, who will always be diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar, have contrived to be carried in cotton hammocs. Supinely ſtretched upon velvet cuſhions, and ſurrounded with ſilken curtains, which they open and ſhut as they pleaſe, thoſe proud and lazy mortals move about more voluptuouſly, though with leſs expedition, than in the moſt eaſy and elegant carriages. The women ſeldom enjoy this luxury. Theſe people, who are ſuperſtitious to a degree of fanaticiſm, will hardly allow them to go to church, covered with their cloaks, on their high feſtivals; and no one is ſuffered to ſee them in their own houſes. This reſtraint, which is the effect of an ungovernable jealouſy, does not prevent their carrying on intrigues, though they are ſure of being ſtabbed to death upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion.

The want of ſociety, conſequent upon the ſeparation of the ſexes, is not the only impediment to the pleaſures and enjoyments of life at St. Salvador. The hypocriſy of ſome, the ſuperſtition of others, avarice within, and pompous parade without, extreme indulgence bordering upon extreme cruelty, in a climate where all the ſenſations are quick and impetuous, the diſtruſt that attends weakneſs, that indolence which truſts every thing to ſlaves, whether it relates to pleaſure or buſineſs; all the vices that are to be found either ſeparately or collectively, in the moſt corrupt ſouthern countries, conſtitute the character of the Portugueze at St. Salvador. The depravity of their manners, however, ſeems to decreaſe, in proportion as the government of the mother-country is more enlightened. Thoſe improvements in knowledge, the abuſe of which will ſometimes corrupt virtuous nations, may refine and reform a generous people.

The trade of Brazil is very great, and increaſes every year; which is the leſs ſurpriſing, as the Portugueſe have opportunities of ſupplying themſelves with ſlaves for their

ſeveral works, at a much cheaper rate than any other European power that has ſettlements in America; they being the only Europeans who have eſtabliſhed colonies in Africa, from whence they import between forty and fifty thouſand negroes annually, all of which go into the amount of the cargo of the Brazil fleets for Europe. Notice has already been taken of the diamonds, which, with the ſugar, the tobacco, the hides, the valuable drugs for medicine and manufactures, may give ſome idea of the importance of this trade, not only to Portugal, but to all the trading powers of Europe.

As *logwood* is a conſiderable article of Brazilian commerce, it may not be improper to give a ſhort deſcription of it. The tree that produces it is as tall and buſhy as our oak; the leaves are ſmall, roundiſh, and of a fine bright green; the trunk is commonly tortuous, rugged and knotty, like the white-thorn. The bloſſoms, which reſemble lilies of the valley, are of a fine red, and have a fragrant ſmell. The bark is ſo thick, that there is very little left when the wood is ſtripped. This wood is very fit for turnery work, and takes a fine poliſh; but its chief uſe is for the red dye. The tree grows in dry and barren places, and among the rocks; it is found in moſt provinces of the Brazils, but chiefly in that of Fernambucca; and the beſt of all grows ten leagues from Olinda, the capital of that captainſhip.

The chief commodities which the European ſhips carry to Brazil in return, are not the fiftieth part the produce of Portugal; they conſiſt of woollen goods of all kinds, from England, France, and Holland; the linens and laces of Holland, France, and Germany; the ſilks of France and Italy; ſilk and thread ſtockings, hats, lead, tin, pewter, iron, copper, and all ſorts of utenſils wrought in theſe metals, from England; as well as ſalt fiſh, beef, flour, and cheeſe. Oil they have from Spain; wine, with ſome fruit, is nearly all they are ſupplied with from Portugal. England is at preſent moſt intereſted in the trade of Portugal, both for home conſumption and the uſe of the Brazils, However, the French have become very dangerous rivals to us in this, as in many other branches of trade.

Brazil is a very wealthy and flouriſhing ſettlemen. Their export of ſugar, within forty years, is grown much greater than it was, though anciently it made almoſt the whole of their exportable produce, and they were without rivals in the trade. Their tobacco is remarkably good, though not raiſed in ſuch large quantities as in the American colonies. The northern and ſouthern parts of Brazil abound with horned cattle: theſe are hunted for their hides only, of

which

which no leſs than 20,000 are ſent annually to Europe. The Portugueſe had been long in poſſeſſion of Brazil before they diſcovered the treaſures of gold and diamonds, which have ſince made it ſo valuable. Their fleets rendezvous in the bay of All-Saints, to the amount of one hundred ſail of large ſhips, in May or June, and carry to Europe a cargo little inferior in value to the treaſures of the Spaniſh flota and galeons. The gold alone, great part of which is coined in America, amounts to near four millions ſterling; but part of this is brought from their colonies in Africa, together with ebony, and ivory.

CHAP. XIV.

French Settlements in America.

THE poſſeſſions and claims of the French, about the middle of the century, conſiſted of almoſt the whole continent of North America; which vaſt country they divided into two great provinces, the northern of which they called Canada, comprehending a much greater extent than the Britiſh province of that name, as it included a great part of the provinces of New York, New England, and Nova Scotia. The ſouthern provinces they called Louiſiana, in which they included a part of Carolina. This diſtribution, and the military diſpoſitions, which the French made to ſupport it, formed the principal cauſe of the war between Great Britain and France, the iſſue
A. D. 1756. of which is ſo well known. While the French were rearing their infant colonies, and with the moſt ſanguine hopes forming vaſt deſigns of an extenſive empire, one wrong ſtep in their politics loſt them the whole; for, by commencing hoſtilities many years too ſoon, they were driven from Canada, and forced to yield to Great Britain all that fine country of Louiſiana, eaſtward of the Miſſiſſippi. At the treaty of peace, however, they were allowed to keep poſſeſſion of the weſtern banks of that river, and the ſmall town of New Orleans, near the mouth of it; which territories they ceded to Spain, for reaſons unknown to the public. The French, therefore, from being one of the greateſt European powers in that quarter, and to the American colonies a very dangerous neighbour

and

and rival, have now loſt all footing in North America; but on the ſouthern continent they have ſtill a ſettlement, which is called *Cayenne*, ſituated between the equator and fifth deg. of north latitude, and between the the 50th and 55th of weſt longitude.

This country, which was long diſtinguiſhed by the pompous title of *Equinoctial France*, was not the ſole property of that power, as ſhe at firſt pretended. The Dutch, by ſettling to the north, and the Portugueſe to the ſouth, had confined the French between the rivers of Maroni and Vincent Pincon; which limits were fixed by ſeveral treaties. Theſe boundaries were equally diſtant from Cayenne; and the extent between them comprehends no leſs than an hundred leagues of the ſea coaſt. The navigation along this coaſt is extremely difficult, on account of the rapidity of the currents, and is continually obſtructed by ſmall iſlands, banks of ſand, and of hardened mud, and by ſtrong mangroves cloſely entangled, which extend two or three leagues into the ſea. There is no harbour, and few places where ſhips can land; and the lighteſt ſloops often meet with inſuperable obſtacles. The large and numerous rivers that water this continent are not more navigable. Their bed in many places is barred by vaſt rocks, which makes it impoſſible to ſail through them. The ſhore, which is generally flat, is moſtly overflowed by the ſpring-tides. In the inland country, moſt of the low lands alſo become moraſſes in the rainy ſeaſon. Then there is no ſafety but upon the higher grounds. Theſe inundations, however, which ſuſpend all the labours of huſbandry, contribute to render the heat more ſupportable, without producing that malignant influence upon the climate which might be apprehended from them. Uncertain conjectures can only be formed of the population of the inland parts. That of the ſea-coaſts may amount to nine or ten thouſand men, divided into ſeveral nations, the moſt powerful of which are the Galibis. Some miſſionaries, by great attention and perſeverance, have found means to fix ſome of thoſe roving nations, and even to reconcile them to the French, againſt whom they had with reaſon entertained the ſtrongeſt prejudices. The firſt adventurers who frequented this country, took away, or bought men, whom they condemned to the hardeſt labours of ſlavery, on the very ſoil where they were born free, or ſold them to the coloniſts of the Caribbee iſlands. Their common price at firſt was about ſeventeen pounds a head. Happily for the inhabitants, they roſe ſo exorbitantly in their demands, that no purchaſers could be found. It was thought preferable to purchaſe

chaſe negroes, who were almoſt as expert at hunting and fiſhing, and better ſkilled in the labours of the great plantations that were then carrying on in every part.

Though the coaſt of this country be very low, yet within land there are fine hills very proper for ſettlements. The French, however, have not extended them ſo far as they might; but they raiſe the ſame commodities which they have from the Weſt Indian iſlands at Cayenne, on this coaſt, at the mouth of the river of that name, which is about forty-five miles in circumference. The iſland is very unhealthy; but having ſome good harbours, the French have ſome ſettlements, which raiſe ſugar and coffee.

The French were among the laſt nations who made *ſettlements in the Weſt Indies*; but they made ample amends by the vigour with which they purſued them, and by that chain of judicious and admirable meaſures which they uſed in drawing from them every advantage that the nature of the climate affords; and in contending againſt the difficulties which it threw in their way. They are ſenſible that, as the mother country is ultimately to receive all the benefit of their labours and acquiſitions, the proſperity of their plantations muſt be derived from the attention with which they are regarded at home. For this reaſon, the plantations are particularly under the care and inſpection of the council of commerce, a board compoſed of twelve of the moſt conſiderable officers of the crown, aſſiſted by the deputies of all the conſiderable trading towns and cities in France, who are choſen from the richeſt and moſt intelligent of their traders, and allowed a handſome ſalary for their attendance at Paris, from the funds of their reſpective cities. This council ſits once a week, when the deputies propoſe plans for redreſſing every grievance of trade, for raiſing the branches that are fallen, for extending new ones, and, in fine, for every thing that may improve the work, or promote the vent, of their manufactures. When they are all ſatisfied of the uſefulneſs of any regulation, they propoſe it to the royal council, where their report is always received with particular attention. An edict to enforce it accordingly iſſues; and is executed with a punctuality that diſtinguiſhes their government.

The internal government of their colonies is intruſted to a governor, or intendant, and a royal council. The governor is inveſted with a great deal of power; which, however, on the ſide of the crown, is checked by the intendant, who has the care of the king's rights, and whatever relates to the revenue; and on the ſide of the people, it is checked by the royal council, whoſe office it is to ſee that the peo-

ple

ple are not oppreſſed by one, nor defrauded by the other; and they are all checked by the conſtant and jealous eye which the government at home keeps over them; the officers of all the ports of France being charged, under the ſevereſt penalties, to interrogate all captains of ſhips coming from the colonies, what reception they met with at the ports to which they ſailed? how juſtice was adminiſtered to them? what charges they were made liable to, and of what kinds? That the colonies may be as little burdened as poſſible, and that the governor may have leſs temptation to ſtir up troubleſome intrigues, or favor factions in his government, his ſalary is paid by the crown; he has no perquiſites, and is ſtrictly forbidden to carry on any trade, or to have any plantations in the iſland, or on the continent; or any intereſt whatever, in goods or lands, within his government, except the houſe he lives in, and a garden for his convenience and recreation. All the other officers are paid by the crown, out of the revenues of the mother country. The fortifications are built and repaired, and the ſoldiers paid out of the ſame funds. In general their colonies pay no taxes; but when, upon any extraordinary emergency, taxes are raiſed, they are always very moderate. The duties upon the export of their produce at the Weſt-Indian iſlands, or at its import into France, are next to nothing; in both places hardly making two per cent. The commodities ſent to the iſlands pay no duties at all. Their other regulations reſpecting the judges of the admiralty, law-ſuits, recovery of debts, lenity to ſuch as have ſuffered by earthquakes, hurricanes, or bad ſeaſons, the peopling their colonies, the number of whites to be employed by the planters, and laſtly, the management of negroes, cannot be ſufficiently admired; and might be imitated with great advantage by their neighbours.

The French colony upon the Spaniſh iſland of Hiſpaniola, or St. Domingo, is the moſt important and valuable of all their foreign ſettlements; and this they poſſeſs through the indolence of the Spaniards on that iſland, or the partiality of their court to the French nation.

Martinico is the largeſt of the iſlands of which the French have the ſole poſſeſſion, being ſixty miles in length, and half as much in breadth. The inland part of it is hilly, and pours out, on every ſide, a number of agreeable and uſeful rivers, which adorn and enrich this iſland in a high degree. The produce of the ſoil is ſugar, cotton, indigo, ginger, and ſuch fruits as are found in the neighbouring iſlands. But ſugar is here, as in all the Weſt India iſlands, the principal commodity, of which they export a conſiderable

able quantity annually. Martinico, is the reſidence of the governor of the French iſlands in theſe ſeas. Its bays and harbours are numerous, ſafe, and commodious; and ſo well fortified, that they often bade defiance to the Engliſh, till the war of 1756, when the Britiſh arms being triumphant in every quarter of the globe, this iſland was added to the Britiſh empire, but it was given back to the treaty of peace.

Guadalupe, about thirty leagues north of Martinico, and almoſt as much ſouth of Antigua, is forty miles long and thirty-eight broad. It is divided into two parts, by a ſmall arm of the ſea, or rather a narrow channel, through which no ſhips can venture; but the inhabitants paſs it in a ferry boat. Its ſoil is equally fertile with that of Martinico, producing ſugar, cotton, indigo, and ginger. This iſland is in a flouriſhing condition, and its exports of ſugar are almoſt incredible. Like Martinico it was formerly attacked by the Engliſh, who gave up the attempt; but in 1759, it was reduced by the Britiſh arms, and was given back at the peace of 1763.

St. Lucia received its name from being diſcovered on the day dedicated to the virgin martyr St. Lucia. The Engliſh took poſſeſſion of this iſland without oppoſition, in the beginning of the year 1639. They lived there peaceably for a year and a half, when a ſhip of their own nation, which had been overtaken by a calm off Dominica, carried off ſome Caribs, who were come in their canoes to bring them fruit. This violence occaſioned the ſavages of St. Vincent and Martinico to join the offended ſavages; and in Auguſt 1640, they all attacked the new colony. In their fury, they maſſacred every one that oppoſed them. The few who eſcaped their vengeance, quitted for ever a ſettlement that could not have arrived to any conſiderable degree of proſperity.

In the firſt ages of the world, before civil ſocieties were formed and poliſhed, all men in general had a common right to every thing upon earth. Every one was free to take what he pleaſed for his own uſe, and even to conſume it, if it were of a periſhable nature. The uſe that was thus made of a common right, ſupplied the place of property. As ſoon as any one had in this manner taken poſſeſſion of any thing, it could be taken from him by another without injuſtice. It was in this point of view, which can only be applied to the primitive ſtate of nature, that the European nations conſidered America when it was firſt diſcovered. They paid no regard to the natives, and imagined they were ſufficiently authoriſed to ſeize upon any country, if no other nation of our continent were in poſſeſſion of it. Such was conſtantly

and

and uniformerly the only public right obſerved in the new world, and which men have not ſcrupled to avow and attempt to juſtify in the preſent century. On theſe principles, by no means laudable. St. Lucia was to belong to any power that would people it. The French attempted it firſt. They ſent over forty inhabitants under the conduct of Rouſſelan, a brave, active, prudent man, A. D. 1650. and much beloved by the natives on account of his having married one of their women. His death, which happened four years after, put a ſtop to the general good he had begun to effect. Three of his ſucceſſors were murdered by the diſcontented Caribs, who were diſſatisfied with their behaviour to them; and the colony was declining when it was taken in 1664 by the Engliſh, who evacuated it in 1666. At length it was agreed on between theſe two powers, that St. Lucia, with Dominica, and St. Vincent, ſhould remain neutral. But the French, before the war of 1756 broke out, began to ſettle theſe iſlands; which by the treaty of peace were yielded up to Great Britain, and this iſland to France. The ſoil of St. Lucia, in the vallies, is extremely rich. It produces excellent timber, and abounds with pleaſant rivers, and well ſituated harbours; and is now declared a free port under certain reſtrictions. The Engliſh made themſelves maſters of it in 1778; but it was reſtored again to the French in 1783.

The iſland of *Tobago* is about thirty-two miles in length and nine in breadth. The climate here is not ſo hot as might be expected ſo near the equator; and it is ſaid that it lies out of the courſe of thoſe hurricanes, which have ſometimes proved ſo fatal to the other Weſt India iſlands. It has a fruitful ſoil, capable of producing ſugar, and indeed every thing elſe that is raiſed in the Weſt Indies, with the addition of cinnamon, nutmeg, and gum copal. It is well watered with numerous ſprings; and its bays and creeks are ſo diſpoſed as to be very commodious for ſhipping. The importance of this iſland appears from the expenſive and formidable armaments, which have been ſent thither by European powers in ſupport of their different claims. It ſeems to have been chiefly poſſeſſed by the Dutch, who defended their pretenſions againſt both England and France with the moſt obſtinate perſeverance. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, it was declared neutral; though by the treaty of peace in 1763, it was yielded up to Great Britain; but in June 1781, it was taken by the French, and ceded to them by the treaty of 1783.—*St. Bartholemew*, *Deſeada*, and *Mariegalante*, are three ſmall iſlands lying in the neighbourhood of Antigua and St. Chriſtopher's. They are of no great conſequence

conſequence to the French, except in time of war, when they give ſhelter to an incredible number of privaterrs, which greatly annoy our Weſt India trade. It would, therefore, be good policy in Great Britain to take poſſeſſion of theſe iſlands, which would ſeem to be a matter of no great difficulty, as they have been frequently reduced by the Engliſh, and as frequently given back to the French. St. Bartholomew is now to be conſidered as belonging to the crown of Sweden, being ceded to it by France in 1785.

CHAP. XV.

Of Surinam, the capital of the Dutch Colonies and Settlements in Guiana.—Of the Dutch American iſlands.

AFTER the Portugueſe had diſpoſſeſſed the Dutch of Brazil, they were obliged to conſole themſelves with their rich poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies, and to ſit down content in the Weſt with Surinam; a country once poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, but of no great value whilſt we had it, and which we ceded to them in exchange for New York; with two or three ſmall and barren iſlands in the north ſea, not far from the Spaniſh main. Dutch Guiana, is ſituated between five and ſeven degrees north latitude, extending an hundred miles along the coaſt from the mouth of the river, Oronoco, north, to the river Moroni, or French Guiana, ſouth. The climate of this country is generally reckoned unwholeſome; and a conſiderable part of the coaſt is low, and covered with water. The chief ſettlement is Surinam, a town built on a river of the ſame name; and the Dutch have extended their plantations thirty leagues above the mouth of this river. This is one of the richeſt and moſt valuable colonies belonging to the United Provinces; but it is in a leſs proſperous ſituation than it was ſome years ſince, owing, among other cauſes, to the wars with the fugitive negroes, whom the Dutch treated with great barbarity, and who are become ſo numerous, having increaſed from year to year, that they have formed a kind of colony in woods almoſt inacceſſible, along the rivers of Surinam, Saramaca, and Copename, and are become very formidable enemies to their former maſters. Under the command of chiefs, whom they have elected among themſelves, they have cultivated lands for their ſuſtinence, and make frequent incurſions in-

to

to the neighbouring plantations. The chief trade of Surinam conſiſts in ſugar, a great deal of cotton, tobacco, flax, ſkins, ſome valuable dying drugs, and coffee of an excellent kind.

The coffee-tree, originally the produce of Arabia, where nature ſcantily ſupplying the neceſſaries of life, ſcatters its luxuries with a laviſh hand, was long the favourite plant of that happy country. The unſucceſsful attempts made by the Europeans in the cultivation of it, induced them to believe that the inhabitants of that country ſteeped the fruit in boiling water, or dried it in the oven before they ſold it, in order to ſecure to themſelves a trade from which they derived all their wealth. They continued in this error, till they had conveyed the tree itſelf to Batavia, and afterwards to Surinam; when they were convinced by experience, that the ſeed of the coffee tree, as well as of many other plants, will never come to any thing, unleſs it is put freſh into the ground. The fruit of this plant reſembles a cherry. It grows in cluſters, and is ranged along the branches under the axillæ of the leaves, of the ſame green as thoſe of the laurel, but ſomething longer. When it comes to be of a deep red, it is gathered and carried to the mill. This mill is compoſed of two wooden rollers, furniſhed with two plates of iron, eighteen inches long, and ten or twelve in diameter: theſe are moveable, and are made to approach a third, which is fixed, and which they call the chops. Above the rollers is a hopper in which they put the coffee, from whence it falls between the rollers and the chops, where it is ſtript of its firſt ſkin, and divided into two parts, as may be ſeen by the form of it after it has undergone this operation, being flat on one ſide, and round on the other. From this machine it falls into a braſs ſieve, where the ſkin drops between the wires while the fruit it ſlides over them into baſkets placed ready to receive it. It is then thrown into a veſſel full of water where it ſoaks for one night, and is afterwards thoroughly waſhed. When the whole is finiſhed, and well dried, it is put into another machine, which is called the peeling-mill. This is a wooden grinder, which is turned vertically upon its trendle by a mule or a horſe. In paſſing over the dried coffee it takes off the parchment, which is nothing but a thin ſkin that detaches itſelf from the berry, in proportion as it grows dry. The parchment being removed, it is taken out of this mill to be winnowed in another, which is called the winnowing-mill. This machine is provided with four pieces of tin fixed upon an axle, which is turned by a ſlave with conſiderable force; and the wind that is made by the motion of theſe plates, clears the coffee of all the pellicles that are mixed with it. It is afterwards put upon

a table, where the broken berries, and any filth that may happen to remain, are ſeparated by negroes. After theſe operations the coffee is fit for ſale. The tree, which produces it, flouriſhes only in thoſe climates where the winters are extremely mild. The curious raiſe them only in *hot-houſes*, where they water them frequently, and this merely for the pleaſure of ſeeing them. The coffee-tree delights particularly in hills and mountains, where its root is almoſt always dry, and its head frequently watered with gentle ſhowers. It prefers a weſtern aſpect, and ploughed ground without any appearance of graſs. The plants ſhould be placed at eight feet diſtance from each other, and in holes twelve or fifteen inches deep. If left to themſelves they would riſe to the height of twenty feet; but they are ſtinted to five, for the ſake of gathering their fruit with greater care. Thus dwarft they extend their branches, ſo that they cover the whole ſpot round about them.

Connected with Surinam, it may be proper to mention the two Dutch colonies of Demerary and Iſſequibo on the Spaniſh main, which ſurrendered to the Engliſh in the year 1781, and were repreſented as a very valuable acquiſition, which would produce more revenue to the crown than all the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands united. But the report was either not believed or ſlighted, for theſe places were left defenceleſs, and ſoon retaken by a French frigate.

An ingenious writer* obſerves, that the inhabitants of Dutch Guiana, are either whites, blacks, or the reddiſh brown aboriginal natives of America. The promiſcuous intercourſe of theſe different people has likewiſe generated ſeveral intermediate caſts, whoſe colours immutably depend on their degree of conſanguinity to either whites, Indians, or negroes. Theſe are divided into mulattoes, tercerones, quarterones, and quinterones, with ſeveral intermediate ſubdiviſions, proceeding from their retrogade intercourſe.

There are ſo great a number of birds, of various ſpecies, and remarkable for the beauty of their plumage, in Guiana, that ſeveral perſons in this colony have employed themſelves advantageouſly with their ſlaves and independents, in killing and preſerving birds for the cabinets of naturaliſts in different parts of Europe. The torporific eel is found in the rivers of Guiana, which, when touched either by the hand, or by a rod of iron, gold, ſilver, copper, or by a ſtick of ſome particular kinds of heavy American wood, communicates a ſhock reſembling that of electricity. There are an immenſe number and variety of ſnakes in this country, which form

* Dr. Bancroft.

one

one of its principal inconveniencies. A ſnake was killed ſome years ſince, on a plantation which had belonged to Peter Amyatt, eſq. which was upwards of thirty-three feet in length, and in the largeſt place, near the middle, was three feet in circumference. It had a broad head, large prominent eyes, and a very wide mouth, in which was a double row of teeth. Among the animals of Dutch Guiana, is a Laubba, which is peculiar to this country. It is a ſmall amphibious creature, about the ſize of a pig four months old, covered with fine ſhort hair; and its fleſh, by the Europeans who reſide here, is preferred to all other kinds of meat.

The moſt noted, though not the largeſt iſland in America, belonging to the Dutch, is *St. Euſtatius*, or *Euſtatia*, ſituated about three leagues north of St. Chriſtopher's. It is only a mountain, about twenty-nine miles in circumference, riſing out of the ſea, like a pyramid, and almoſt round. But though ſo ſmall, and inconveniently laid out by nature, the induſtry of the Dutch has made it turn to very good account; and it is ſaid to contain 5000 whites, and 15,000 negroes. The ſides of the mountain are diſpoſed in very pretty ſettlements; but they have neither ſprings nor rivers. They raiſe here ſugar and tobacco; and this iſland, as well as Curaſſou, is engaged in the Spaniſh contraband trade; and both places generally profit by their neutrality. But when hoſtilities were commenced by Great Britain againſt Holland, admiral Rodney and general Vaughan were ſent with a conſiderable land and ſea force againſt St. Euſtatius, which, being incapable of defence, ſurrendered at diſcretion. The private property of the inhabitants was confiſcated with a degree of rigour very uncommon among civilized nations, and very inconſiſtent with the humanity and generoſity by which the Engliſh nation uſed to be characteriſed. The reaſon aſſigned was, that the inhabitants of St. Euſtatius had aſſiſted the revolted colonies with naval and other ſtores. But in the month of November, the ſame year, St. Euſtatius was retaken by the French, under the command of the marquis de Bouillé, though their force conſiſted of only three frigates, and ſome ſmall craft, and about three hundred men. A. D. 1781.

Though St. Euſtatius is not populous, yet it has ſpared ſome of its number to people a neighbouring iſland, known by the name of *Saba*. This is a ſteep rock, on the ſummit of which is a little ground, very proper for gardening. Frequent rains, which do not lie any time on the ſoil, give growth to plants of an exquiſite flavour, and cabbages of an extraordinary ſize. Fifty European families, with

about 120 ſlaves, here raiſe cotton, ſpin it, make ſtockings of it, and ſell them to other colonies as high as *twenty-ſix* ſhillings a pair. In all America there is no blood ſo pure as that of Saba, the women there preſerve a freſhneſs of complexion, which is not to be found in any other of the Caribbee iſlands. "Happy colony!" ſays an eloquent hiſtorian, "elevated at the top of a rock, between the ſky and the ſea, it enjoys the benefit of both elements without dreading its ſtorms; it breathes a pure air, lives upon vegetables, cultivates a ſimple commodity, from which it derives eaſe without the temptation of riches: is employed in labours leſs troubleſome than uſeful, and poſſeſſes in peace all the bleſſings of moderation, health, beauty, and liberty. This is the temple of peace, from whence the philoſopher may contemplate at leiſure the errors and paſſions of men, who come, like the waves of the ſea, to ſtrike and daſh themſelves on the rich coaſts of America, the ſpoils and poſſeſſion of which they are perpetually contending for, and wreſting from each other: hence may he view at a diſtance the nations of Europe bearing thunder in the midſt of the ocean, and burning with the flames of ambition and avarice under the heats of the tropics, devouring gold without ever being ſatisfied, wading through ſeas of blood to amaſs thoſe metals, thoſe pearls, thoſe diamonds, which are uſed to adorn the oppreſſors of mankind; loading innumerable ſhips with thoſe precious caſks, which furniſh luxury with purple, and from which flow pleaſures, effeminacy, cruelty, and debauchery. The tranquil inhabitant of Saba views this maſs of follies, and ſpins in peace the cotton which conſtitutes all his finery and wealth *."

Under the ſame climate lies the iſland of *St. Martin*, containing a conſiderable number of hills, which are ſo many rocks covered with heath. The ſandy ſoil of its plains and valleys can only be rendered fruitful by ſhowers, which ſeldom happen, and are leſs beneficial in proportion as they are exhaled by the ſun, or drained off from the places where they fall. Both theſe iſlands were captured by admiral Rodney and general Vaughan, at the time when Euſtatius ſurrendered to the arms of Great Britain, but were afterwards retaken by the French.

Curaſſou, which is about thirty miles long, and ten broad, is not only a barren iſland, and dependent upon the rains for its water, but the harbour is naturally one of the worſt in America. The Dutch, however, have entirely remedied that defect; for they have upon this harbour one

* Abbé Raynal.

of

of the largeſt, and, at the ſame time, the moſt elegant and cleanly towns in the Weſt Indies. The public buildings are numerous and handſome; the private houſes commodious; and the magazines large, convenient, and well filled. All kind of labour is here performed by engines, ſome of which are ſo well contrived, that ſhips are at once lifted into the dock. Though this iſland be naturally barren, the induſtry of the Dutch has brought it to produce a conſiderable quantity both of tobacco and ſugar; it has beſides good ſalt-works, for the produce of which there is a briſk demand from the Engliſh iſlands, and the colonies on the continent. But what renders this iſland of moſt advantage to the Dutch, is the contraband trade which is carried on between the inhabitants and the Spaniards, and their harbour being the rendezvous to all nations in the time of war. The Dutch ſhips from Europe wait here for intelligence, or pilots, and then proceed to the Spaniſh coaſts for trade, which they force with a ſtrong hand, it being very difficult for the Spaniſh guarda-coſtas to take theſe veſſels; for they are not only ſtout ſhips, with a number of guns, but are manned with large crews of choſen ſeamen, deeply intereſted in the ſafety of the veſſel and the ſucceſs of the voyage. They have each a ſhare in the cargo, proportioned to their reſpective ranks, and ſupplied by the merchants upon credit, and at prime coſt. This animates them with uncommon courage, and they fight bravely, becauſe every man fights in defence of his own property. Beſides this there is a conſtant intercourſe between this iſland and the Spaniſh continent.

Curaſſou has numerous warehouſes, always full of the commodities of Europe and the Eaſt Indies. Here are all ſorts of woollen and linen cloth, ſilks, ribbons, iron utenſils, naval and military ſtores, brandy, the ſpices of the Moluccas, and the callicoes of India, white and painted. Hither the Dutch Weſt India, which is alſo their African company, annually bring three or four cargoes of ſlaves; and to this mart the Spaniards themſelves come in ſmall veſſels, and carry off not only the beſt of the negroes, at a very high price, but great quantities of all the above ſorts of goods; and the ſettler has this advantage, that the refuſe of warehouſes and mercers' ſhops, and every thing that is grown unfaſhionable and unſaleable in Europe, go off here extremely well, every thing being ſufficiently recommended by its being European. The Spaniards pay in gold and ſilver, coined or in bars, cocoa, vanilla, jeſuit's bark, cochineal, and other valuable commodities. The trade of Curaſſou, even in times of peace, is ſaid to be annually worth,

to the Dutch, no leſs than 500,000l. but in time of war, the profit is ſtill greater, for then it becomes the common emporium of the Weſt Indies. It affords a retreat to ſhips of all nations, and at the ſame time refuſes none of them arms and ammunition. The intercourſe with Spain being then interrupted, the Spaniſh colonies have ſcarcely any other market from whence they can be well ſupplied either with ſlaves or goods. The French come hither to buy the beef, pork, corn, flour, and lumber, which are brought from the continent of North America, or exported from Ireland; ſo that whether in peace or in war, the trade of this iſland flouriſhes extremely. The trade of all the Dutch American ſettlements was originally carried on by the Weſt India company alone: at preſent, ſuch of the ſhips as go upon that trade, pay two and a half per cent. for their licences. The company, however, reſerve to themſelves the whole of what is carried on between Africa and the American iſlands.

The other iſlands, Bonaire and Aruba are inconſiderable in themſelves, and ſhould be regarded as appendages to Curaſſou, for which they are chiefly employed in raiſing cattle and other proviſions.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Daniſh American Iſlands, St. Thomas, and Santa Cruz.

ST. Thomas, the fartheſt iſland of the Caribbees towards the weſt, was totally uninhabited when the Danes undertook to form a ſettlement upon it. They were at firſt oppoſed by the Engliſh, under pretence that ſome emigrants of that nation had formerly begun to clear it. The Britiſh miniſtry ſtopped the progreſs of this interference; and the colony were left to form plantations of ſugar, ſuch as a ſandy ſoil of no greater extent than fifteen miles in circumference would admit of. So ſmall a cultivation would never have given any importance to the iſland of St. Thomas; but the ſea has hollowed out from its coaſt an excellent harbour, in which fifty ſhips may ride with ſecurity. So ſignal an advantage attracted both the Engliſh

liſh and French Buccaneers, who were deſirous of exempting their booty from the duties they were ſubject to pay in the ſettlements belonging to their own nations. Whenever they had taken their prizes in the lower latitudes, from which they could not make the windward iſlands, they put into that of St. Thomas to diſpoſe of them. It was alſo the aſylum of all merchant ſhips which frequented it as a neutral port in the time of war. It was the mart where the neighbouring colonies bartered their reſpective commodities, which they could not do elſewhere with ſo much eaſe and ſafety. It was the port from which they continually diſpatched veſſels richly laden to carry on a clandeſtine trade with the Spaniſh coaſts; in return for which, they brought back conſiderable quantities of metal and merchandize of great value. In a word, St. Thomas was a market of very great conſequence. Denmark, however, reaped no advantage from this rapid circulation. The perſons who enriched themſelves were foreigners, who carried their wealth to other ſituations. The mother-country had no other communication with its colony than by a ſingle ſhip, ſent out annually to Africa to purchaſe ſlaves, which being ſold in America, the ſhip returned home laden with the productions of that country. In 1719, their traffic increaſed by the clearing of the iſland of St. John, which is adjacent to St. Thomas, but not half ſo large. Theſe ſlender beginnings would have required the addition of Crab Iſland, or Bourriquen, where it had been attempted to form a ſettlement two years before.

This iſland, which is from eight to ten leagues in circumference, has a conſiderable number of hills; but they are neither barren, ſteep, nor very high. The ſoil of the plains and vallies, which run between them, ſeems to be very fruitful, and is watered by a number of ſprings, the water of which is ſaid to be excellent. Nature, at the ſame time that ſhe has denied it a harbour, has made it amends by a multitude of the fineſt bays that can be conceived. At every ſtep ſome remains of plantations and rows of orange and lemon trees are ſtill found; which make it evident that the Spaniards of Porto-Rico, who are not farther diſtant than five or ſix leagues, had formerly ſettled there.

The Engliſh, obſerving that ſo promiſing an iſland was without inhabitants, began to raiſe ſome plantations there, towards the end of the laſt century; but they had not time to reap the fruit of their labour. They were ſurpriſed by the Spaniards, who murdered all the men and carried off the women and children to Porto Rico. This accident did not deter the Danes from making ſome attempts to ſettle

there in 1717. But the ſubjects of Great Britain, reclaiming their ancient rights, ſent thither ſome adventurers, who were at firſt plundered and ſoon after driven off by the Spaniards. The jealouſy of theſe American tyrants extends even to the prohibiting of fiſhing boats to approach any ſhore where they have a right of poſſeſſion, though they do not exerciſe it. Too idle to proſecute cultivation, too ſuſpicious to admit induſtrious neighbours, they condemn the Crab Iſland to eternal ſolitude; they will neither inhabit it themſelves, nor ſuffer any other nation to inhabit it. Such an exertion of excluſive ſovereignty has obliged Denmark to give up this iſland for that of Santa Cruz.

Santa Cruz had a better title to become an object of national ambition. It is eighteen leagues in length, and from three to four in breadth. In 1643 it was inhabited by Dutch and Engliſh. Their rivalſhip in trade ſoon made them enemies to each other. In 1646, after an obſtinate and bloody engagement, the Dutch were beat, and obliged to quit a ſpot upon which they had formed great expectations. The conquerors were employed in ſecuring the conſequences of their victory, when they were
A. D. 1650. attacked and driven out by twelve hundred Spaniards, who arrived there in five ſhips. The triumph of theſe laſted but a few months. The remains of that numerous body, which were left for the defence of the iſland, ſurrendered without reſiſtance to 160 French, who had embarked from St. Chriſtopher's to make themſelves maſters of the iſland. Theſe new inhabi ants loſt no time to make themſelves acquainted with a country ſo much in requeſt. In a ſoil, in other reſpects excellent, they found only one river of a moderate ſize, which, gliding gently almoſt on a level with the ſea, through a flat country, furniſhed only a brackiſh water. Two or three ſprings, which they found in the innermoſt parts of the iſland, made but feeble amends for this defect. The wells were for the moſt part dry. The conſtruction of reſervoirs required time. Nor was the climate more inviting to the new inhabitants. The iſland being flat, and covered with old trees, ſcarcely afforded an opportunity for the winds to carry off the poiſonous vapours, with which its moraſſes clogged the atmoſphere. There was but one remedy for this inconvenience; which was to burn the woods. The French ſet fire to them without delay; and getting on board their ſhips, became ſpectators from the ſea, for ſeveral months, of the conflagration they had raiſed on the iſland. As ſoon as the flames were extinguiſhed,

guiſhed, they went on ſhore. They found the ſoil fertile beyond belief. Tobacco, cotton, arnotto, indigo, and ſugar, flouriſhed equally in it. So rapid was the progreſs of this colony, that in eleven years from its commencement there were upon it eight hundred and twenty-two white perſons, with a proportionable number of ſlaves. It was rapidly advancing to a degree of proſperity, which would have eclipſed the moſt flouriſhing ſettlements of the French nation, when ſuch obſtacles were thrown in the way of its activity as made it decline again. In 1696 there were no more than 147 men, with their wives and children, and 623 blacks remaining; and theſe were tranſported from hence to St. Domingo.

Some have ſuppoſed, that the neglect of Santa Cruz was the reſult of a determination of the court of Verſailles to abandon the ſmall iſlands, in order to unite all the ſtrength, induſtry, and population in the large ones. But this is a miſtaken notion. The reſolution did not take its riſe from the court, but from the farmers of the revenues, who found that the contraband trade of Santa Cruz with St. Thomas was detrimental to their intereſts. The ſpirit of finance has, at all times, been injurious to commerce*; it has deſtroyed the ſource from whence it ſprung. Santa Cruz continued without inhabitants, and without cultivation, till 1733, when it was ſold by France to Denmark for 32,000*l.* This *northern power* ſeemed likely to take deep root in America; but unfortunately, ſhe laid her plantations under the yoke of excluſive privileges. Induſtrious people of all ſects, particularly Moravians, ſtrove in vain to overcome this great difficulty. Many attempts were made to reconcile the intereſts of the coloniſts and their oppreſſors, but without ſucceſs. The two parties kept up a continual ſtruggle of animoſity, not of induſtry. At length the government, with a moderation not to be expected from its conſtitution, purchaſed, in 1754, the privileges and effects of the company. The price was fixed at about 453,000*l.* part of which was paid down, and the remainder in bills upon the treaſury, bearing intereſt. From this time the navigation to the iſlands was opened to all the ſubjects of the Daniſh dominions. The rapaciouſneſs of the treaſury unfortunately prevented the advantage which this arrangement would otherwiſe have produced. Indeed the national productions and merchandiſe, in ſhort, whatever they could draw from the firſt hand, and put on board Daniſh veſſels, were to be ſhipped from the mother country free of all duties; but,

* Abbé Raynal.

for

for all manufactures that did not fall under theſe deſcriptions, they demanded a tax of four per cent. All imports into the colonies paid five per cent. and all exports ſix. Of American productions, what was conſumed in the mother country had two and a half per cent. laid upon it; and what was carried to foreign markets had one.

At the ſame time that the trade to the iſlands recovered its natural independence, at the expence of theſe burdenſome reſtrictions, that to Africa, which is the baſis of it, was likewiſe laid open. The government had, above a century before, purchaſed of the king of Aquambou, the two forts of Fredericſburg and Chriſtianſburgh ſituated on the gold coaſt, at a ſmall diſtance from each other. The company, in virtue of its charter, had the ſole poſſeſſion of them; and exerciſed its privileges with that barbarity, of which the moſt poliſhed European nations have ſet the example in theſe devoted climates. Only one of its agents had the reſolution to renounce thoſe cruelties, to which cuſtom had given a ſanction. So great was the reputation of his humanity, and the confidence repoſed in his probity, that the blacks would come from the diſtance of a hundred leagues to ſee him. The ſovereign of a diſtant country ſent his daughter to him with preſents of ſlaves, that Schilderop, for ſo this European, thus revered through all the coaſts of Nigritia, was called, might give him a grandſon. "O virtue!" ſays an amiable writer, "thou doſt ſtill exiſt in the ſouls of theſe "wretched beings, condemned to dwell with tigers, or groan "beneath the yoke of their own ſpecies! They yet have "hearts ſuſceptible of the ſoft impreſſions of humanity and "beneficence! Juſt and virtuous Dane! What monarch "ever received ſo pure, ſo glorious a homage, as thy na"tion has ſeen thee enjoy? And where? Upon a ſea, "upon a continent, degraded for ever by an infamous traf"fic, of men exchanged for arms! and children ſold by "their parents! of crimes and misfortunes, carried on "through two centuries! We cannot ſufficiently deplore "ſuch horrors; and, if we could, our lamentations would "be uſeleſs*."

Whilſt the iſlands of St. Thomas and Santa Cruz remained in the hands of the Daniſh Weſt India company, they were ill managed, and of little conſequence; but ſince that wiſe and benevolent prince, the late king of Denmark, bought up the company's ſtock, they have been ſo much improved, that the iſland of St. Thomas is ſaid to produce upwards of 3000 hogſheads of ſugar of 1000 weight each, and

* Abbé Raynal.

other of the Weſt India commodities in tolerable plenty. In time of war, privateers bring in their prizes here for ſale; and a great many veſſels trade from hence along the Spaniſh main, and return with money in ſpecie or bars, and valuable merchandize. As to Santa Cruz, from a perfect deſert a few years ago, it is beginning to ſettle very faſt. Several perſons from the Engliſh iſlands have gone to ſettle there, and have received very great encouragement.

The Dutch and Danes hardly deſerve to be mentioned among the proprietors of America; their poſſeſſions there are comparatively nothing. But as they appear highly worth the attention of theſe powers, and as the ſhare of the Dutch is worth to them at leaſt 600,000*l.* a year, what muſt we think of our extenſive and valuable poſſeſſions? What attention do they not deſerve from us? and what may not be made of them by ſuch attention?

"There ſeems to be a remarkable providence," ſays an ingenious writer, "in caſting the parts, if I may uſe the expreſſion, of the ſeveral European nations who act upon the ſtage of America. The Spaniard, proud, lazy, and magnificent, has an ample walk in which to expatiate, a ſoft climate to indulge his love of eaſe, and a profuſion of gold and ſilver to procure him all thoſe luxuries his pride demands, but which his lazineſs would refuſe him. The Portugueſe, naturally indigent at home, and enterpriſing rather than induſtrious abroad, has gold and diamonds as the Spaniard has, wants them as he does, but poſſeſſes them in a more uſeful, though a leſs oſtentatious manner. The Engliſh, of a reaſoning diſpoſition, thoughtful and cool, and men of buſineſs rather than of great induſtry, impatient of much fruitleſs labour, abhorrent of conſtraint, and lovers of a country life, have a lot which indeed produces neither gold nor ſilver; but they have a large tract of fine continent, a noble field for the exerciſe of agriculture, and ſufficient to furniſh their trade without laying them under great difficulties. Intolerant as they are of the moſt uſeful reſtraints, their commerce flouriſhes from the freedom every man has of purſuing it according to his own ideas, and directing his life after his own faſhion. The French, active, lively, enterpriſing, pliable and politic; and though changing their purſuits, always purſuing the preſent object with eagerneſs, are, notwithſtanding tractable, and obedient to rules and laws, which bridle their diſpoſitions, and wind and turn them to proper courſes. Theſe people had a country, when Canada was in their poſſeſſion, where more is to be effected by managing the people than by cultivating the ground, and where a peddling commerce, that requires conſtant motion, flouriſhes

more

more than agriculture, or a regular traffic. The Dutch have a rock or two, on which to diſplay the miracles of frugality and diligence (which are virtues), and on which they have exerted theſe virtues, and ſhewn thoſe miracles."

CHAP. XVII.

CONTINUATION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, AND OTHER IMPORTANT EUROPEAN EVENTS.

Maſſacres of September.—The Duke of Brunſwick deſires a Conference with the French General.—Conqueſts of the French.---Philoſophical Diſcoveries.

IN the view of the hiſtory of France *, it has already been mentioned, that the approach of the Pruſſians ſpread an inſtantaneous alarm through the metropolis, and that even the aſſembly itſelf partook of the contagion. Of the conſequences I ſhall now give a more particular account. The rumour was, that the enemy intended to leave the fortified places behind them, and proceed immediately to Paris; and this was followed by continued reports that the duke of Brunſwick was within a few hours march of the capital. At this diſaſtrous moment, ſuſpicion lodged in every heart, and terror was depicted upon every countenance. Danton, a man who, from low origin, with only the advantage of a tolerable education, for he was bred a phyſician, had raiſed himſelf by his abilities and his boldneſs, to the ſituation of miniſter of juſtice, and who certainly projected the plan of diſmiſſing the old municipality, on the the 9th of Auguſt, ſtood forth in the aſſembly on this memorable emergency. He obſerved, that there were more than 80,000 ſtand of fire arms in Paris in the hands of private perſons; with theſe he propoſed to equip a volunteer army, who, inſtead of waiting for the approach of the enemy, ſhould ſally forth to meet the danger. Six commiſſioners from the aſſembly he propoſed to ſend to the ſections to accelerate the enrolments; and a body of cavalry, he added, might be equipped from thoſe horſes which were kept for pleaſure. The plan was inſtantly adopted, and a decree was paſſed, ordering all citizens, who were not prevented

* Vol. I.

by age and infirmities, to hold themſelves in readineſs to march at a moment's warning; and this was followed by another for the diſarming of all ſuſpected perſons.

M. Robeſpierre, who had been a member of the conſtituent aſſembly, and ſince that period, had occupied the ſtation of public accuſer, was now at the head of the Jacobin fraternity. He had been choſen a member of the new commune, as well as Marat, a Pruſſian, who exiſted by publiſhing a journal, and writing libels on the government. Theſe two men were intimately connected with Danton, the miniſter of juſtice; and to this triumvirate the horrors of that dreadful maſſacre, which is now to be related, have been aſcribed. Since the affair of the 10th of Auguſt, Petion, the mayor of Paris, had loſt ground with the populace, and Robeſpierre had proportionably riſen in their eſteem. His ſanguinary and unfeeling temper was more ſuited to heir ſavage cruelty, and his eloquence was of that ſpecies which is well adapted to vulgar apprehenſions *. In the Jacobin club, this man had been unremittingly clamorous for the trial of the ſtate priſoners; and, by his endeavours to ſatiate the barbarous revenge of the populace, he gained upon their affections.—Whether from a concerted plan to produce a general maſſacre, in which it is ſaid many of the members of the aſſembly were to be included; or whether it was ſimply intended to excite the ardour of the people to the defence of the country, is yet undetermined: but certainly, the mode purſued by the commune on the 2d of September A. D. 1792. was pregnant with danger to the tranquillity of the city. Inſtead of ordering the enrolments of volunteers to be made in their reſpective ſections, with order and quietneſs, they commanded the alarm guns to be fired at two o'clock, the tocſin, or alarm-bell, to be ſounded, the country to be proclaimed in danger; and they ſummoned the populace to meet in the Champ de Mars, whence they pretended they were to march in a body to meet the approaching enemy.

The alarm guns were fired, the tocſin did ſound, but it was not the knell of the Pruſſians, but of the unhappy priſoners confined in the gaols of Paris. The people did aſſemble, not to defend, but to exterminate their countrymen. It is a debt due to juſtice, however, to exonerate the citizens in general from the crimes of that day. The majority of the people, though greatly agitated by the alarm which was given, repaired not to the Camp de Mars, as theſe

* Miſs Williams's Letter.

magiſtrates

magiſtrates of murder and inſurrection had wiſhed, but, as it were, by inſtinct, to their reſpective ſections, and there entered their names as the ſoldiers of liberty.

A conſiderable multitude, however, was brought together. It was compoſed, as the Gironde * aſſert, partly of hired aſſaſſins, and men ſelected for the purpoſe of producing a tumult and a maſſacre, partly of the Marſellois and the remnant of the other fœderates, and partly of an immenſe multitude, attracted to the ſcene of riot by their curioſity or their fears. It is, however, uncertain after all that has been ſaid by both parties, whether the maſſacre was a preconcerted meaſure, or the ſpontaneous impulſe of a part of the populace. It is not very improbable that ſome of thoſe, who had loſt friends and relations in the affair of the tenth of Auguſt, might be ſufficiently exaſperated againſt ſtate priſoners, whom they conſidered as the authors of their misfortunes, to make the horrid propoſal. Be this as it may, the reſolutions of the aſſembly were ſcarcely announced, when a number of voices exclaimed, that they were ready to devote themſelves to the ſervice of their country, and to march againſt their foreign enemies, but they muſt firſt purge the nation of its domeſtic foes. Without further deliberation, a party of armed men proceeded to the Carmes, where a number of non-juring prieſts were detained till an opportunity ſhould occur of putting in force their ſentence of baniſhment; and there, in cold blood, the remorſeleſs aſſaſſins ſacrificed every one of theſe defenceleſs, and probably innocent, men.

From the Carmes they proceeded to the abbey priſon, in which were confined the Swiſs officers, and thoſe arreſted for treaſonable offences againſt the nation on the 10th of Auguſt. The murderers proceeded with a kind of method in their crimes. They impanelled a jury, nine of whom, it is ſaid, were Italians, or aſſaſſins from Avignon, and the other three French. Before theſe ſelf-conſtituted judges, the wretched priſoners underwent a ſummary examination. The watch-word that pronounced the culprit guilty, was *Il faut le largir*, "*He muſt be ſet at liberty*," when the victim was precipitated from the door, to paſs through a defile of miſcreants differently armed, and was cut to pieces with ſabres, or pierced through with innumerable pikes. Some they acquitted, and theſe were declared under the protec-

* The more moderate party, including Petion, Briſſot, Genſonne, Vergniaud. They derived their appellation from the department of Gironde, the deputies of which were among the leaders of the party. The oppoſite faction is called the Mountain, from its occupying the high ſeats in the hall of the convention.

tion

tion of the nation, and accompanied to their reſpective homes by ſome of the banditti.

The whole of the ſtaff-officers of the Swiſs guards were maſſacred, except their commander M. D'Affry. He had been a democrat from the firſt of the revolution; and when urged by the queen to aſſume the command in the Tuilleries on the 10th of Auguſt, had voluntarily abſented himſelf. The aſſaſſins continued the whole night of the ſecond at the abbey, and the priſon of the Chatelet, whence they proceeded to the priſon of La Force, where the ladies of the court, who were arreſted on the 10th of Auguſt, were confined. In this dungeon was the beautiful and accompliſhed princeſs de Lamballe, the friend and confidante of the queen. When ſummoned to appear before the bloody tribunal, ſhe was in bed, and was informed by the perſon who delivered the meſſage, that it was only intended to remove her to the abbey. She begged, in return, to remain undiſturbed, ſince to her one priſon was as acceptable as another. Being informed, that ſhe muſt appear immediately before the tribunal, ſhe dreſſed in haſte and obeyed the ſummons. In the courſe of her interrogation, no crimination againſt the queen or royal family could be extorted from her; and it is ſaid, it was the intention of the judges to acquit her. As ſhe was conducted, however, out of the priſon, ſtupified with horror at the mangled bodies that lay around her, ſhe received from behind a blow on the head with a ſabre, which produced inſtantly a violent effuſion of blood. In this ſituation, ſhe was ſupported by the arms by two men, who forced her to continue her progreſs over the dead bodies. As ſhe fainted every moment from loſs of blood, like Cæſar, ſhe was ſolicitous to fall in a decent attitude; and when at laſt ſhe became ſo enfeebled, as to be able to proceed no farther, her head was ſevered from her body. The mangled corpſe was expoſed to every kind of indignity, and the head, fixed upon a pike, was carried to the temple, and ſhewn to the unfortunate queen, who fainted at the horrid ſight. It was afterwards carried in triumph round the ſtreets of Paris, and particularly to the palace royal, where it was recognized, probably without much feeling, by her brutal relations. Madame de Tourzelle and her daughter, and ſome other ladies, who were confined in the ſame priſon, were ſpared.

Two commiſſioners of very oppoſite diſpoſitions were with the king, when the ſhocking exhibition of the head of Madame Lamballe was made under his windows. One of thoſe men, hearing the noiſe and recognizing the head, had the brutality to invite the king to come to the window, and

and he would ſee a very curious ſight. The king was advancing towards the window, when the other ran and withheld him, ſaying, the ſight was too ſhocking for him to ſupport. The perſon to whom the king afterwards related theſe circumſtances, aſked the names of the two commiſſioners. The king freely told him the name of the latter, but refuſed to mention that of the former; "becauſe," ſaid he, "it can do him no credit at any time, and might poſſibly, "at ſome future period bring him to trouble.*"

Theſe dreadful maſſacres laſted the whole of the ſecond and third of September. At the Abbey priſon 159 were maſſacred, excluſive of M. M. D'Angremont, Roſay, and de la Porte, who had been previouſly beheaded; at the ſeminary of St. Firmin, 92 unfortunate victims ſuffered; at the convent of the Carmelites 141; at the Hotel de la France 168; at the Chatelet 214; at the Conciergerie 85; at the Bicetre 153; at the cloiſter of the Bernardins 73; in all amounting to the ſhocking number of 1085; including, however, a conſiderable number of felons, who were impriſoned for forging aſſignats, and for other crimes. The number of the aſſaſſins has been variouſly reported. They were at firſt ſuppoſed to amount to many thouſands; but the general opinion is, that they did not exceed two or three hundred. It is evident, however, that the national aſſembly conſidered them in a formidable view, or they would have taken ſome more effective meaſures than that of ſending commiſſioners from time to time, to diſſuade them from their violence. It is probable that the number would at firſt be greatly exaggerated by report, and that the multitude who followed, from curioſity, or the hope of plunder, greatly exceeded thoſe who were actually engaged in the murders.

The friends of Petion aſſert, that he took every method to prevent the perpetration of theſe miſdeeds, but that he ſpoke in vain, while the miniſters of juſtice remained ſilent, M. Roland wrote repeatedly to M. Santerre; and the national guards were all ready in their ſections, waiting the orders of the commander in chief to diſperſe the mob; but there is too much reaſon to ſuppoſe Santerre an accomplice in the plot, if there was one, ſince he took no meaſures whatever to prevent their atrocities. It was in vain that the deputies diſpatched by the aſſembly exhorted the populace. M. Montmorin, the late mayor of Fontainbleau, though acquitted by a jury, was murdered in the ſight of the deputies. During this period of general confuſion, ſeveral miſcreants availed themſelves of the circumſtance, to gratify their pri-

* Dr. Moore's Journal.

vate

vate animoſity, and ſome individuals were aſſaſſinated in different parts of the city.

The example of Paris was fatally imitated in other places, particularly at Verſailles. The priſoners who had been confined at Orleans for ſtate offences, were ordered thither by the national aſſembly, on the 8th of September. The preceding evening a party of aſſaſſins proceeded from Paris, moſt of them in poſt chaiſes, and as ſoon as the priſoners arrived, maſſacred them on the ſpot. The inhabitants of Verſailles ſtood ſtupified with horror, and even the detachment which had guarded the captives from Orleans, ſtood paſſive ſpectators of the maſſacre. Thus periſhed the duke of Briſſac, the biſhop of Maudes, and about thirty others. At Lyons alſo ſome priſoners were maſſacred on the 9th.

About this time 170 French emigrants were landed from the packets and an open boat at Brighton, many of whom were obſerved to labour under very diſtreſſed circumſtances. Soon after 300 unfortunate Frenchmen of the above deſcription were put on ſhore at Eaſt Bourne, many of whom were very hoſpitably received by lord George Cavendiſh, lord Bayham, A. Pigot, eſq. and many other of the nobility and gentry of that place. They afterwards took different routes for the metropolis. Many from the above place and Brighton went to Lewis, and ſuch as could not get places on the ſtage coach, hired carts for their conveyance. Subſcriptions for the ſupport of theſe unfortunate people were ſoon ſet on foot, and amounted, in a few weeks, to upwards of 20,000l.

The advances of the combined armies, ſince the tenth of Auguſt, had been rapid and formidable. On the 30th of that month, general Dumourier called a council at Sedan of all the general officers who were then in that diſtrict, M. Dillon having been ordered from Valenciennes on purpoſe to aſſiſt it. He explained the diſtreſſed ſtate of the French army, and obſerved, that after taking poſſeſſion of Longwy, the enemy had proceeded to Verdun, and it was yet uncertain whether or not they would undertake the ſiege of Montmedy. The Pruſſian army amounted to full 55,000 choſen men; Clairfait, with 16,000, had taken poſt at Chiers, to the right of the Pruſſians; and a ſecond column of Auſtrians, commanded by prince Hohenloe, advanced to their ſupport, and were followed by the Heſſians and emigrants, whoſe numbers were reputed to be extremely formidable. In this council it was determined, that the French were by much too weak to attempt to face ſo immenſe a force, or to prevent it from paſſing the Meuſe,

which was fordable in ſixty-nine places from Verdun to Stenay.

On the 20th of September, the French were firſt enabled to arreſt the victorious progreſs of their adverſaries. On that day general Kellerman, whoſe diviſion conſiſted of not more than 16,000 men, was attacked by a body of troops greatly ſuperior both in number and in diſcipline. The determined bravery of the French baffled all the ſkill of their adverſaries. The duke of Brunſwick, who commanded the Pruſſians, attempted repeatedly to ſurround Kellerman, but *Dumourier* conſtantly preſented himſelf, and fruſtrated his manœuvres. Kellerman ſuſtained the attack for fourteen hours, and retained his poſt till ten o'clock at night, and then took another poſition to the right of the enemy, who ſuffered him quietly to make his movement, though it was not completed till the next morning. All parties are agreed in commending the firmneſs and order which were diſplayed on this occaſion by Kellerman's line. The artillery of the enemy made not the ſmalleſt impreſſion upon it, while the German ſoldiers were only kept to their guns by the diſcipline of the cane.

The advantages reſulting to the French from the events of this day were incredible. It leſſened their apprehenſions of the enemy, gave them a confidence in themſelves, and, no doubt, induced the Duke of Brunſwick to propoſe an *armiſtice*, and deſire a conference with the French general on the 24th. Various conjectures have been entertained concerning both the motives and the object of this convention. There is no evidence, however, to juſtify the report, that the miſtreſs or the miniſters of the king of Pruſſia had been bribed by the French; but, on the contrary, there is reaſon to believe, that nothing but the duke's conviction of the impoſſibility of conquering France produced this conceſſion. It is ſomething ſingular, that the confederate kings, who profeſſedly made war upon the conſtitution of 1791, ſhould now, after the loſs of ſo much blood and treaſure, deſire only, as their ultimate object, the re-eſtabliſhment of that conſtitution. It is a fact ſcarcely to be credited, that the ſame duke of Brunſwick, who, in the month of July, proſtituted his name by affixing it to a manifeſto, in which he profeſſed his intention of reſtoring to the king of France the full exerciſe of his former functions; in which he pronounced an irrevocable ſentence of death upon all the members of the national aſſembly, and other public functionaries acting under the conſtitution; that in the month of September he ſhould acknowledge the full authority of the French nation to give laws to itſelf; that

he

he ſhould intreat only for the perſonal fate of the king; that he ſhould, with his own lips requeſt it as a favour, that "any place whatever might be aſſigned him in the new order of things."

While it is evident, that the imprudent conduct of the combined courts proved the deſtruction of the unfortunate Louis, and that they would now retract only becauſe they were too late made ſenſible of their folly; it is to be regretted that this moderate language, let it proceed from what motive it would, was not attended to by the legiſlature of France. They were bound by all the moſt ſacred duties to give peace to their bleeding country, and the boon which was required by the king of Pruſſia was the moſt moderate that could be aſked; if ever ſo ſtrongly bent upon a republican government, a ſplendid title without power or without wealth, conferred upon their former monarch, could not have injured the real intereſts of the democracy. Such conduct would have been true policy, by forming an alliance with Pruſſia, France would have cut the very ſinews of the confederacy that had been inſtituted againſt her; England would have naturally become a partner in the treaty, and the moſt excellent conſequences for the benefit of mankind might have enſued. It had indeed a ſhew of ancient ſpirit and freedom, when the legiſlature decreed, that they could not treat with an enemy who appeared in arms, till he had totally evacuated their country. But this was falſe heroiſm; it was tinſel and not gold. True heroiſm is the reſult of wiſdom, and conſults the real happineſs of thoſe for whom it is intereſted. To ſave the lives of men, and to leſſen the ſum of human calamity; and to divert the attention of the nation from war and conqueſt, to the arts of peace, and the uſeful occupations of agriculture and commerce, would have conferred ſubſtantial glory on the repreſentatives of France.

The conferences, therefore, between the generals, from whom ſo much was expected, ended only in the retreat of the Pruſſians, who were ſoon after followed by the armies of Auſtria and Heſſe Caſſel. The firſt poſt abandoned by the Pruſſians was the paſs of Grand Pre: this was on the laſt day of September. On the firſt of October, Clermont was alſo evacuated, and the Pruſſians decamped from the ſtrong and fortified poſition on the heights of La Lune, where the French found upwards of 300 horſes half eaten. The retreat of the enemy was ſlow, encumbered as they were with ſick, and waſted with want and fatigue. Their route lay towards Verdun. It has been inſinuated, that more than once general Dumourier might have interrupted

their progreſs, and even poſſibly might have made priſoners of both the king and the general; and it has, from this circumſtance, been ſurmiſed, that a ſecret treaty exiſted between the generals. It muſt, however, be remembered, that the French army was ſtill inferior in number to the enemy, and the general was perhaps impreſſed with a conſideration of how much he muſt riſk by a defeat at this important criſis. It does not appear that the Pruſſians, in their retreat, made any conſiderable halt at Verdun; and the garriſon which they had ſtationed there ſurrendered, on capitulation, to general Dillon, on the 12th of October. The Pruſſian commander at this place had ſome very free converſation with general Dillon, in which he intimated the ſtrong deſire that his maſter had for peace and amity with the French nation.

The ſieges of Thionville and Liſle are conſpicuous circumſtances in the hiſtory of this campaign. The former is a ſmall but ſtrong fortreſs, and was entruſted to the command of general Felix Wimpſen, whoſe reply to the ſummons of the Auſtrian general was, "You may deſtroy the "fortreſs, and not leave one ſtone upon another, but you "cannot burn the ramparts." It reſiſted during the whole campaign, and held in check a force which was ſaid to amount to 28,000 men; and which, in ſeveral ſucceſsful ſallies, the beſieged frequently haraſſed and diſtreſſed. The town was relieved by the general retreat of the enemy; and the victorious garriſon and commander received all the honours and applauſe which a grateful country could confer.

As the poſſeſſion of the city of *Liſle* was conſidered by the Auſtrians as of the utmoſt importance to their views, no expence was ſpared to effect its reduction. On the twenty-ninth of September the duke of Saxe Teſchen, who was appointed by the court of Vienna on this important command, ſummoned the town to ſurrender, on pain of being delivered up to the horrors of war. To this ſummons the following anſwer was given by the council general of the commons. "We have juſt renewed our oath to be faith-"ful to the nation, and to maintain liberty and equality, "or to die at our poſt. We will not perjure ourſelves." On that very day the Auſtrian batteries began to play upon the town, and were directed, for upwards of a week, to that quarter which was inhabited by the lower claſs of citizens. The principal motive for this procedure was evidently, that by diſtreſſing them in particular, they might be rendered mutinous and ſeditious, and induced to riſe upon the magiſtrates and commanders, in order to force them

them into a capitulation. In this the enemy was diſappointed; for, on the contrary, inſpired with a degree of uncommon heroiſm, theſe very citizens cauſed the keys of the city to be carried into the great ſquare and hung upon the tree of liberty; and, at the ſame time paſſed a reſolution, that whoever preſumed to remove them for the purpoſe of delivering up the city, ſhould be puniſhed with inſtant death. This ſpirited reſolution the citizens of Liſle ſupported with (what ſhould always accompany true patriotiſm) order and diſcipline. They formed themſelves into ſeveral companies, to each of which were aſſigned its proper functions and ſtation. Every precaution was taken to prevent miſchievous effects from the bombardment, and a number of women and children were conſtantly employed in knocking out the fuſees, to prevent the exploſion. The city, however, was ſoon reduced to a heap of ruins; and the inhabitants were compelled to take up their reſidence in temporary huts, or in vaults and cellars, which were formed into a kind of caſemates, by the immenſity of rubbiſh heaped upon them. The churches and public buildings were almoſt all deſtroyed; but the valour, patriotiſm, and virtue of the inhabitants, increaſed with their diſtreſs; and as ſoon as a family was driven from its habitation by the devaſtations of the artillery, it was hoſpitably incorporated with another. To the ſixth of October at noon, the firing was inceſſant; ſhells, red-hot balls, and every inſtrument of deſtruction, were ſhowered upon the devoted city. The princeſs Chriſtina, ſiſter to the duke of Saxe Teſchen, with her whole court, attended to view the brilliant ſpectacle, and in the hope of enjoying the triumph of conqueſt. It is even ſaid, that the princeſs herſelf applied the match to ſome of the engines of deſtruction. As the garriſon was too ſmall to waſte its force in ſallies, nothing of that kind was attempted; but its courage and indefatigable aſſiduity are beyond encomiums; and Marſhal Ruait, the commander, deſerves to be recorded with every mark of reſpect. It is computed that the Auſtrian batteries fired upwards of 30,000 red-hot balls, and 6000 bombs, upon the city, excluſive of the fire of one of the fineſt battering trains that ever appeared in the field. Notwithſtanding this the loſs of lives was not great; ſo formidable in appearance, and ſo little deſtructive in reality is artillery. The whole loſs of both the garriſon and people did not exceed 500, three-fourths of whom were women and children. The Auſtrians had flattered themſelves with being able to maintain his poſt, ſhould they have ſucceeded in their plan for its reduction, notwithſtanding the retreat of the combined

armies; but finding themſelves utterly deceived in their expectations, on the 7th and 8th of October, they began to break up their camp, and the ſiege was raiſed.

The arms of France, at this period, were victorious in every quarter. The king of Sardinia had long been regarded as hoſtile to the revolution. He had been among the firſt to encourage and aſſiſt the emigrants; he had acceded to the treaty of Pilnitz; he had arreſted the French ambaſſador on the frontiers, on pretences allowed afterwards to be groundleſs; he had increaſed his armaments in Savoy, and filled the fortreſs of Montmelian with troops; and after the affair of the 10th of Auguſt he had held a congreſs of the foreign miniſters, to deliberate on a plan for invading France. That plan was, however, deferred. It was upon theſe reaſons that the national aſſembly, on the 16th of September, declared war againſt the king of Sardinia; and about the 20th, general Monteſquieu entered the territories of Savoy. He deſcribes his march as "a triumph."—He was every where received with joy, and troops flocked to his ſtandard from every part. A deputation from Chambery waited upon him almoſt as ſoon as he paſſed the boundary, and, on the 21ſt, he proceeded with a detachment to take poſſeſſion of that city. The municipality waited for him at the gate in their dreſs of ceremony to deliver up the key; and teſtified, in warm terms, the eſteem in which the people of Savoy held the French nation. At the hotel de Ville, he received the homage of all the citizens, and invited them all to an entertainment he had prepared for the purpoſe. As a mark of confidence, he left the hotel de Ville in the cuſtody of their own town guards, a circumſtance which was received with every expreſſion of ſatisfaction by the citizens. The whole country of Savoy ſubmitted without reſiſtance.

The conqueſt of Savoy by the French ſpread an inſtant alarm over the neighbouring ſtates, and the ariſtocratic faction in Geneva, in particular, felt no inconſiderable portion of uneaſineſs. From the other Swiſs cantons this party demanded a garriſon of 1600 men, while a French party in the city were clamorous for placing the republic under the protection of France. There appears ſome reaſon to ſuſpect that the executive council of France were not indiſpoſed to take poſſeſſion of this flouriſhing republic; and, with or without reaſon, for the affair has never been ſatisfactorily explained, pretended to be offended by the admiſſion of the Swiſs garriſon. Monteſquieu, by their orders, preſented himſelf before the city. The ariſtocracy became immediately alarmed; they extended the olive-

branch

branch to the French general, and the diſpute was terminated with apparent equity on the one ſide, by the admiſſion of the Swiſs garriſon, and, on the other, by the withdrawing of the French troops from the vicinity of the republic. The democratic party in Paris could not eaſily forgive this conceſſion in their general. Monteſquieu was ſuſpected, and even accuſed, of having received a bribe; and ſoon after various charges of peculation being exhibited againſt him, to ſave himſelf from deſtruction, or at leaſt from the humiliation and riſk of a trial, he left the army and eſcaped into Switzerland.

The conqueſts of Cuſtine in the circle of the Upper Rhine were truly brilliant. In the courſe of a few days, Spires, Worms, and Frankfort ſurrendered to this victorious commander, with very little reſiſtance. The ſucceſſive capture of three places, of ſuch conſiderable ſtrength and importance, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, is almoſt without example in the hiſtory of military affairs. The enlarged and ardent ambition of the general would have penetrated to Coblentz, that noted receptacle of the enemies of French liberty. In this daring project, he complained that he had been diſappointed by the tardineſs and inactivity of Kellerman. He wiſhed that general to paſs the Sarre and the Moſelle directly to Treves and Coblentz, and to leave a ſmall party to watch the motions of the Pruſſians in their return. Kellerman, however, vindicated himſelf by ſtating, that after Dumourier left him, he had no more than 15,000 men under his command; the Pruſſians amounted to 55,000 men, and conſequently general Kellerman was neither able to penetrate ſuch a body, nor did he think it ſafe to leave the French territory again open to their incurſions. The general, diſappointed in this favourite meaſure, ſtill proceeded to extend his conqueſts in the dominions of the prince of Heſſe.

Perhaps the whole hiſtory of mankind ſcarcely includes a picture ſo ſtriking, of the ſurpriſing effects reſulting from the enthuſiaſm of liberty, as the ſtate of France at this moment preſented. Actuated by this ſpirit, the haſty levies of undiſciplined peaſants, were at once converted into regular armies. Battalions, compoſed chiefly of beardleſs boys, chaſed from the field the diſciplined legions of Germany and Pruſſia; and though checked by no military ſyſtem, no code of war, no regularly appointed authority, this principle alone was ſufficient to retain them in order and ſubordination. Even the female ſex partook in the general patriotiſm, and many of them proved equal in courage and conduct to the braveſt of ours. Not only the

ſiſter of general Anſelme and the two miſs Fetnings, who ſerved as aids de camps to general Dumourier, but many others of the French women diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the moſt heroic exertions; and even the artillery was frequently ſerved by female patriots, who, regardleſs of natural or habitual weakneſs and imbecility, by their ſpirit and activity, compenſated for the want of that vigour which has hitherto been excluſively attributed to men.

Much about this time two important philoſopical diſcoveries were made; the one by a Frenchman, the other by an Italian, at Bologna. The firſt is, the power of light to render the vitriolic acid altogether harmleſs to the human body; inſomuch that a man may waſh his hands in a ſubſtance that would otherwiſe reduce them to a cinder, with this ſole precaution of ſetting the baſon in the rays of the ſun. The Italian's diſcovery conſiſts in proving, experimentally, that animal motion depends on electric fire. His experiments are of that cruel nature, which can only be repeated by the hardened anatomiſt. They are brought to what is called the *experimentum crucis*; for a muſcle being cut, and the parts ſeparated, the motion of the one part produces a correſpondent motion in the other, when a ſubſtance that is a conductor of the electric fluid is interpoſed between them; but no ſuch motion is produced when a non-conductor is interpoſed.

CHAP. XVIII.

French Convention.—Titles aboliſhed.—Succeſs of the Republican Arms.—Factions in the Convention.—Achievements of General Dumourier.

IT is generally agreed that the legiſlative aſſembly, both in character and ability, was much inferior to that which preceded it. Its characteriſtic, however, was rather weakneſs than diſhoneſty. The majority was undoubtedly compoſed of men who meant well to their country; but unfortunately, by the intrigues of the Jacobins, the influence of the Paris mob, and the activity of the republicans themſelves, a ſmall faction of anarchiſts and levellers became,

came, in the end, the ruling party. Had the aſſembly in time taken the deciſive ſtep to decree the removal of the king and the legiſlature from the factious metropolis, they might ſtill have continued their labours with profit to their country and honour to themſelves. After the fatal 10th of Auguſt, the aſſembly acted entirely under the control of the populace. The galleries, and not the benches, decided every queſtion.

On the *twentieth* of September, the convention met; but if there was reaſon to complain that the legiſlative aſſembly was inferior in reſpectability to their predeceſſors, it was with grief and apprehenſion that men of ſenſe and reflection obſerved the national convention compoſed of men ſtill leſs reſpectable. Petion, Robeſpierre, and a few of the moſt violent of the conſtituent aſſembly, were rechoſen on this occaſion; and Danton, Chabot, Merlin, and others equally without property, rank, or character, were ſelected from the preſent legiſlature. Foreigners were invited to become repreſentatives of France, and unfortunately they were invited, not for the reputation of integrity, but becauſe they had been foremoſt in the career of republicaniſm, and becauſe they had diſclaimed every title to moderation or judgment in their opinions on the ſcience of government. The celebrated Thomas Paine was invited from England to repreſent one department; and a Pruſſian, of the name of Cloots, a wretched maniac, whom the humanity of this country would have charitably provided with medical aid in the cells of Bethlehem, was choſen to repreſent another. The department of Paris was, however, firſt in infamy upon this as upon every other occaſion. There the proſtituted duke of Orleans, diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Egalité*, was united with the infamous incendiary and aſſaſſin Marat, with the painter David, and with Legendre, litterally by profeſſion a butcher. Actors, news-writers, and men from almoſt the loweſt ranks and ſtations were mingled with the degraded remnants of the ci-devant nobleſſe, and with ſuch of the clergy as had ſufficient laxity of principle to diſavow their engagements with the head of their church. This heterogeneous maſs, however, included ſome men reſpectable for their talents, and ſome unimpeached as to their integrity. But the brilliancy of Condorcet as a writer, does not compenſate for his evident inexperience and imbecillity as a ſtateſman; nor do the metaphyſical talents of the Abbé Sieyes appear very happily adapted to the practical purpoſes of political life.

From a body of men thus collected together, in a moment of political ferment, but little of wiſdom, little of unanimity,

minity, little of moderation, could be expected. M. Petion was elected preſident; and M. Condorcet, vice-preſident; and M. M. Camus, Vergniaud, Briſſot, Laſource, and Rabaud, ſecretaries. Their firſt movements were violent, haſty, and without deliberation; and they ſoon ſplit into factions. M. Collot d'Herbois, who had been formerly an actor, appeared upon the tribune, and reminded the aſſembly, that there was one declaration which could not for a moment be deferred, viz. the eternal abolition of royalty in France. It was in vain that M. Bazire and other members intreated the convention to proceed with more dignity and deliberation in ſo important a queſton; it was in vain they urged the neceſſity of giving it at leaſt the ſanction of a diſcuſſion. The abolition of royalty was voted by acclamation, and the houſe adjourned. On the following day a ſeries of decrees were paſſed, confirming this reſolution. All public acts were to be dated, "The firſt year of the French Republic." All citizens were declared elegible to all vacant places; and even the judges might be elected from among the ordinary citizens. The diſtinction eſtabliſhed by the conſtituent aſſembly between the active and paſſive citizens, was aboliſhed. In the courſe of ſucceeding ſittings, the penſions granted by the conſtituent aſſembly to the ejected clergy were ordered to ceaſe, with an exception in favour of thoſe above fifty years of age, whoſe penſions, however, were not to exceed 1000 * livres per annum. On this occaſion, M. Manuel roſe to propoſe, that, as royalty was aboliſhed, the order of prieſts, and all religious eſtabliſhments, ſhould be aboliſhed along with it. To the honour of the convention, however, this propoſal was heard with murmurs, and rejected with diſdain.

The rage of republicaniſm was however carried, at this period, to an unexampled exceſs of folly. With a puerility diſgraceful to a great nation, the innocent and undiſcriminating titles of Monſieur and Madame were aboliſhed, and the aukward phraſeology of Citizen ſubſtituted in their ſtead. The ſudden diſſolution of the judicial boards appeared ſo dangerous and raſh to all perſons in the leaſt accuſtomed to order and government, that even Thomas Paine, who by his adverſaries has been termed an anarchiſt in principle, deprecated the haſty adoption of the decree, and intreated that the tribunal might be gradually changed, inſtead of releaſing the nation at once, though for a ſhort period, from the ſalutary reſtraints of law.

* Fifty Pounds.

The

The brilliant and rapid ſucceſs of the republican arms, however, in the very outſet of their career, produced the moſt aſtoniſhing conſequences throughout all Europe. It gave firmneſs to the party who had ſeized the powers and means of government in France; it emboldened them to inſult their neighbours in preſumptuous defiance, to outrage human nature with impunity, and to revile in blaſphemous impiety the Deity himſelf. The confederated princes, whoſe menaces had provoked the irritation, as their diſcomfiture had crowned the triumphs of theſe ferocious republicans, did not abandon their former principles, but ſucceeded in engaging their affrighted neighbours in the ſame cauſe. Before the cloſe of November, the dominion of the republic was rapidly extended from the Alps to the Rhine, from Geneva to the mouth of the Scheldt; and the moſt numerous and beſt appointed armies of the univerſe were every where flying from the undiſciplined, naked, but enthuſiaſtic troops of the victorious republic. The houſe of Auſtria had but recently ſecured by the power of the ſword the allegiance of the ſtates of Brabant and Flanders. They had riſen to ſhake off the yoke of the emperor Joſeph, who had deprived them of ſome privileges, upon the condition of which they had originally put themſelves under the protection of the houſe of Auſtria. The favourite but ill-judged policy of not yielding to the wiſhes or claims of the people, whilſt a government thinks itſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to reſiſt them by force, was here exemplified in a moſt ſtriking manner. The brave Belgians, though heretofore too weak to withſtand the imperial arms, were too ſpirited to abandon their claims to their rights and privileges. They perſiſted in demanding in peace, what they could not obtain by war. After the taking of Mons all was fear and confuſion at Bruſſels. The French emigrants, and every dependent upon the court, were at one time on their flight: the latter had ſecured whatever boats, horſes, and carriages they could, to tranſport themſelves and their effects: and the dread of falling into the hands of the patriots had completely cleared Bruſſels of every one who had avowed and ſupported the principles of the confederated princes againſt the republic. The archduchefs Mary removed with the court to Ruremondes, whilſt her huſband, the duke of Saxe Teſchen was with the army. In her flight ſhe left a melancholy monument of the reluctance with which government yielded to the juſt voice of the Belgian people; and in it an important leſſon to all ſovereigns, that to with-hold the rights of their people, is to deſtroy at once their own power and authority. She addreſſed two diſpatches to the Belgian people: one of

them to announce her intention of holding her court at Ruremonde; the other to communicate to them the confirmation of the charter of their liberties, called the *Joyeuſe Entrée.* She aſſured them of his majeſty's intention to *make juſtice always the baſis of her reign,* and that he had therefore empowered her to declare, that he would inviolably maintain the Brabantine conſtitution, and the Joyeuſe Entrée. An earlier attention to this juſtice might have increaſed the regret of the Brabanters at the departure of the archduchеſs, and mitigated their joy at the arrival of Dun ourier.

The rapid and ſucceſsful progreſs of the French arms ſeems to bave electrified all the friends of liberty throughout Europe, with a ſympathetic ſtroke. The cauſe of France was made common with every complaint of grievance, and the unwillingneſs to examine and correct abuſes in government was conſidered as an open federacy with the enemies of the French revolution, to oppreſs the general cauſe of civil freedom. Throughout the Belgian provinces the reluctance and tardineſs of the emperor to admit and confirm the Brabantine conſtitution, found a quick and palatable remedy in the ſucceſs of the cauſe of France; whilſt the patriotic party in Holland ſought in the ſame ſource an alleviation of their grievances againſt the power of the Stadholder, which the arms of Pruſſia had recently increaſed. In England, particularly at Sheffield, the friends and ſupporters of a parliamentary reform conceived that they beheld, in the ſucceſs of the French arms, a ſure earneſt of their own free choice, as well as that of their fellow citizens, in the free members of a free parliament.

But to return to the new legiſlators. The conqueſt of Savoy afforded a temptation, which the convention was not poſſeſſed of wiſdom or fortitude to reſiſt. Contrary to all their former profeſſions of a diſintereſted zeal for the liberties of mankind, this injudicious and feeble aſſembly converted it into an eighty-fourth department, and thus by one falſe ſtep loſt the confidence of Europe, and afforded a precedent for future decrees, which nearly proved fatal to the liberty and independence of France. The decree which renounced conqueſt, and which limited the operations of war to the ſimple principle of ſelf defence, was worthy of an enlightened age and an enlightened people, and will be ever recorded to the honour of that body which enacted ſo juſt and politic a law. To depart from that principle degraded a free people to the level of deſpotic ſtates, and was

at

at once the fulleſt proof of the diſhoneſty or the weakneſs of the national convention *.

The incapacity of the convention was alſo ſoon evinced by their ungrateful and unworthy treatment of their generals and commanders. La Fayette, it might be fairly ſaid, had forfeited their confidence by adopting and avowing principles diametrically oppoſite to thoſe on which they thought proper to found the new edifice of government. But againſt Luckner there was no ſpecific charge. Yet Luckner was denounced as an enemy to the country; the moſt atrocious falſehoods were aſſerted concerning him; and finally, he was diſmiſſed the ſervice. General Dillon had agreed to an armiſtice with the prince of Heſſe, when the national convention choſe to believe that he might have made priſoners of the Heſſians; for this he was denounced and accuſed, though he afterwards had ſufficient addreſs to procure a reverſal of the decree. General Monteſquieu was one day diſmiſſed from his command, and the next he was reinſtated in it. In a word, ſuch was their abſurd conduct, that they ſcarcely left the republic a general capable of commanding its armies, or an officer whom they could truſt. Great care ought to be obſerved in inveſting an individual with the chief command; but, when it is entruſted to him, a conſiderable ſhare of confidence ſhould always accompany it. No man will riſk his life, his happineſs, his reputation, without the proſpect of a brilliant reward: and if, after the moſt meritorious ſervices, a military character is to experience nothing but ingratitude and detraction, his views will ſoon be turned into an oppoſite direction to that of patriotiſm; they will ſoon be directed to ſelf-preſervation and private emolument, and he will think rather of ſecuring a comfortable retreat than of expoſing himſelf in a conteſt where he has every thing to loſe and nothing to gain.

The convention was ſcarcely aſſembled, when its peace was diſturbed by the appearance of factions the moſt diſaſtrous to the country. On the 26th of September, Laſource denounced Robeſpierre and Marat as aſpiring to the dictatorſhip, and they were at the ſame time charged, and upon apparently not the worſt grounds, with being indirectly at leaſt concerned in the horrid maſſacres on the ſecond and third of September. It ſhould be mentioned to the honour of the convention, that a committee was appointed to inquire into the facts relative to the maſſacres; but unfortunately the predominant influence of the Pariſian

* An Impartial Hiſtory of the French Revolution.

mob

mob deterred them from proſecuting the inquiry as ſtrict juſtice demanded. The miniſter of juſtice, Danton, gave in his reſignation on being elected a member of the convention. Roland requeſted permiſſion to do the ſame, but retained his office for ſome time longer, at the requeſt of the convention. The ſtatement of the finances by the miniſter Claviere was clear and able. He recommended œconomy in the various departments, and, with an honourable attention to the morals of the people, reprobated lotteries. The war miniſter, Servan, ſoon after reſigned, and was ſucceeded by Pache.

It would be an abuſe of time, to detail debates which were productive of no permanent effect, or to regiſter decrees too inſignificant to be remembered. Thoſe which were enacted againſt the emigrants are of more importance. On the 9th of October it was decreed, "that all emigrants "taken in arms ſhould be put to death twenty-four hours "after they had been declared guilty, by a military com- "mittee; and that all foreigners, ſince the 14th of July, "1789, had quitted the ſervice of France, and entered into "that of the enemy, ſhould be conſidered as armed "emigrants." The ſeverity of this decree was, however, exceeded by that of the 12th of November, which extended the penalties of death to what they termed 'reputed emigrants,' or thoſe not immediately engaged in hoſtilities.

By a further decree of the 27th, thoſe unfortunate emigrants, who had returned in the hope of finding pardon and relief in the boſom of their country, were ordered to depart in twenty-four hours, and the penalty of death was awarded againſt ſuch who ſhould fail inſtantly to obey. Whatever apologies may be urged from the peculiar and critical ſituation of France, in favour of theſe decrees, they will ſcarcely be ſuch as completely to ſatisfy the friends of freedom. The confeſſors of liberty, like the martyrs of Chriſtianity, ſhould be rather prepared to ſuffer than to commit injuſtice. They ſhould never permit a *principle* to be violated; and as their only object, their only plea, is the happineſs of mankind, that happineſs ſhould not be invaded in a ſingle inſtance, if poſſible, by themſelves.

Another decree it is neceſſary to notice, as it has excited more attention than almoſt any other proceeding of the national convention, and has, perhaps, made them more enemies in foreign countries than any meaſure which they could have adopted. We allude to the decree of *fraternity*, of the 19th of November. The circumſtance, in which this imprudent reſolution originated, was an inſurrection in the bailiwick of Darmſtadt, in the territories of the duke of Deux Ponts, at that period at war with the French nation.

tion. The people, headed by the magiſtrates and principal inhabitants of the diſtrict, had declared their wiſhes to be united to France, and ſolicited her protection againſt their former maſter. To have acceded to the requeſt, would have been acting agreeably to the law and practice of nations; but with their uſual enthuſiaſm, and without deliberation, the convention, or rather the galleries, paſſed, by acclamation, a decree in the following terms: "The "national convention declare, in the name of the French "nation, that they will grant fraternity and aſſiſtance to all "thoſe people who wiſh to procure liberty; and they charge "the executive power to ſend orders to the generals to give "aſſiſtance to ſuch people as have ſuffered, or are now ſuf-"fering in the cauſe of liberty."

It will here be proper to give a particular account of the triumphs of Dumourier, who repaired to Paris to concert meaſures for the winter campaign, and after a ſtay of only four days, returned to the army to make the neceſſary arrangements, and to prepare for entering the Auſtrian Netherlands. From the period when the ſiege of Liſle was raiſed, the Auſtrians had continued to retire before the victorious French. Within their own territories, however, they determined to make a ſerious ſtand, and there they began to collect their ſcattered forces. The firſt reſiſtance which Dumourier experienced, was at the village of Boſſu, which is ſituated about a league from the ſince celebrated poſt of Jemappe. At this place the general repreſents the enemy to have taken an excellent poſition, but they were unable to withſtand the excellence of the French artillery, and the ardour of the dragoons. The Auſtrians were in number from eight to ten thouſand; and they had one hundred and fifty killed, and two hundred taken priſoners; the French loſt only twenty. This action took place on the 4th of November, and the Auſtrians were ſo little in expectation of an attack at that time, that the officers had juſt prepared a very ſplendid banquet, which the French, arrived juſt in time, took poſſeſſion of. From Boſſu Dumourier proceeded, early the next morning, towards Mons, and ſoon came in ſight of the enemy, ſtrongly poſted to the heights of Jemappe. Their right was covered by the village of that name, and by the river; and their left by thick woods. Three rows of fortifications were obſerved one above another like the ſeats of an amphitheatre, upon which were mounted nearly one hundred pieces of cannon. Had the general therefore truſted his artillery in this engagement, the advantage of the ground was ſo entirely in favour of the enemy, that he muſt probably have been defeated. Here the enthuſiaſm of the

French

French character proved an excellent auxiliary to the ſkill of the general. The army, which was principally compoſed of young men, had been long ambitious of a cloſe engagement. The general ſecretly favoured the deſign, but he reſtrained their ardour only in the hope of increaſing it. The French paſſed the night within ſight of their adverſaries. At ſeven in the morning, a very heavy cannonade commenced on both ſides, and continued till ten without much effect on the part of the French, which confirmed the general in his ſentiments with reſpect to the mode of attack which it would be proper to purſue. As he went along the bottom of the line, the troops teſtified the utmoſt impatience to charge the enemy with their bayonets. The general, however, contented himſelf with ordering colonel Thuvenot, adjutant-general, to attack the village of Carignon (which was neceſſary to enable him to aſſail Jemappe on that ſide), and, at the ſame time approaching the batteries, to produce greater effect.

At noon the French general determined on a cloſe attack. The number of the French who formed for this purpoſe amounted to about thirty thouſand, and the Auſtrians are computed, at the loweſt, to have been upwards of twenty-four thouſand, three thouſand of which were cavalry. The right wing of the French, conſiſting of the van guard, was commanded by generals Bournonville and Dampierre; and the centre by generals Egalité, Stetenhoffe, Deſporets and Drouet. The infantry formed almoſt inſtantaneouſly, and the general preſenting himſelf in the front of the line, the muſic, by a ſignal previouſly appointed, began to play the celebrated Marſeillois ſong. The ſoldiers, thus encouraged, ruſhed impetuouſly on with ſhouts of "Vive la Nation!" and joining in the chorus of the favourite tune. The firſt line of redoubts was inſtantly carried. The cavalry of the enemy, however, advancing at this criſis, with a view of flanking the French, the general diſpatched young Egalité to repel this attack, and ſupported him moſt opportunely by a detachment of chaſſeurs and huſſars. At the ſame moment ſome diſorder appeared in Bournonville's cavalry. General Dumourier rallied them himſelf, and in the mean time the left wing, which conſiſted chiefly of the Belgian volunteers, had obtained poſſeſſion of Jemappe, and the centre carried the ſecond line of redoubts.

After a ſhort reſiſtance on the heights the enemy, at about two o'clock, retreated with the utmoſt precipitation and diſorder to Mons. The French, in this engagement, experienced the moſt obſtitate reſiſtance from the Hungarians,

through whoſe ranks they would only force their way by cutting down their opponents. The loſs of both parties in this action has been differently eſtimated. It muſt have been great, for there has ſeldom been a field more obſtinately conteſted; that of the Auſtrians muſt have exceeded the loſs of the French, ſince an enemy who flies in an early part of the day always ſuffers conſiderably; but Dumourier probably over-rated their loſs in killed and wounded when he ſtated it at four thouſand, as he eſtimates his own at only nine hundred; and the loſs muſt have been more equal.

The buſineſs of this day ſerved to inſpire the Auſtrians with the ſame reſpectable opinion of French valour, which was entertained previouſly and acknowledged by the duke of Brunſwick. Some ſignal acts of courage were performed. The young general Egalité acquired much reputation; and ſuch was the enthuſiaſm of all ranks, that Baptiſte, Dumourier's valet de chambre, rallied and brought up to the charge a regiment of dragoons and two battalions of national guards who had been repulſed.

The victory of Jemappe was deciſive as to the fate of the Netherlands. The general inſtantly ſummoned the city of Mons, which, on the ſucceeding morning, ſurrendered, and was taken poſſeſſion of by general Bournonville. From Mons Dumourier proceeded to Bruſſels, which he entered on the 14th of November. On the heights of Anderlech adjoining to the city, the rear of the enemy, amounting to about ten thouſand men, commanded by the prince de Wirtemberg, affected to make a ſtand, but it was probably only intended to favour the retreat of the governors and civil authorities from Bruſſels. After a conteſt of ſix hours, in the courſe of which, the French general aſſerts, an immenſe number of the enemy were killed, the Auſtrians followed their main army, and the general entered Bruſſels in triumph. The moderation and wiſdom of Dumourier was equal in every reſpect to his military excellence. He informed the citizens, that it was his intention carefully to abſtain from interfering in the internal government of the country. A proviſional legiſlative aſſembly was choſen, among whom were the duc d'Urſel, baron Walkiers, and other diſtinguiſhed patriots.—It would have been happy for France, as well as the Netherlands, if the ſame ſyſtem of moderation had continued to prevail.

It is a ſingular fact that general Dumourier had promiſed the French miniſtry that he would keep his Chriſtmas at Bruſſels. This aſſertion, which was really founded on an actual knowledge of the ſtate of the enemy, but was, at the moment, regarded as the extravagant boaſt of a vain-glorious

man, was more than realized, for he anticipated the performance of his engagement by five weeks.

While theſe affairs were tranſacting, Tournay, Malines, Ghent, and Antwerp, opened their gates to general Labourdonnaye. Louvain and Namur, after a faint reſiſtance by the Auſtrian general Beaulieu, were taken by general Valence; Oſtend was entered by the French fleet on the 15th of November; the citadels of Antwerp and Namur reſiſted for a ſhort time, but the former capitulated on the 28th of November to general Miranda, and the latter on the 2d of December to general Valence: in a word, the whole of the Auſtrian Netherlands, Luxemburg only excepted, were ſubjected to the victorious arms of France before the concluſion of the year.

On the 18th of November, general Dumourier received a flag of truce from the prince de Saxe Teſchen, conveying a propoſal on the part of general Clairfait for a ſuſpenſion of arms during the remainder of the winter ſeaſon. To have acceded to this propoſal, and to have diſbanded a part of the army, and put the reſt into winter quarters, would have been wiſe conduct in the French, and was that which, there is reaſon to think, the inclinations of the general would have led him to purſue. He however returned a verbal anſwer, "that he could only ſend general Clairfait's letter to the executive council of the republic, and, in the mean time, "ſhould continue the operations of the campaign."

As it is probable that the determination of the executive council was in favour of a winter campaign, the active genius of Dumourier loſt no time in following up his ſucceſſes, and purſued the flying enemy into the territory of Liege. On the 21ſt of November he proceeded with an advanced guard of five thouſand men to Tirlemont, where the whole of the enemy's army was encamped behind the city, with an advanced guard of three or four thouſand men, on the heights of Cumptich. He attacked with his irreſiſtible artillery this advanced guard, which was reinforced by five thouſand men, but undertook nothing. At break of day on the 22d, the whole of the Auſtrians decamped from Tirlemont, after having loſt in this action not leſs than four hundred of their beſt troops. General Dumourier halted only one day at Tirlemont, and on the 27th overtook again, almoſt at the gates of Liege, the rear guard of the imperialiſts, amounting to twelve thouſand men, and commanded by general Staray. The French drove them ſucceſſively from ſix villages, and at laſt from an entrenchment. The conflict laſted ten hours, in which the Auſtrians loſt their general Staray, an immenſe train of artillery, and five or ſix hundred

dred men killed and wounded, beſides innumerable priſoners and deſerters. On the following day the French general entered Liege,

Such was the triumphant career of this extraordinary man;—a career which, as is aſſerted by the general, was only arreſted by the treachery of the Jacobin party in Paris. His firſt victories, he obſerves, were ſcarcely announced, before he was publicly ſlandered and accuſed in the convention, by the faction of Marat and Robeſpierre. Under the influence of this party, he ſuppoſes the war-miniſter Pache to have acted, and every criminal means, he aſſerts, was put in practice to diſtreſs and haraſs the gallant ſoldiers of liberty. While immenſe ſums were voted by the convention, the army was deſtitute of every neceſſary of life. Unprovided of mattreſſes or coverlets, or even of ſtraw to repoſe on, theſe brave men, in a rainy and inclement winter, were compelled to ſleep upon the wet ground; and ſome of them, to avoid the evils which muſt be conſequent from ſuch a ſituation, actually laſhed themſelves to the trunks of trees, and ſlept in a ſtanding poſition. The ſoldiers were almoſt literally naked, without coats, without ſhoes; and their arms were deſtroyed for want of cloaks to cover them from the wet. The conſequence was, that numbers of them periſhed, and ſtill greater numbers deſerted and returned home. The general's own words are ſtrong.—"To retard and cruſh "my ſucceſſes," ſays he, "the miniſter Pache, ſupported by the criminal faction to whom all our evils are to be "aſcribed, ſuffered the victorious army to want every "thing, and ſucceeded in diſbanding it by famine and nakedneſs. The conſequence was, that more than fifteen "thouſand men were in the hoſpitals, more than twenty-five "thouſand deſerted through miſery and diſguſt, and upwards of ten thouſand horſes died of hunger."

If this ſtatement be juſt, it will be eaſy to account for the ſubſequent misfortunes and overthrow of the French in Flanders. The other party, however, have not failed to recriminate on the general, and have aſſerted that he was bribed to betray the cauſe of the republic—that he entered into ſecret and criminal treaties with the king of Pruſſia, in an early ſtage of the conteſt, and ſolely with a view to his own advantage. He made a wanton ſacrifice, it is ſaid, of his own ſoldiers at Jemappe, by his injudicious diſpoſition of the army on the attack, and afterwards took every means to enrich himſelf, and injure the public cauſe. Of theſe mutual accuſations it is impoſſible to form at preſent a correct judgment.

CHAP. XIX.

The Trial and Execution of Louis XVI.

IN order to form a juſt conception of the origin of the violent proceedings againſt the depoſed monarch, it is neceſſary to remark, that almoſt from the firſt aſſembling of the national convention, that body was divided by faction, and two virulent parties contended earneſtly for the ſovereign authority. The party which firſt aſſumed the reins of government after the depoſition of the king, affected a tone of moderation; and either from principle, policy, compact or engagement, intended, we are diſpoſed to believe, to ſave the life of the unfortunate monarch. The multitude, on the other hand, is always ſanguinary; and whoever contemplates the conduct of the French populace, as diſplayed in ſo many fatal inſtances in the courſe of this hiſtory, will be diſpoſed to acknowledge, that either from a haſty or violent ſpirit, or from the influence of thoſe habits which were acquired under the old government, they have acted on moſt occaſions with more than uſual cruelty. Many circumſtances contributed to exaſperate this infatuated people againſt the unhappy king. Though other nations may doubt of his guilt in promoting the deſigns of the counter-revoluioniſts, no doubt of it was entertained in France. The intemperate revenge of thoſe who had loſt near connexions or friends on the fatal 10th of Auguſt was not yet ſatisfied, and a conſiderable ſhare of the guilt of that day was unjuſtly thrown upon a ſingle illuſtrious victim. Theſe paſſions were induſtriouſly cheriſhed by the great movers of faction and ſedition; they had acquired a decided majority in the Jacobin clubs who governed the nation, and every thing conſpired for the promotion of their views. The Gironde, a moderate party, themſelves were reduced to a ſingular dilemma. If the king was innocent, then they, who were the chief authors and actors in the dreadful affair of the 10th of Auguſt, muſt have been guilty of the worſt of treaſons; if he was not innocent, why ſhould he not receive the reward of his delinquency?

The rage of faction had ariſen to an alarming exceſs in the convention itſelf. The mountain party, or anarchiſts as they were called, were charged, as we have already ſeen, with the horrid maſſacres of the 2d of September, and the Gironde had repeatedly demanded a ſevere examination into the origin of thoſe atrocious tranſactions. The intentions

tions of the Gironde in favour of the king were not unknown to their opponents, who were alſo perfect maſters of the public ſentiments upon that ſubject; and therefore the only means that appeared of effecting the deſtruction of their rivals was to clamour inceſſantly for the trial and condemnation of the king, as it was evident that in either event they muſt be finally triumphant: if the king ſhould be acquitted, the charge of inconſiſtency muſt inevitably fix upon thoſe who operated the change in the government; if he ſhould be condemned, the views and the engagements of the Gironde muſt be fruſtrated.

Such were, in all probability, the motives and intention of Robeſpierre, Marat, Danton, and the other leaders of the mountain party, in urging the fate of the devoted Louis. It was impoſſible longer to reſiſt the torrent of popular violence; and, in the beginning of October, the clamours of Marat, Merlin, and other incendiaries, plunged the convention into a ſeries of decrees, the reſult of which could only be fatal to the king. An extraordinary commiſſion was appointed of twenty-four members, who were authorized to examine and arrange the body of evidence againſt him. Louis was ſeparated from his family, and the whole of the unhappy priſoners in the temple were guarded with redoubled vigilance. On the 6th of November Valazé, one of the commiſſioners of twenty-four, made a report of accuſation againſt the king, the principal articles of which were drawn from an exerciſe of that very power with which the repreſentative body had legally intruſted him. Acts committed anterior to his acceptance of the conſtitution were adduced as evidence to prove his intentions of violating it; and the precautions which he took on the night preceding the bloody 10th of Auguſt, dictated moſt probably by motives of perſonal ſafety only, were conſtrued into premeditated plots to deſtroy the citizens of Paris. Some facts, indeed, reſted upon rather better grounds of evidence. Papers were produced in proof of the king having remitted ſums of money to certain emigrants; but they appeared rather the dictates of compaſſion towards the diſtreſſed, than of treachery towards his country. It appeared alſo from the ſame papers which had been found in the Tuilleries, that money had been actually diſtributed to certain journaliſts and writers in favour of monarchy; but theſe are the common, and ſurely in moſt caſes the venial, practices of courts; and, in the inſtance before us might be conſidered as the mere dictates of ſelf-defence.

The queſtion, however, which embarraſſed moſt his accuſers was, whether the king was not inveſted by the conſti-

tution with perfect and legal inviolability; and whether, conſiſtently with juſtice, he, whom the law had ſolemnly pronounced to be above the reach of any legal proceſs, could be brought to trial. This objection was ſtrangely and moſt iniquitouſly over-ruled by the convention, who, in this inſtance, eſtabliſhed the precedent, always ſo fatal to liberty, of an *ex poſt facto* law, and evinced to the eyes of Europe their inattention to thoſe *rights of man* which the nation had ſolemnly proclaimed.

On the 11th of December the ill-fated monarch was ordered to the bar of the convention. The mayor waited on him for that purpoſe. The king went down ſtairs by requeſt of the mayor, and at the bottom of the antichamber his uneaſineſs ſeemed to increaſe at the ſight of the horſes and armed men. Having arrived in the court-yard, he caſt a look on the tower which he had left, and his eyes were perceived to be wet with tears. "We afterwards," ſays M. Albetier the commiſſary on duty at the temple, "went to "the ladies, who ſeemed to be in the moſt ſhocking ſtate of "terror; I told Maria Antoinette that the mayor had been "with her huſband. Young Louis had informed her of it before."—*Queen.* "We know it, but where is he now?"—*Commiſſary.* "At the bar of the convention. Be not uneaſy, a com-"petent armed force have him under protection."—*Madame Elizabeth.* "We are not uneaſy, but afflicted; and had you "told us ſooner, you would have afforded us great conſola-"tion." When Louis had returned, and I was left alone, he ſaid to me, "Do you think they can refuſe me coun-"ſel?"---*Commiſſary.* "If the convention grant you one, you will have one; but I cannot prejudge things."---*Louis.* "I am going to conſult the conſtitution." *(Louis went and ſearched the book)* "yes, the law grants me counſel. But "do you think I may have intercourſe with my family?"—*Commiſſary.* "Sir, this I cannot tell neither; but I will "conſult the council."---*Louis.* "Pray order me my din-"ner, for I am hungry. I have been faſting almoſt ever "ſince morning."---*Commiſſary.* "I will firſt go to gratify "the wiſh of your heart, by conſulting the council; then I "will order dinner. *(I returned a moment after).* Sir, "I have to inform you, that you are to have no intercourſe "with your family."—*Louis*---"But is not that very hard! "What! not with my ſon! a boy only ſeven years old?" ---*Commiſſary.* "Such are the orders of the council."--- Supper was then ſerved up; Louis ate ſix chops, ſome eggs, a piece of fowl, drank one glaſs of Alicant wine, and went to bed immediately after. We then went to the ladies. —*Queen.* "Cannot my huſband ſee his family?"---*Commiſſary.*

miſſary.---"No, Madam."---*Queen.* "Leave him his ſon "at leaſt!"---*Commiſſary.* "Madam, in the ſituation you "are in, it is he that is ſuppoſed to have the greateſt cou- "rage, that ought to bear this privation; beſides, the child "at his age, wants more his mother to take care of him than "his father."---The ladies ſeemed very eager to know the name of the preſident of the aſſembly, but the commiſſaries gave evaſive anſwers.

At three o'clock Louis XVI. preceded and followed by large bodies of horſe and foot, under the command of General Santerre, and ſurrounded by thirty municipal officers, arrived at the bar of the National Convention; when M. Barbaroux, in the name of the committee of twenty-one, brought up the articles of impeachment, which were read.---*The Preſident.* "I inform the aſſembly, that Louis is at the "gate of the Feuillans. Repreſentatives, you are about to "exerciſe the right of national juſtice: you muſt anſwer "to all the citizens of the republic for the firm and wiſe "conduct which you will purſue on this occaſion. Eu- "rope obſerves you. Hiſtory records your thoughts, and "actions. An impartial poſterity will decide upon your "conduct with an inflexible ſeverity. Let your attitude be "conformable to the new functions you are about to fulfil. "Patience and the profoundeſt ſilence are ſuited to the cha- "racter of judges. The dignity of your ſitting ought to an- "ſwer to the majeſty of the French people. It is about to "give, through your organs, a great leſſon to kings, and "an example uſeful to the world." Louis entered the bar. The mayor, two municipal officers, and the generals Santerre and Wittenkoff entered with him. *The preſident.*--- "Louis, the *French nation accuſes you.* The National Con- "vention decreed on the 3d of December, that you ſhould "be tried by it. On the 6th of December it was decreed "that you ſhould be brought to the bar. The information "declaratory of the crimes imputed to you, is about to be "read; You may ſit."—Louis ſat down.---The preſident ſtated, that the French nation accuſed him "of having, on "the 20th of June, 1789, attacked the ſovereignty of the peo- "ple by ſuſpending the aſſembly of its repreſentatives and "driving them by violence from the place of their ſitting."---*Louis.* "There exiſted no laws which hindered me "from ſo doing."—*Preſident.* "You have cauſed an "army to march againſt the citizens of Paris. Your Ja- "niſſaries ſhed the blood of many of them; and you did not "remove that army, till the taking of the baſtille, and the ge- "neral inſurrection taught you the people would be victo- "rious."—*Louis.* "I had then the power of marching

"my

" my troops where I pleaſed; but I had no deſign of ſhed-
" ding blood."---*Preſident.* " After theſe events, and in
" ſpite of your promiſes on the 15th in the Conſtituent Aſ-
" ſembly, and on the 17th in the Town Hall of Paris, you
" perſiſted in your plans againſt the National Liberty.
" You, for a long time, eluded the execution of the decrees
" of the 11th of Auguſt, relative to the abolition of perſo-
" nal ſervitude, feudal regulations, and tithes. You, for a
" long time, refuſed to acknowledge the declaration of the
" Rights of Man; you doubled the number of your body-
" guard, and called the regiment of Flanders to Verſailles;
" you allowed, in the orgies celebrated in your ſight, the
" National cockade to be trampled under foot, the white
" cockade to be worn, and the nation to be blaſphemed.
" Finally, you brought on the neceſſity of a new revolu-
" tion; occaſioned the death of many citizens; and it was
" not till after the defeat of your guards, that you changed
" your language, and renewed your perfidious promiſes."—
Louis. " I made what I conceived to be juſt obſervations
" on the two firſt objects. As to the cockade, that is falſe—
" no ſuch thing happened in my preſence."—*Preſident.*
" You took, at the federation of the 14th, an oath which
" you have not kept. Soon after, you endeavoured to cor-
" rupt the public mind by the help of Talon, who acted in
" Paris, and of Mirabeau, who was to print a memorial
" againſt the revolution, to be diſperſed throughout the
" provinces."---*Louis.* " I do not recollect what happen-
" ed at that time; but the whole is previous to my accept-
" ance of the conſtitution."---*Preſident.* " You have
" ſpent millions to effectuate this corruption, and you was
" deſirous of making even your popularity a means of en-
" ſlaving the people."---*Louis.* " I never had a greater
" pleaſure than that of giving to thoſe who had need; this
" can have no relation to any plot."---*Preſident.* " On the
" 28th a multitude of the nobleſſe and the military ſpread
" themſelves in your apartments in the palace of the Thuille-
" ries, to favour a flight you had long meditated. You
" wiſhed, on the 18th of April, to quit Paris for St. Cloud."
---*Louis.* " That accuſation is abſurd."---*Preſident.*
" But the reſiſtance of the citizens made you feel that their
" diſtruſt was great; you ſought to diſſipate it by commu-
" nicating to the conſtituent aſſembly a letter which you
" addreſſed to the agents of the nation to foreign powers,
" to announce to them that you had freely accepted the con-
" ſtitutional articles which had been preſented to you; and
" yet, on the 21ſt, you fled with a falſe paſſport; you left a
" declaration againſt the ſame conſtitutional articles; you

" ordered

" ordered the minister of justice to put the seals of state upon " it. The money of the people was wasted, to ensure the " success of that treason; and the public force was employ- " ed to protect it, under the orders of Bouille, who had for- " merly been entrusted with the conduct of the massacre at " Nancy, and to whom you wrote to take care of his po- " pularity, as it might be useful to you. These facts are " proved by the memorial of the 23d of February, under " your hand; your declaration of the 20th of June, all of " your own writing; your letter of the 4th of September " 1790, to Bouille; and by a note of his, in which he gives " you an account of the expenditure of 993,000 livres " given by you, and partly employed in corrupting the " troops which were to escort you."---*Louis.* " I have no " knowledge of the memorial of the 23d of February. As " to what relates to my journey to Varennes, I refer to " what I said to the commissioners of the constituent assem- " bly at that time."---*President.* " After you was stopped " at Varennes, the exercise of power was, for a moment, " suspended in your hands, and you conspired again. On " the 17th of July, the blood of the citizens was shed in the " *Champ de Mars.* A letter under your hand, written in " 1790 to la Fayette, proves that a criminal correspond- " ence existed between you and la Fayette, to which Mi- " rabeau had acceded. Division began under these cruel " auspices, and every kind of corruption was employed. " You paid libels, pamphlets, and journals, designed to pre- " vent the public opinion, to discredit the assignats, and to " support the cause of the emigrants. The registers of " Septeuil shew what enormous sums have been employed " in these freedom-destroying manœuvres. What have " you to answer?"---*Louis.* " What passed on the 17th of " July could, in no respect, affect me: of the rest I have no " knowledge."---*President.* " You appeared to accept the " constitution of the 14th of September; your discourses an- " nounced the desire of maintaing it; and you laboured to " overthrow it before it was completed. A convention had " been held at Pilnitz on the 24th of July, between Leo- " pold of Austria and Frederick William of Brandenbourg, " who engaged to raise up in France the throne of absolute " monarchy; and you was silent on that convention till it " was known through all Europe."---*Louis.* " I commu- " nicated it as soon as it came to my knowledge: as for the " rest, every thing which relates to this object, by the consti- " tution, regards the minister."---*President.* " Arles had " raised the standard of revolt; you favoured it, by sending " three civic commissioners, who were occupied not in re-

" pressing

" preſſing counter-revolutions, but in juſtifying their at-
" tempts."---*Louis.* " The inſtructions which the com-
" miſſioners had, muſt prove what they were entruſted with;
" and I knew none of them when the miniſters propoſed them
" to me."---*Preſident.* " You have paid your former body-
" guard at Coblentz; the regiſters of Septeuil bear teſtimony
" to it, and many others ſigned by you ſhew, that you tranſ-
" mitted ſeveral ſums to Bouille, Rochefort, la Vauguyon,
" Choiſeul, Beaupré, Hamilton, and the woman Polignac."
---*Louis.* " At firſt when I heard that my body-guard had
" formed on the other ſide of the Rhine, I forbade them to
" touch any pay. I remember nothing of the reſt."---*Pre-
ſident.* " Your brothers, enemies of the ſtate, rallied the
" emigrants round their colours; they raiſed regiments, made
" loans, and contracted alliances in your name; you did not
" diſavow them, till the moment when you was ſure you could
" not hurt their projects. What have you to anſwer?"—*Louis.*
" I diſowned all the proceedings of my brothers, according to
" the injunctions of the conſtitution, and as ſoon as I had
" any knowledge of them." *Preſident.* " The Pruſſians ad-
" vanced towards our frontiers. Your miniſtry was ſum-
" moned on the 8th of July, to give us an account of our
" political relation with Pruſſia; you anſwered on the 10th
" that 50,000 Pruſſians were marching againſt us: and
" that you gave information of hoſtilities being actually com-
" mitted agreeable to the conſtitution."---*Louis.* " It was
" only at this epoch that I firſt knew of it: all the corres-
" pondence paſſed with the miniſters "---*Preſident.* " You
" have entruſted the war department to Dabancourt, the
" nephew of Calonne; and ſo great was the ſucceſs of your
" conſpiracy, that the poſts of Longwi and Verdun were
" delivered up as ſoon as the enemy appeared."---*Louis.*
" I did not know that Dabancourt was Calonne's nephew;
" I did not diveſt the poſts; I could not have permitted my-
" ſelf to do ſuch a thing; if it has happened, I know nothing
" of it."---*Preſident.* " You retained about your perſon
" your Swiſs guards; the conſtitution forbade you to do ſo,
" and the legiſlative aſſembly expreſsly ordered their depar-
" ture."---*Louis.* " I have executed all the decrees which
" were formed in that reſpect,"---*Preſident.* " In Paris
" you have maintained particular companies, charged to
" bring about movements uſeful to your counter-revoluti-
" onary projects--Daigremont and Gilles were two of your
" agents, and were paid out of the civil liſt. The acquit-
" tance of Gilles, charged with the organization of a com
" pany of ſixty men, will be preſented to you."—*Louis.*
" I have no knowledge of the projects attributed to theſe
" men;

" men; never did an idea of counter-revolution enter my " head."---*Preſident.* " By conſiderable ſums, you have " endeavoured to ſuborn ſeveral members of the conſtituent " and legiſlative aſſemblies. The letters of St. Leon and " others eſtabliſh this fact."---*Louis.* " Several perſons " preſented themſelves to me with ſimilar plans, from which " I obliged them to deſiſt."---*Preſident.* " Who are " thoſe by whom theſe plans were preſented to you?"---*Louis.* " The plans themſelves were ſo vague that I do " not, at this time, recollect."---*Preſident.* " Who are " thoſe to whom you have either promiſed or given money?" *Louis.* " No one."---*Preſident.* " You reviewed the Swiſs " on the 10th of Auguſt, at five o'clock in the morning; and " the Swiſs were the firſt who fired on the citizens."---*Louis.* " I went to view all the troops that were aſſembled " near me on that day; I had the conſtituent authorities with " me, the department, the mayor, and the municipality; I " had even requeſted a deputation of the National Aſſem- " bly to repair thither, and I afterwards went in the midſt " of them with my family."---*Preſident.* " Why had you " ordered thoſe troops to come to the caſtle?"---*Louis.* " All the conſtituent authorities had ſeen that the caſtle was " threatened; and, as I had a conſtituent authority, I had a " right to defend myſelf."---*Preſident.* " Why did you " ſend for the mayor of Paris to the palace, in the night of " the 9th of Auguſt?"---*Louis.* " On the reports which " were ſpread abroad."---*Preſident.* " You have cauſed " the blood of Frenchmen to be ſhed."—*Louis.* " No ſir; " it was not I."—*Preſident.* " You have authoriſed Sep- " teuil to make a conſiderable commerce of grain, ſugar, and " coffee, at Hamburg. This fact is proved by a letter from " Septeuil."—*Louis.* " I have no knowledge of what you " ſay"—*Preſident.* " Why have you put your veto on the " decree which ordered the formation of a camp of 20,000 " men?"—*Louis.* " The conſtitution gave me the free " ſanction of decrees; and even in that period, I demanded " the re-union of a camp at Soiſſons."

The king was afterwards called upon to acknowledge the papers ſpecified in the accuſation, namely, the different memorials of Laporte, Talon, and his letter to the biſhop of Clermont. He diſavowed them all, excepting ſome orders for payment for his old military eſtabliſhment, dated 1791. ---" Here is a day-book," ſaid Valaze, " written by Louis " Capet himſelf, containing the penſions he has granted out " of his coffer, from 1776 till 1792, in which are obſerved " ſome douceurs granted to Acloque."---" This I own," replied

plied the king, "but it conſiſts of charitable donations which "I have made."

At his requeſt, and after a very long debate, Louis had counſel granted; when his choice fell upon three diſtinguiſhed advocates, M. ~~M.~~ Tronchet, Lamoignon-Maleſherbes, and Deſeze. He had previouſly applied to M. Target, who excuſed himſelf on account of his infirmity.

On Chriſtmas day, the king made his laſt will and teſtament, of which the following is the ſubſtance, written in his own hand:—"In the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, "Son, and Holy Spirit, this 25th of December 1792, I "Louis the XVIth by name, King of France, having been "confined with my family in the tower of the temple at "Paris, by thoſe who were my ſubjects, and, ſince the "11th, deprived of all communication whatever with my "family, beſides which, under a trial of which it is impoſſible, on account of the paſſions of men, to foreſee the iſſue, "and for which no pretext or means can be found in any "exiſting laws; having only God for witneſs of my thoughts, "and to whom I can addreſs myſelf, I here in his preſence "declare my laſt will and ſentiments. I reſign my ſoul to "God, my Creator, praying him not to judge it according "to my merits, but by his infinite goodneſs and mercy in "Jeſus Chriſt. I pray thoſe whom I have inadvertently "offended (for I do not recollect to have wilfully offended "any one), or thoſe to whom I may have given any bad "example, to pardon me the evil which they ſuppoſe I may "have done them. I pray all charitable perſons to unite their "prayers to mine, to obtain from God the pardon of my "ſins. I forgive with all my heart thoſe who have made "themſelves my enemies without my having given them "any cauſe; I pray God to pardon them, as well as thoſe "who, by a falſe or miſguided zeal, have done me much "harm. I recommend to God my wife, my children, my "ſiſter, my aunts, my brothers, and all who are related to "me by ties of blood or otherwiſe. I particularly beſeech "the Almighty to look with eyes of mercy upon my wife, "my children, and my ſiſter, who have ſuffered ſo long "with me; that it will pleaſe him to ſupport them with his "grace, if they ſhould loſe me, and as long as they remain "on this periſhable earth.- -I recommend my children to "my wife; I never doubted of her tenderneſs for them. I "recommend her particularly to make them good Chriſtians "and worthy members of ſociety; to learn them to look "upon the grandeur of this world (if they are condemned to "experience it) as a dangerous and periſhable thing, and to "turn their thoughts to eternity, as the only ſolid and dura-

" ble glory. I requeſt my ſiſter to continue her tenderneſs " for my children, and to ſupply the place of a mother, if " they have the misfortune to loſe their's. I beſeech my " wife to forgive all the evils ſhe ſuffers for me, and all the " uneaſineſs I may have given her during our union; as ſhe " may be ſure that ſhould ſhe think ſhe has any thing to re- " proach herſelf with, I can never think ſo.

" I warmly recommend to my children, after their duty " to God, which muſt take the lead of all things elſe, to be " united among themſelves; to be ſubmiſſive and obedient to " their mother, and grateful for all her care and ſolicitude " for them: I deſire them to look upon my ſiſter as a ſe- " cond mother. I recommend to my ſon, if ever he has the mis- " fortune to become king, to devote himſelf to the good of " his fellow-citizens; to forget all hatred and reſentment, and " particularly every thing relative to my misfortunes and " griefs; to recollect that he can only further the welfare of " the people by reigning according to the laws; but, at the " ſame time, to remember that a king cannot cauſe the laws " to be reſpected, or do the good he may have in his heart, " unleſs he poſſeſſes the neceſſary authority; otherwiſe he is " cramped in his operations, and, inſpiring no reſpect, he is " more hurtful than uſeful. I recommend to my ſon to " take care of all thoſe who were attached to me, as far as " the circumſtances he may be in may allow him; to re- " member that it is a ſacred debt which I have contracted " towards the children or relations of thoſe who have pe- " riſhed for me, and who have become unfortunate on my " account. I know there are many who were attached to " me, who have not conducted themſelves towards me as " they ought, and who have even been guilty of ingrati- " tude; but I forgive them (often in times of trouble and " effervescence we are not maſters of ourſelves); and I re- " queſt my ſon, if occaſions ſhould offer, only to recollect " their misfortunes.

" I ſhould here wiſh to teſtify my acknowledgments to " thoſe who have ſhewn me a true and diſintereſted attach- " ment; if, on the one hand, I have been ſenſibly affected by " the ingratitude and diſloyalty of perſons to whom, or to " their friends and relatives, I did all the good I could, I " have, on the other hand, had the conſolation to ſee the " gratuitous attachment and intereſt of many, all of whom " I requeſt, in the preſent ſituation of things, to accept my ſin- " cere thanks.—I fear to compromiſe them, were I to ſpeak " explicitly; but I eſpecially recommend it to my ſon to ſeek " opportunities to acknowledge their ſervices.—I ſhould, " however, think I ſhould calumniate the ſentiments of the

" nation,

" nation, were I not openly to recommend to my ſon
" Meſſieurs de Chamilly and Hue, whoſe true attach-
" ment to me engaged them to ſhut themſelves up with me
" in this place of confinement, and who thought they might
" become victims for ſo doing. I alſo recommend Clery
" my valet to him, whoſe care and attention I have every
" reaſon to be ſatisfied with ever ſince he has been with me.
" I freely pardon thoſe who guarded me in ſight for the ill-
" treatment and reſtraints they imagined they ought to ſhew
" me. I have found ſome ſenſible and compaſſionate
" minds: may they have the heart-felt ſatisfaction of enjoy-
" ing that tranquillity to which their way of thinking juſtly
" entitles them. I requeſt Meſſrs. Maleſherbes, Tronchet,
" and Deſeze to accept my ſincere thanks, and warmeſt ex-
" preſſions of ſenſibility, for all the care and trouble they
" had on my account. (Signed) Louis."

On the 26th of December the king appeared for the laſt time at the bar of the convention. The ſitting was opened at nine o'clock; and the galleries being crouded with people who had ſat in them all night, Manuel moved, that they ſhould be cleared, in order to ventilate the hall: but thoſe who had taken ſo much trouble to ſecure ſeats drowned his voice in a general clamour, and the convention could only obtain ſilence by deciding that he ſhould not be heard. It was then propoſed to call over the names of the members, but this alſo was dropped. Louis left the temple at nine; and the national guard, not being aſſembled time enough to line the ſtreets through which he was to paſs, or to form a body round his perſon, he was eſcorted by a ſmall party of cavalry. The people, not expecting that he would ſet out ſo early, were not aſſembled in the ſtreets, and he arrived as it were *incognito.* At ten he made his appearance in the *judgment-hall* with the ſame firm and collected air as on the day of his examination. He was attended by his counſel, the mayor of Paris, generals Santerre and Berruyer, and ſome municipal officers. The preſident ſaid, " The National
" Convention has decreed that you ſhall be heard this day,
" to preſent your means of defence." Louis replied, " My
" counſel is going to ſpeak for me;" when M. Deſeze read a defence, which he and his coadjutors had prepared, equally remarkable for ſolidity of argument and beauty of compoſition.

" Repreſentatives of the nation; the moment is at length
" arrived, when Louis, accuſed in the name of the French
" people, appears, ſurrounded by his own counſel, in order
" to exhibit his conduct to the eyes of mankind. A cele-
" brated republican hath ſaid, that the calamities of kings al-

" ways

" ways inſpire the minds of thoſe men with ſympathy and " tenderneſs, who have lived under a monarchical form of " government. If this maxim be true, who can invoke it " with more juſtice than Louis, whoſe misfortunes are un- " bounded, and whoſe loſſes and calamities cannot be " calculated? You have called him to your bar, and he ap- " pears before you with calmneſs and with dignity, fortifi- " ed in the conſciouſneſs of his own innocence, and in the " goodneſs of his intentions. Theſe are teſtimonies which " muſt conſole him; theſe are teſtimonies of which it is " impoſſible to bereave him. He can only declare to you " his innocence; I appear here in order to demonſtrate it; " and I ſhall adduce the proofs before that very people, in " whoſe name he is now accuſed. The preſent ſilence de- " monſtrates to me, that the day of *juſtice* has at length ſuc- " ceeded to the days of *prejudice*. The misfortunes of kings " have ſomething in them infinitely more affecting than " thoſe of private men; and he who formerly occupied the " moſt brilliant throne in the univerſe, ought to excite a " ſtill more powerful intereſt in his behalf. I wiſh that I " now ſpoke before the whole nation; but it will be ſuffici- " ent to addreſs myſelf to its repreſentatives. Louis well " knows that the eyes of all Europe are fixed upon this pro- " ſecution; but his mind is entirely occupied with France. " He is ſure that poſterity will carefully collect and examine " the charges and the proofs adduced againſt him; but he " thinks only of his contemporaries; and it is the firſt wiſh " of his heart to undeceive them. If I were only addreſſing " myſelf at this moment to his judges, I ſhould ſay royalty " is aboliſhed, and you cannot pronounce any other ſen- " tence againſt him; but I am ſpeaking to the people. I " ſhall therefore examine the ſituation of Louis previous to " the abolition of royalty, and the ſituation of Louis at its " abolition."—' Nations are ſovereigns; they are at liber- ' ty to aſſume any ſpecies of government that appears ' moſt agreeable to themſelves; after having recognized and ' diſcovered the badneſs of their ancient form, they may ' enact for themſelves a new one:' this is a poſition which " one of the counſel of Louis procured the inſertion of in " the conſtitutional code. But the whole nation cannot " exerciſe the ſovereignty; it is neceſſary, therefore, that it " ſhould delegate the exerciſe of it. In 1789, the people of " France demanded a monarchical form of government; now " a monarchical government requires the inviolability of " the chief, and this inviolability was eſtabliſhed, not in be- " half of the king, but of the nation. Much has been " ſaid on this ſubject. Some have pretended that it is not a

" *ſynallag-*

" *ſynallagmatic* contract, but a delegation. It is, however, " a contract until it is revoked; but let it be called a man- " date if you pleaſe, let it be collected however, that the " mandatory is not obliged to ſubmit it to any other condi- " tions, or any other penalties, than thoſe expreſſed in the " letter of the compact. I open the book of the conſtitution, " and in the *ſecond chapter*, which has by way of title Royal- " ty; I there find that the king is inviolable; there is not " any exception in, nor any modification of, this article; " but certain circumſtances may occur, when the firſt public " functionary may ceaſe to enjoy this character of inviolabi- " lity.

" According to the 5th article, *If the king ſhall not take the* " *oath, or, after having taken it, he retracts, he ſhall be conſider-* " *ed as having abdicated the royalty.*---The nation here hath " foreſeen a crime and enacted a forfeiture; but there is not " a ſingle word to be found concerning either a trial or judg- " ment. However, as without retracting an oath, a king " might betray and favour criminal and hoſtile principles " againſt the ſtate, the nation hath been aware of this, and " the conſtitution hath provided againſt it." The 6th ar- " ticle is thus expreſſed: *If the king places himſelf at the head of* " *an army, and directs the forces againſt the nation; or if he doth* " *not oppoſe himſelf, by a formal act, to any enterpriſe of this kind* " *made in his name, he ſhall be conſidered as having abdicated the* " *royalty.*---I beſeech you to reflect on the heinous nature " of this offence; there cannot be a more criminal one. It " ſuppoſes all the machinations, all the perfidies, all the " treaſons, all the horrors, all the calamities of civil war; and " yet what does the conſtitution pronounce? The pre- " ſumption of having abdicated the royalty.---The 8th ar- " ticle ſays, *That after an abdication, either expreſs or implied,* " *the king ſhall then be tried in the ſame monner as all other citi-* " *zens, for ſuch crimes as he may commit after his abdication.*--- " Louis is accuſed of ſundry offences. He is accuſed in the " name of the nation. Now either theſe offences have been " foreſeen by the conſtitutional act, and then the correſpon- " dent puniſhment is to be applied to them, or they have " not; and if ſo, it follows that no puniſhment can follow from " their commiſſion. But I ſay, that the moſt atrocious of " all poſſible offences hath been foreſeen, that of a cruel war " againſt the nation; and this ſurely includes all inferior " crimes, and conſequently points out the extent of all con- " ſtitutional puniſhment. I know that royalty, being now " aboliſhed, deprivation cannot at preſent be applied. But " has not Louis a right to exclaim,"---" What! will you, " becauſe you have aboliſhed royalty, inflict a puniſhment

" on

" on me, not mentioned in the conſtitutional code? Be-
" cauſe no exiſting law can puniſh me, will you create one
" expreſsly on purpoſe? You poſſeſs every degree of power,
" it is true; but there is one ſpecies which you dare not
" execute, that of being unjuſt!

" It has been ſaid, that Louis ought to be condemned as
" an enemy; but is he a greater enemy than if he had put him-
" ſelf at the head of an army in order to act againſt the
" nations? And you all know that in ſuch a caſe, he could
" not have incurred more than a forfeiture of the crown!
" But if you take away from Louis the prerogative of being
" inviolable as a king, you cannot deprive him of the right
" of being tried as a citizen. And I here demand of you,
" where are thoſe propitiatory forms of juſtice? Where
" are thoſe juries, which are ſo many hoſtages, as it were,
" for the lives and honour of citizens? Where is that pro-
" portion of ſuffrages which the law has ſo wiſely required?
" Where is that ſilent ſcrutiny, which in the ſame urn in-
" cloſes the opinion and the conſcience of the judge?---I
" now ſpeak with the frankneſs becoming a freeman; it is
" in vain that I look around, and ſearch among you for
" judges---I can ſee none but accuſers. You wiſh to pro-
" nounce upon the fate of Louis, and yet you have accuſed
" him! Will you decide his doom after having already ex-
" preſſed your opinion on his conduct?---I take up the
" charges exhibited by you, and I find that Louis is accuſed
" of having ſurrounded the conſtituent aſſembly with an armed
" force on the 20th of June, 1789. Do not you recollect,
" Frenchmen, that it was he who convoked this aſſembly;
" and that but for himſelf, you would not be deliberating at
" this very moment on his fate? You have reproached him
" with the troubles that took place in the month of July in
" ſame year; but his only object was to protect Paris
" againſt the factious; and you all recollect that, on the 4th
" of Auguſt, the purity of his intentions was fully recognized,
" as on that day he was ſolemny proclaimed *the Reſtorer of*
" *French liberty*; and a medal was ordered to be ſtruck in
" memory of that happy event! He is next accuſed of or-
" dering the regiment of Flanders to march to Verſailles;
" but at that epoch he was empowered to do ſo by the con-
" ſtitution.---In regard to the marginal notes to the pre-
" tended plan of corruption imputed to Louis, I ſhall only
" obſerve, that his ſevere probity, his unimpeached moral-
" ity, and his ſcrupulous virtue, entirely obliterate every idea
" of ſuſpicion.---The ſiniſter events, during the month of
" July 1791, are alſo imputed to him; but are we to forget,
" that at this epoch he was a priſoner to the nation, ſhut up

" in the Thuilleries, and cut off from every ſpecies of com-
" munication whatever?

" Thus I have repelled all the accuſations contained in
" the enunciative act; and yet I have not made the only eſ-
" ſential remark that is neceſſary on the preſent occaſion;
" that is, that the acceptation of the conſtitution hath effac-
" ed every former ſtain---for the compact formed between
" the French nation and its firſt director ſuppoſes an en-
" tire confidence, and oblivion of all injuries whatever.---
" Louis is accuſed alſo of being dilatory in his communica-
" tions relative to the convention of Pilnitz; but is it not
" admitted, on all hands, that this convention acted ſo ſe-
" cretly, that nothing has ever tranſpired concerning it?---
" As to the neglect of tranſmitting the decree relative to the
" re-union of Avignon to France, this cannot be imputed
" to Louis, for it makes one of the articles of the charge
" againſt the miniſter, M. Delaſſart."

The limits of this work will not admit the inſertion of the whole of this very able ſpeech. With regard to the remaining articles, the advocate of Louis XVI. replied in ſubſtance as follows. 1. As to the charge of paying the body-guard after admiſſion, he placed this ſolely to the account of humanity, and not treaſon, as it had been inſinuated by his enemies. 2. As to the letter to Bouille, in conſequence of which it had been aſſerted, that Louis XVI. had tranſmitted money to the emigrants, M. Deſeze endeavoured to make it appear by the context, that the ſum in queſtion was entruſted to M. Bouille before the leaſt ſuſpicion was entertained of that general's principles. And 3. In reply to the imputation of guilt on the 10th of Auguſt 1792; he endeavoured to demonſtrate, that on that day Louis had not entered into any conſpiracy againſt, nor given any order to fire on the people.

After Deſeze had finiſhed, Fermond, the preſident, aſked Louis, if he had any thing to add to the defence made by his counſel. Louis roſe, and, with mixt ſenſibility and firmneſs, ſaid, "Citizens, my means of defence are laid before you.
" I ſhall not repeat them. In ſpeaking to you, perhaps for
" the laſt time, I declare to you that my conſcience makes
" me no reproach, and that my defenders have told you no-
" thing but the truth. I have never dreaded the public ex-
" amination of my conduct; but my heart is rent to find in
" the act of accuſation, the imputation of having wiſhed to
" ſhed the blood of the people, and above all, that the misfor-
" tunes of the 10th of Auguſt are attributed to me. I own,
" that the many proofs I have given upon all occaſions of
" my love for the people, and the manner in which I have

" already

" already conducted myſelf, appeared to me ſufficient to " prove, that I did not fear to expoſe my own perſon to " ſpare their blood, and to exempt me for ever from ſuch an " imputation."

Preſident. " Have you any more to ſay in your defence?" —*Louis*, " No."---*Preſident.* " Sir, you are at liberty to re- " tire." Louis, attended by his counſel, retired. The aſſembly remained mute for ſome time. *Manuel.* " Citi- " zens, I requeſt that the defence of Louis, as well as his ac- " cuſation, may lie on the table, and that every part of his " defence may be printed and diſtributed within twenty-four " hours amongſt the members of the aſſembly; that it be " ſent to all the departments; that this momentous concern " be adjourned for three days; and that, in the mean time, " we take the affairs of the nation into conſideration." —*Duhem.* " When this trial is over I ſhall demand peremp- " torily that the queſtion be put, whether Louis is to ſuffer " death or not?"—*Bazire.* " I move that Louis be judged " before he quits us." The Convention determined that his defence ſhould lie upon the table.

A member. "If you do not mean to violate eternal juſtice, " agree to an adjournment. I repeat, that thoſe who make " the law cannot ſuperintend its execution, nor give judg- " ment on any man without the moſt palpable exerciſe of " tyranny. (*loud murmers*). I carry with me here ſevere truths, " and therefore deſerve your murmurs."—*Kerſaint.* " We " are judges, and not executioners."—*Saint Juſt.* " It " certainly becomes us to make ſome anſwer to the defence " of Louis, and therefore I move an adjournment of the diſ- " cuſſion." *Bourdon and Duhem* inſiſted that an adjourn- ment was no part of the order of the day; and they were come there to decide, and that they would mark any man who was of a contrary opinion. The preſident put the queſtion of adjournment, upon which a terrible uproar took place. The people deſcended from the galleries, ap- proached the table with much rage, and threatened the pre- ſident. They put themſelves into a thouſand *menacing poſtures*, amidſt the acclamations of the galleries, who cried, " To the Abbaye! To the Abbaye!"—In the body of the hall they were cool. Preſident Fermond was firm. It was obſerved that ſixty were drawing up a proteſt againſt the adjournment, upon which the preſident referred to the articles of the Convention which relate to the ſubject, and order was reſtored for a few mi- nutes.—*Preſident.* " I demand of the members of the aſ- " ſembly to hear me as tranquilly, as I was calm during a " ſcene which afflicts me."—*Couthon.* " When the people

" delegated you, they created you a trial *ad hoc*, to try Louis " Capet. When the legiſlative aſſembly, on the 10th of " Auguſt, found Louis Capet guilty, they were aware that " no conſtituted authority could try him, and appealed to " the people; the people anſwered by electing you. They " therefore created you a tribunal *ad hoc*. Now what have " you to do? You have to examine the liſt of the crimes of " Louis Capet, and to hear his defence. You have done it. " It now remains to paſs ſentence. They tell you of forms. " It is preciſely becauſe you repreſent the people, that there " is no occaſion for them. It is poſſible that ſome members " may want conviction. Let the diſcuſſion be opened then, " and, quitting every other buſineſs, let us unceaſingly un- " dertake that of Louis, till definitive judgment be pronounc- " ed." Decreed unanimouſly.

Some amendments to the propoſition of Couthon produced very violent commotions in the hall. Petion, Marat, and Legendre, preſented themſelves to ſpeak. Freſh trouble, invectives, and perſonalities, interrupt each in his turn, till Petion obtains the hearing by a decree.—*Petion.* " Is it " thus, citizens, that we treat the great intereſts of the ſtate? " It is not with theſe violences, with theſe paſſions, that we " can judge men or things. It is impoſſible to get into this " tribunal without ſtanding the mark for the moſt atrocious " calumnies. They call out 'the enemy! the royaliſt!' " if we are not of their party; and others ſpeak of liberty. " Can we give it to others, if we are ſlaves ourſelves? Who " among you is there that wiſhes for a king?"—[*All the aſſembly riſes, crying, 'No one, no one.'*]—After a ſpeech of ſome length tending to invite the aſſembly to a further examination of this important ſubject, the Convention decreed that the further diſcuſſion of the proceedings againſt Louis XVI. is open, and ſhall be continued till judgment be pronounced upon him.

The king was in an undreſs; there was an air of careleſſneſs about his hair and his beard, neither of which ſeemed to have been of late attended to; but his countenance was unappalled, and his deportment manly. He preſented M. Deſeze, his new counſel, to the preſident; and then, upon receiving permiſſion from M. Fermond, whoſe turn it was to officiate in that capacity, he ſat down in a chair at the bar, with M. Tronchet on one ſide, and M. Maleſherbes on the other.

The 16th and two following days were occupied in hearing the members deliver their opinions on the fate of the king. The debates were tumultuous, and the galleries very intruſive, often hiſſing or approving, as the ſpeakers pleaſed

pleaſed them. The members were divided in their opinion, and were ſplit into upwards of twelve parties. One party was for referring the judgment of Louis to the people in their primary aſſemblies; but the majority ſeemed to diſapprove of the ſentence of death being paſſed on the king; ſome giving for a reaſon the certainty of a war with all Europe in conſequence of that event—others the injuſtice of the deed, according to the conſtitution of 1789, under which Louis acted. They therefore propoſed baniſhment of himſelf and family, as the alternative—keeping them, however, priſoners until the end of the war. Among this number was the celebrated Tom Paine.

The diſcuſſion was fatally cloſed on the 19th of January. After a ſitting of near thirty-four hours, the puniſhment of death was voted by a ſmall majority of the Convention. The preſident having announced that he was about to declare the reſult of their long and important deliberations, a profound and awful ſilence enſued, while he declared, that out of ſeven hundred and twenty-one votes, three hundred and ſixty were for death, three hundred and nineteen for impriſonment during the war, two for perpetual impriſonment, eight for a ſuſpenſion of the execution of death till after the expulſion of the Bourbons; twenty-three were for not putting him to death, unleſs the French territory ſhould be invaded by ſome foreign power; and one was for death, but with commutation of puniſhment. The preſident concluded in a lower and more ſolemn tone, and, taking off his hat, pronounced, "In conſequence of this I declare, that the puniſhment decreed by the National Convention againſt Louis Capet is *death*."

It was, however, on the beſt grounds believed, that the majority of the convention were compelled to this unjuſt meaſure by the apprehenſion of becoming victims to popular fury, ſince a formidable mob was collected who openly threatened by name a conſiderable number of the deputies, and declared their intention to murder them, if they refuſed to vote for the death of the king. Many circumſtances indeed would induce one to think, that this deciſion was more the effect of factious fury than of a temperate deliberation, and that the cauſe of liberty has certainly been impeded by the unprincipled violence of its pretended votaries.

The convention ordered their decree to be immediately notified to the executive council, with orders to give an account the next day at eleven o'clock, of the meaſures taken to put it in execution within twenty-four hours.

A letter from the unfortunate Louis, written in his own hand, and expreſſed in the following terms, was read at the bar of the National Convention by his counſel Deſeze. "I "owe it to my honour, and my family, not to ſubſcribe to "a judgment that accuſes me of a crime, with which I "cannot reproach myſelf. In conſequence I declare that "I appeal to the people from the deciſion of their repreſen- "tatives, and I requeſt the convention to decree, that men- "tion ſhall be made thereof in the Proces-verbal.— "Louis."

M. Deſeze then made an energetic appeal to the convention, in the name of himſelf and his colleagues, to conſider, that by the ſmall majority of *five voices* the puniſhment of death had been pronounced againſt Louis, and conjured them not to afflict France by ſo terrible a judgment. He concluded by invoking eternal juſtice and humanity to determine the convention to refer their judgment to the people. M. Maleſherbes deſired till the next day to make ſuch reflections as ruſhed upon his imagination. M. Tronchet declared it extraordinary, that whilſt moſt of the voters quoted the penal code to juſtify their judgment, they forgot that the law requires two thirds of the voices for the deciſion. Notwithſtanding theſe juſt and humane obſervations of the king's counſel, the previous queſtion being called, the *appeal* to the people and the obſervations of the counſel were rejected.

The Spaniſh court, through the medium of its miniſter, made a becoming application to the aſſembly, previous to the paſſing of the ſentence, in behalf of the depoſed ſovereign; but the reading of the letter was rejected with equal inſolence and imprudence.

A melancholy gloom and awful ſilence ſuperſeded the native gaiety of the French capital during the laſt days of the life of the deplored Louis, as if ſome future calamity was preſaged to that irritable and factious city; while bodies of armed men patroled the metropolis, the ſuppreſſed ſighs and the reſtrained lamentations announced to the thinking world, that a fair appeal to the people would have granted life at leaſt to him, who had ſuffered the mortification of deſcending from the ſtation of an exalted ſovereign to that of a degraded citizen.

On the 20th of January, the executive council, of which Garrat, the miniſter of juſtice, was preſident, with two other members of the council, and the ſecretary, ſet out for the temple, where they arrived at two. Being introduced into the king's apartment, Garat, who was greatly agitated, ſaid, with a faultering voice, "Louis, the executive "council is ordered to notify to you the decree which the "National

"National Convention paſſed laſt night." The ſecretary began to read the decree. In the preamble, the king is charged with having *conſpired againſt the general ſafety of the nation.* He was ſhocked at the idea, and repeated the expreſſion with emotion. The ſecretary, who had pauſed, reſumed, and the king heard the reſt, including the ſentence, with calmneſs. When the ſecretary had finiſhed, the king took a paper from his pocket, the contents of which he informed them of, and deſired the miniſter of juſtice to preſent it to the executive council. Garat informed him, that the council would not decide on the ſubjects of his demands, but that he would immediately carry them to the convention, who had already agreed to ſome of them. He went accordingly, and read to the aſſembly the paper which the king had given him. It contained a requeſt of a reſpite of three days, that he might prepare himſelf for appearing in the preſence of God; and for that purpoſe that he might be freely viſited by a perſon, whoſe name he would mention to the commiſſioners; that he might be freed from their inſpection during the interval allowed him to live; that he might have free communication with his family; that the National Convention would permit his family to withdraw from France to any other country they choſe. Finally, he recommended to the generoſity of the nation a number of old ſervants, many of whom had nothing to live on but the penſions he allowed them.

When the miniſter of juſtice returned to the temple, he informed the king, that the convention acquieſced in moſt of his demands; he gave a favourable interpretation to the general anſwer which had been given to that reſpecting the lot of his family, but added, that *the delay was refuſed.* "Well," ſaid the king, "I muſt ſubmit." There is ſomething infinitely harſh and revolting to humanity in the refuſal of this laſt requeſt; which there is every reaſon to believe, from the character and conduct of the king, proceeded from the pious motive which he aſſigned, and not, as his enemies have ſuggeſted, from a weak deſire of prolonging a wretched exiſtence. Should it be the fate of any of thoſe men, who rejected this requeſt of the unfortunate monarch, ever to be in ſimilar circumſtances, as they will have more need of it than he had, I ſincerely hope, ſays a pleaſing writer*, that they will be allowed more than three days to prepare themſelves for eternity.

When the miniſter of juſtice had retired, the king gave to one of the commiſſioners a letter addreſſed to Mr. Edge-

* Dr. Moore.

worth, who was the perſon he wiſhed to attend him in his laſt moments. Mr. Edgeworth's father was originally a proteſtant clergyman of a good family in Ireland, who was converted to the Roman catholic religion, and had eſtabliſhed himſelf in France, where he bred his ſon as an eccleſiaſtic, in the faith which he himſelf preferred. The ſon recommended himſelf ſo much by his good conduct and excellent character, that he was choſen by the princeſs Elizabeth as her confeſſor; by which means he became known to, and highly eſteemed by the king; of which he gave the ſtrongeſt proof, by ſending for him on this awful occaſion. The king's letter was carried to Mr. Edgeworth by three ſoldiers, ſent by the council of the Commune. The contents of the letter were requeſting his attendance; but if he found himſelf, from apprehenſion of the conſequence, or any other cauſe, averſe to come, entreating him to find another prieſt who had not the ſame reluctance. Mr. Edgeworth informed the ſoldiers, that he would attend them directly to the Temple. His mother and ſiſter were then at a ſmall diſtance from Paris; he deſired Madame d'Argouge, a relation with whom he lived when in town, not to inform them of what had happened, becauſe he ſaw that lady herſelf greatly alarmed, and feared that ſhe might communicate her apprehenſions to them. Mr. Edgeworth was conducted firſt before the council in the Temple, and then to the king. On his being introduced, he inſtantly ſhewed ſuch marks of reſpect and ſenſibility as affected the unfortunate prince ſo much, that he burſt into tears, and was, for ſome moments, unable to ſpeak: at length he ſaid—"Excuſe me, "Mr. Edgeworth, I have not been accuſtomed of late to "the company of men like you."

After paſſing ſome time with his confeſſor, the king thought he had acquired ſufficient fortitude to bear an interview with his family. The queen, princeſs Elizabeth, with the prince and princeſs royal, were conducted to his apartment. They continued near three hours together. No tragic poet ever imagined a ſcene more affecting than what was realized at this interview. The actors, ſo lately placed in the moſt brilliant ſituation that the world can give—fallen from the ſummit of human ſplendour to the depth of human miſery. A ſiſter, children, and a wife, in a priſon, taking their laſt leave of a brother, father, and huſband, rendered more dear than ever by his paſt ſufferings, their common calamity, and the dreadful fate juſt awaiting him. "Alas! "when imagination pictures the anguiſh of ſuch an interview," ſays an ingenious female writer,* "it is not neceſſary

* Miſs Williams.

"to

" to look back upon the former elevation of the ſufferers, " in order to pity the gloomy tranſition in his fate! It is not " neceſſary to recollect, that he who was the following " morning to ſuffer death upon the ſcaffold, was once the " firſt monarch of Europe, and would be led to execution " through the ſtreets of his own capital! It was enough to " conſider this unfortunate perſon as a man, a huſband, a " father! Ah! ſurely, amidſt the agonies of final ſeparation from thoſe to whom we are bound by the ſtrongeſt " ties of nature and affection! ſurely, when we cling to " thoſe we love, in the unutterable pang of a laſt embrace, " in ſuch moments, the monarch muſt forget his crown, " and the regrets of diſappointed ambition muſt be unfelt " amidſt the anguiſh which overwhelms the broken heart."

I ſhall not attempt to deſcribe the deſpair of the illuſtrious ſufferers. The queen uttering violent ſcreams, and invoking pity, attempted to force the grates of her windows. She could liſten to no words of comfort. No conſideration could prevent her from pouring forth her indignation in the moſt violent expreſſions againſt the enemies of her huſband. In the bitterneſs of her ſoul ſhe beat her breaſt and tore her hair; and being agitated to an inexpreſſible degree, experienced "all the ſad variety of woe." Madame Elizabeth and Madame Royale fell weeping at the king's feet. Even the young prince, who was only in his ninth year, caught the infectious ſorrow, and, in the midſt of this heart-piercing ſcene, found means to eſcape, and paſs undiſcovered to the firſt court, but was ſtopped at the gate. He cried, he groaned, he ſupplicated for permiſſion to paſs on. Affected by his beauty and his tears, one of the guards aſked him, "*Where* "*would you go to,*"--"*I would go*" anſwered the unfortunate heir of ſo many kings, "*and entreat the people not to kill papa.* "*My God! do not prevent me from ſpeaking to them;*" and with his little arms he attempted to overcome the invincible obſtacles which oppoſed him. "*Oh! let me run through* "*the ſtreets!*" added he; "I will go to the diſtricts—I will " go to all the ſections, and beg for my papa *."

This was the firſt time, ſince his impriſonment, that the king had been allowed to ſee his family without witneſſes. Dreadful indeed was the moment in which he tore himſelf from them, although they hoped to ſee him once more on the following morning. The queen, delirious and convulſed, embraced the king's knees with ſo much violence, that two men were obliged to uſe all their force to tear the king from

* Ah, laiſſez moi courir les rues!—j'irai aux diſtricts—j'irai à toutes les ſections, demander grace pour mon papa.

her

her arms. Madame Elizabeth and the dauphin lay extended on the ground at his ſeet, uttering the moſt dreadful ſcreams. Madame Royale was laid ſenſeleſs on her bed. At her age, perhaps, the ſoul is moſt ſuſceptible of ſtrong impreſſions, and its ſenſibility moſt exquiſite *.

After his family had withdrawn, Louis remained ſome time with his eyes fixed on the ground without ſpeaking; then with a profound ſigh he ſaid—"*This was a dreadful* "*moment*†." The miſery of his own fate, and that of his neareſt relations, did not however engroſs his mind ſo entirely, as to exclude all ſolicitude for the fate of others; he inquired in a moſt affectionate manner of Mr. Edgeworth for ſeveral whom he conſidered as his friends, and particularly for the eccleſiaſtics, who had been perſecuted with the greateſt cruelty; and expreſſed ſatisfaction at hearing that many of them had eſcaped to England ‡.

The king paſſed almoſt the whole evening in prayer. He undreſſed and went to bed about midnight, and ſlept for ſome hours. When his Valet de Chambre entered his apartment, the next morning, drowned in tears, the king took him by the hand, and ſaid, "*You are in the wrong, Clery, to be thus* "*affected; thoſe, whoſe kindneſs ſtill induces them to love me,* "*ought rather to rejoice that I am at laſt arrived at the end* "*of all my ſufferings.*" He roſe at five; and expreſs an inclination to hear maſs, Mr. Edgeworth informed the council who were ſitting in the Temple, of the king's requeſt. Some difficulties were made, which Mr. Edgeworth removed, ſaying that the uſual ornaments and all that was requiſite could be procured from a neighbouring church. Mr. Edgeworth, ſhewing great ſolicitude that the king ſhould be gratified, one of the commiſſioners ſaid, he had heard of people who had been poiſoned taking the ſacrament. To this horrid inſinuation Mr. Edgeworth made no other reply, than by calmly reminding him that the committee were to procure the hoſt. What was neceſſary was provided. Mr. Edgeworth ſaid maſs, and adminiſtered the ſacrament to the king; and then mentioned that his family expected to ſee him before he left the temple. The king, fearing that he had not ſufficient firmneſs for a ſecond interview, wiſhed to ſpare them the agony of ſuch a ſcene, and therefore declined it.

At half an hour after eight, Santerre came and informed him that he had received orders to conduct him to the place of execution. After paſſing three minutes in private with

* Anecdotes of the laſt twenty-four hours of the king's life.
† Ce moment étoit terrible. ‡ Dr. Moore.

his

his confeſſor, he came to the outer-room where Santerre had remained, and addreſſing him, ſaid, "*Marchons, je ſuis "prêt* *." In deſcending to the court, he begged the commiſſioners to recommend certain perſons who were in his ſervice to the Commune; after which, not imagining that Mr. Edgeworth intended to accompany him any farther, he was bidding him adieu. But the other ſaid, his attendance was not over. "What," ſaid the king, "do you intend to "adhere to me ſtill?"---"Yes," replied the confeſſor, "to "the laſt." The king walked through the court with a firm ſtep, and entered the mayor's coach, followed by Mr. Edgeworth, a municipal officer, and two officers of the national guards. The king recited the prayers for perſons in the agonies of death, during the conveyance from the Temple to the Place de la Revolution, formerly the Place de Louis XV.

On his approaching the place of execution, at the appearance of the ſcaffold, and the guillotine, the fatal inſtrument of death, each covered with black, he ſhrunk back with horror; but, collecting himſelf, he ſtepped with firmneſs and compoſure from the carriage amidſt the brutal huzzas of the populace, and the noiſe of drums and trumpets. He ſurveyed for a few moments the immenſe multitude; then approaching the edge, as there was a good deal of noiſe, he made a motion with his hand for ſilence which inſtantly took place†. Then ſpeaking with a raiſed voice, he ſaid, "I call God to witneſs, that I die innocent of the crimes of "which I have been accuſed. I love, and have always "loved my people, and have made a thouſand perſonal ſa"crifices in order to render them happy. Indeed, I by no "means aſcribe my misfortunes to them, but to a *faction* "which hath degraded France in the eyes of the Supreme "Being and of the whole univerſe. Vouchſafe, O my "God! to receive my ſoul, and grant me that peace, which "I have not enjoyed in this world; pardon mine enemies,

* Let us go; I am ready.

† It has been ſaid, that the ſerenity which the king ſhewed at his death, did not proceed wholly from the ſupport he derived from religion, but was partly owing to the hope he entertained to the laſt, that his life would be ſaved by the people, and that his confeſſor encouraged him in this hope. "Nothing," ſays Dr. Moore, "can be more improbable." Had the king entertained any ſuch hope, it muſt ſtill have been intermingled with fear; and ſuch a ſtate of mind, inſtead of calmneſs, was more likely to produce agitation. The whole of his behaviour ſhews a manly and Chriſtian reſignation to a fate which he thought inevitable, and proves that his hopes were removed from earth to heaven. The character of Mr. Edgeworth precludes him from the ſuſpicion of having encouraged a hope, which would have diſturbed that turn of mind, which it was his duty to promote and cheriſh in the king.

"and

" and re-eſtabliſh good order, tranquillity, and happineſs, in " my miſerable country: it is my laſt wiſh. Amen*."

Santerre, who was on horſe-back near the ſcaffold, made a ſignal for the drums to beat, and for the executioners to perform their office, before this ſhort but pathetic diſcourſe was concluded; ſo that the king's voice was drowned in the noiſe of the drums. Three executioners then approached to ſeize him: at the ſight of a cord, with which one of them attempted to tie his arms, the king, for the firſt time, ſhewed ſigns of indignation, and, as if he was going to reſiſt. Mr. Edgeworth put him in mind that the Saviour of mankind had allowed his arms to be tied: he no ſooner pronounced this than the king became paſſive as a lamb. The executioners laid hold of him and placed him on the guillotine. The confeſſor then, kneeling with his face near to that of the king, pronounced aloud---" *Son of St. Louis, you aſcend to heaven*†."---The blow was given---Mr. Edgeworth's face was ſprinkled with the king's blood. One of the executioners ſhewed the head to the people, who ſhouted out, *Vive la nation, Vive la republique!* Thoſe who were neareſt the ſcene, forced themſelves between the horſes and the military that formed a ſquare round the ſcaffold, and dipped their handkerchiefs in the king's blood, which ran in copious ſtreams upon the ground. Others ſmeared the points of their pikes, ſwords, and bayonets with it, crying out, " Behold the blood of a tyrant!---Thus periſh all the " tyrants of the earth!" Many of the ſurrounding ſpectators at a diſtance, however, uttered no other ſounds but groans and ſighs. Eye witneſſes aſſert, that the dukes of Orleans and Chartres were preſent at the execution. This additional infamy, however, could not much increaſe the contempt and horror which their unnatural conduct had before inſpired ‡.

The king's body was carried to the burying of la Magdalaine, and interred without a coffin, or any covering, amongſt the Swiſs who were maſſacred on the 10th of Auguſt, and thoſe who, through fear and precipitation, occa-

* Je prends Dieu a temoin, que je meurs innocent des crimes dont j'ai été accuſé. J'aime, & j'ai toujours aimé mon peuple, et j'ai faite mille ſacrifices perſonels pour le rendre heureux; ainſi je ne lui attribue pas mes malheurs, mais bien à une Faction, qui a degrade la France aux yeux de l'Etre Supreme et de tout l'univers. Daignez, O mon Dieu! recevoir mon ame, et m'accorder cette paix dont je n'ai pas joui dans ce monde; pardonnez à mes ennemis, et faites renaitre le bon ordre, le tranquillité, et le bonheur dans ma malheureuſe Patrie; eſt là mon dernier ſouhait. Amen.

† Enfant de Saint Louis, vous montez au ciel.

‡ Anecdotes of the king's laſt hours.

ſioned

ſioned their own death at the fire works exhibited to the people on account of the king's marriage in 1770. Quicklime was flung over the corpſe in order to accelerate its diſſolution; and guards were placed to prevent its being taken away in the night. The grave in which the body was depoſited was fourteen feet deep, and ſeven in width. The king's hair was cut off, diſtributed, and ſold to the crowd. He had wiſhed to cut off his hair the day before his execution. Sciſſars were refuſed him; they took away his knife. "Fools," ſaid he, "to think I would baſely turn my hand "againſt my own life."

During the whole time of the proceſſion it was followed by two armed men, who entered all the coffee-houſes, and other places of public meeting, and where every one was drowned in tears, crying out, "Are there yet any faithful "ſubjects who are willing to die for their king?" Such was the general panic, that no one joined them, and they arrived alone at the place of execution, where they eſcaped amidſt the crowd. An aſſociation of eighteen hundred well intentioned yet timid people had been formed, who were to cry out for pardon previous to the execution. Of theſe, however, one only dared to do his duty, and he was immediately cut to pieces by the populace.

Thus ended the life of Louis XVI. after a period of four years detention; during which, he experienced from a great number of his ſubjects every ſpecies of ignominy and cruelty, which a people could inflict on the moſt ſanguinary tyrant. Louis XVI. who was proclaimed at the commencement of his reign the *friend of the people*, and by the conſtituent aſſembly, the *reſtorer of their liberties*---Louis, who but a few years before was the moſt powerful monarch in Europe, at laſt periſhed on the ſcaffold. Neither his own natural goodneſs of heart, his deſire to procure the happineſs of his ſubjects, nor that ancient love which the French entertained for their monarch, were ſufficient to ſave him from this fatal judgment. He died in the meridian of life, being only 38 years and near five months old.

If any are tempted to arraign the juſtice of Providence in expoſing this prince to ſuch ſevere misfortunes, they muſt adore its wiſdom in giving him an opportunity of diſplaying virtues which will command the favour of poſterity, and afford to the ſerious mind the pleaſing reflection that his miſery terminated with his earthly exiſtence. Adverſity ſeems to have transformed the lazy ſenſualiſt into the intrepid ſage, and the wretched votary of ſuperſtition into the humble, reſigned, and pious diſciple of Chriſtianity. From the period of Louis's impriſonment to the moment of his deceaſe, he

diſplayed a vigour of intellect, and a ſenſibility of temper which the elevation of his former ſtation prevented him from exerciſing, or checked in their operation. The will he has left will remain a permanant memorial of his domeſtic virtues.

Louis XVI. aſcended the throne on the 10th of May 1774; was driven from Thuilleries on the 10th of Auguſt 1792; thrown into priſon on the 14th of September, and dethroned on the 21ſt of the ſame month.

The *twenty-firſt* day of the month was ſingular, ominous, and fatal to Louis XVI. On the 21ſt of April 1770, he was married. On the 21ſt of June 1770, the *fete* took place on account of his marriage, when about 1500 perſons loſt their lives.---The *grand fete* on account of the birth of the dauphin, was given on the 21ſt of January 1782.---His *flight* to *Varennes* happened on the 21ſt of June 1791.---The 21ſt of September 1792, was remarkable for the *abolition of royalty*; and the 21ſt of January 1793, will ever be memorable for Louis's execution.---In the evening, after the king's death, all the play-houſes were opened as uſual. In the *Theatre de la Nation*, the tragedy of Brutus was acted; and the audience teſtified their approbation of the following line, by long and uninterrupted plaudits;—"Dieux! donnez "nous la mort plutot que l'eſclavage!"

CHAP. XX.

Declaration of war againſt England and Holland---General Dumourier is defeated by the Auſtrians, and abandons the republican cauſe.

UPON the death of the king, ſome of the members who had been moſt active in their endeavours to ſave his life, immediately reſigned their ſeats in the convention, particularly Kerſaint and Manuel. The miniſter Roland alſo reſigned on this occaſion, and for this cauſe; the war miniſter Pache was ſoon after diſmiſſed, and Bournonville ſucceeded to that department. Soon after the condemnation of the king, M. Pelletier de St. Fargeau, one of the members of the convention, who had voted for his death, was aſſaſſinated by a perſon of the name of Paris, who had formerly been one of the gardes du corps. As St. Fargeau was going out

out of a houſe, where he was accuſtomed to dine, Paris followed him, and told him he was a villain. St. Fargeau anſwered that he was not. "You are," returned Paris, "you voted for the king's death." --"I voted," replied St. Fargeau, "according to my conſcience." Immediately on this, Paris drew a ſabre, and ſtabbed him in the abdomen. The wound proved fatal; for he died within two hours. It was decreed that the whole convention ſhould accompany the funeral of the deceaſed in a body, that his name ſhould be inſcribed in the pantheon, and his murderer proſecuted. It was alſo decreed, that the laſt words of Pelletier ſhould be engraven on the tomb. "I am content to die. *As I have "ſhed my blood for my country, I hope it will tend to conſolidate "liberty, and make known its enemies.*" M. de St. Fargeau was preſident of the parliament of Paris, was a very rich man, and, during the conſtituent aſſembly, was an ariſtocrat. The aſſaſſin, who appeared to be inſane, eſcaped to the country, where he ſoon after deſtroyed himſelf.

On the firſt eſtabliſhment of the revolution, the heart of every Engliſhman beat in uniſon with thoſe of the patriots of France. Some imprudent ſteps of the firſt aſſembly leſſened the number of its admirers. The horrid maſſacres of the 10th of Auguſt, and the 2d of September, diſgraced the name of liberty, which the predominant faction had aſſumed. But had the convention abſtained from imbruing their hands deliberately in the blood of the king, the French nation, perhaps, would not have been involved in a war with Great Britain.

About three days before the king's death, M. Chauvelin, Miniſter Plenipotentiary of the French republic, wrote the following letter to lord Grenville. "My Lord, I have the "honour of addreſſing myſelf to you, to beg of you to "grant me an interview. I ſhall proceed to explain the mo- "tives of this requeſt, and you will judge of them to be ſuch "as will not admit of a delay. I ſhall firſt deſire of you, my "lord, ſecurity for my communications with the French go- "vernment. Whatever may be the character which you ac- "knowledge me to poſſeſs, you have at leaſt never doubted of "the authenticity of the declarations which I have tranſmitted "to you, in the name of the French nation. I will therefore "propoſe to you, my lord, either abſolutely to refuſe hearing "me, or to give orders for my couriers to be reſpected, and "the ſecrecy of my letters, as well of thoſe ſent as received, "to be obſerved.---I will then, my lord, require to be inform- "ed, whether his Britannic majeſty will receive my letters "of credence; and if he be ſatisfied with the declarations "contained in the paper which I had the honour of tranſ-

"mitting

"mitting to your lordſhip laſt Sunday. I have not only "received freſh orders from the executive council of France "to inſiſt upon a ſpeedy and definitive anſwer; but there is "yet another reaſon which urgently preſſes for the deciſion "of his Britannic majeſty. I have juſt learnt, that the law "relating to foreigners obliges them to make their declara- "tion within ten days after the 10th of January; and in "caſe of any foreigner, who is amenable to this law, ne- "glecting or refuſing to make ſuch declaration, the magiſ- "trates of this country would be authoriſed not only to re- "quire him to do ſo, but even to impriſon him. I know, my "lord, and all thoſe who underſtand the rights of nations "know it alſo, that I cannot be implicated in this law. The "avowed and acknowledged organ of a government, which "executes laws to which twenty-five millions of men have "ſubmitted themſelves, my perſon is, and ought to be ſa- "cred; and even under my diplomatic character, I could "not be ranked among the general common claſs of foreign- "ers, until his Britannic majeſty ſhould have definitively "rejected the letters of credence, which he knows I have re- "ceived for him.---But had I been implicated in this law, I "owe to the government of a free and powerful nation "which I repreſent, this declaration, that it would be im- "poſſible for me to ſubmit to it; and that all the perſecu- "tions which it might pleaſe his Britannic majeſty to make "me endure, would fall upon the French nation, in whoſe "cauſe and for whoſe ſake it would be my glory to ſuffer. "---After this candid declaration, my lord, thinking myſelf "entitled to an equal ſincerity on your ſide, I will deſire of "you, in the converſation which I ſolicit, to inform me, "what is the conduct which his Britannic majeſty's miniſ- "ters mean to hold with reſpect to me, and with reſpect to "the perſons who compoſe my houſhold, in conſequence of "the law againſt foreigners. I have the honour to be, &c.

F. CHAUVELIN."

To this letter lord Grenville made a ſpeedy reply.---"Sir, "I have already appriſed you, that his majeſty has reſerv- "ed to himſelf the right of deciding according to his judg- "ment, upon the two queſtions of acknowledging *a new* "*form of government* in France, and of receiving a *miniſter* "accredited on the part of *ſome other authority* in France than "that of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. In anſwer to the de- "mand you now make, whether his majeſty will receive "your new letters of credence, I have to inform you, that "under the preſent circumſtances his majeſty does not think "proper to receive them.---The requeſt you make of me "is equally incompatible with the form of an extra-official

"communication,

" communication, and that character in which you have hi-
" therto been known as miniſter of his moſt Chriſtian majeſ-
" ty.---Nothing then remains for me to ſay relative to the
" ſubject of your former letter, particulary after what has
" juſt now happened in France, than to inform you, that as
" an agent, charged with a confidential communication, you
" ought certainly to have attended to the neceſſary meaſures
" taken by us to ſecure your letters and couriers; that as
" miniſter of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty you would have en-
" joyed all thoſe exceptions which the law affords to public
" miniſters, properly acknowledged as ſuch; but that, as an
" individual, you can only be conſidered amongſt the general
" maſs of foreigners reſident in England.

" GRENVILLE."

In a ſhort time after this letter, lord Grenville ſignified to Mr. Chauvelin the order of council for his departure.

Intoxicated with their ſucceſſes in the Netherlands, and inflamed with pride and reſentment, on the 1ſt of February, upon the motion of Briſſot, the National Convention decreed a declaration of war againſt this country and Holland, in the following terms.---1. In the name of the French nation, the National Convention declares, that it is at war with the king of England, and the ſtadtholder of Holland. 2. The National Convention charges the executive council immediately to put in action all the forces of the republic. 3. The National Convention authorizes the executive council to diſpoſe of the naval forces of the republic, as the intereſt of the ſtate may ſeem to require, and revokes all previous laws to a contrary effect.

" The court of London," ſaid Briſſot, " is determined
" on war. You can no longer entertain any doubt of it.
" Our ambaſſador is diſmiſſed, armaments are raiſed againſt
" us, and all French citizens, reſiding in or coming to Eng-
" land, are ſubjected to the moſt inquiſitorial vexations, and
" dangerous formalities. An embargo has been laid on our
" veſſels, and a ſquadron ſent into the Scheldt, to interrupt
" our operations in the low countries. Let one idea, there-
" fore, electrify your ſouls. Remember you fight, not
" merely for yourſelves, but for every nation in Europe.
" Let the trader forget his commerce to become a privateerer;
" and let thoſe, who can furniſh corn and other proviſions,
" renounce all ſpeculation, and carry plenty into our mar-
" kets. Let every citizen be ready to march, like a Roman
" ſoldier, not only with his arms, but alſo with proviſions for
" a given time. Let Frenchmen compoſe but one great
" army. Let all France be one camp. Let us prepare for
" ruins and misfortunes, and accuſtom ourſelves to live

" without thoſe comforts, which we once might have deem-
" ed neceſſary. The moment is approaching, when it will
" be a crime for one citizen to have two coats, whilſt one
" ſingle brother or ſoldier ſhall be unclothed. A declara-
" tion of war againſt England, is, at the ſame time, a decla-
" ration of war againſt the ſtadtholder, who, during the
" whole courſe of the revolution, has favoured the emigrants
" and Pruſſians, and treated with inſolence the French go-
" vernment, and now, joining his veſſels to thoſe of England,
" again favours our enemies, in reſtraining the importation
" of corn into France."

In conſequence of this declaration, general Dumourier proceeded with a large body of troops to invade Holland, exhorting the Batavians in a violent manifeſto to reject the tyrannic ariſtocracy of the ſtadtholder and his party, and to become a free republic.---" Batavian people," ſaid he, " the ſtadtholder, who, upon republican principles, ought " only to be your captain-general, and who ſhould exer-
" ciſe only for your happineſs the powers with which you
" have inveſted him, in ſubordination to the will and deci-
" ſions of your republic, holds you in oppreſſion and ſlave-
" ry. You perfectly underſtand your rights. You at-
" tempted in 1787 to reconquer them from the ambitious
" houſe of Orange. You had then recourſe to the French
" nation; but as at that time France groaned under the
" deſpotiſm of a perfidious court, you became the ſport of
" the intriguing miſcreants who then governed France. A
" handful of Pruſſians ſufficed to replace the yoke upon
" you, commanded by that ſame duke of Brunſwick whom
" I have ſince chaced from Champagne. Some of you
" have been victims to the vengeance of your deſpot.---Some
" have fought for refuge in France. Since then every hope
" of liberty was no more, until the period of a revolution,
" the moſt aſtoniſhing which the hiſtory of the univerſe
" ever preſented, ſuſtained by ſucceſs the moſt glorious, has
" given to you, in the French, allies powerful, generous and
" free, who will ſecond your efforts for liberty, or who will
" periſh with you. Batavians, it is not againſt you that the
" French republic has declared war. We enter Holland as
" friends to the Dutch; but as irreconcilable enemies to the
" houſe of Orange. Its yoke appears to you too inſupport-
" able for your choice to be doubtful. See you not that
" this demi-deſpot, who tyrannizes over you, ſacrifices to
" his perſonal intereſt the moſt ſolid intereſts of the repub-
" lic. Has he not, in 1782, engaged you to break, with diſ-
" honourable perfidy, the treaty of alliance concluded with
" us? Since then has he not conſtantly favoured the Eng-
" liſh

" liſh commerce at the expence of yours? Does he not, at
" this moment, ſurrender to the perpetual rival, the only
" nation you can dread, the moſt important eſtabliſhments,
" the Cape of Good Hope, the iſle of Ceylon, nay, the
" whole of your commerce with the Indies? No; you
" will never regain your rank among the firſt maritime na-
" tions until you ſhall have become free.---The firſt who
" unite themſelves under the ſtandard of liberty ſhall receive,
" not only the certainty of thoſe places which they occupy
" in the ſervice of the republic; but promotion, and at the
" expence of the ſlaves of the houſe of Orange. I enter
" among you, ſurrounded by the generous martyrs of the
" revolution of 1787. Their perſeverance and their ſacri-
" fices merit your confidence and mine. They form a
" committee, which will increaſe ſpeedily in number. This
" committee will be very uſeful in the firſt moments of your
" revolution, and its members, with no ambition but to be
" the deliverers of their country, will re-enter the different
" claſſes of ſocial order whenever your National Conven-
" tion ſhall aſſemble. I enter your territories at the head
" of 6000 Frenchmen, free and victorious. Sixty thou-
" ſand more are defending Brabant, ready to follow me if I
" meet with reſiſtance. We are, by no means, the aggreſ-
" ſors. The Orange party has long waged againſt us a
" ſecret and perfidious war. It is at the Hague that all the
" attempts have been plotted againſt our liberty.---We
" ſhall ſeek at the Hague the authors of our woes. Our
" wrath and our vengeance are only for them. We will
" paſs through your rich provinces like friends and brothers.
" You will ſee the difference of proceeding between free-
" men who offer you their hands, and of tyrants who in-
" undate and devaſtate your country. I promiſe the peace-
" ful huſbandman, whoſe harveſts are ſacrificed to the ter-
" ror of the tyrant, to indemnify them by the ſale of their
" poſſeſſions, who have ordered the fruitleſs inundations. I
" promiſe alſo to deliver into their hands, and to their juſt
" vengeance, the perſons of thoſe wicked functionaries, ma-
" giſtrates, or military commanders, who ſhall have order-
" ed thoſe inundations. However, to avoid all the ruin
" they occaſion, I exhort all the inhabitants of the country,
" by the ſentiment of liberty they have within them, to op-
" poſe them; and I will cloſely follow up my proclamation,
" to ſupport the brave and puniſh the wicked.---Batavians!
" have confidence in a man whoſe name is known to you,
" who has never been wanting in what he promiſed, and
" who is leading free men to battle; before whom have fled,
" and will flee, the Pruſſian Satellites of your tyrant. The

" Belgians call me their deliverer; I hope ſpeedily to be " yours.---*The General in Chief of the Army of the French* " *Republic*, DUMOURIER."

The ſtates-general of Holland iſſued a counter-declaration, in which they combated that of the French commander, and pointed out the fallacy of his aſſertions and the danger of his deſigns. " A writing," ſaid they, " ſo filled " with the groſſeſt falſehoods and abſurdities, as well as the " moſt atrocious calumnies, has never perhaps been pub- " liſhed in a ſimilar conjuncture. On examining with atten- " tion the contents of this proclamation, every attentive " reader will, like ourſelves, find it difficult to perſuade him- " ſelf, that it can in reality be aſcribed to him whoſe name " it bears; to a man who has the reputation of being en- " lightened and intelligent, and who makes a profeſſion of " uprightneſs and morality."---The Dutch every where made the moſt vigorous preparations for defending themſelves, and the Engliſh cabinet ſeconded their efforts by an immediate embarkation of troops, to the command of which the duke of York was appointed.

In the mean time, monſieur, the late king's brother, iſſued a proclamation at Ham in Weſtphalia, declaring himſelf regent of France during the minority of his nephew; and ſoon after the *dauphin* was proclaimed king of France, under the title of Louis XVII. at Coblentz, and acknowledged as ſuch by the king of Pruſſia and the emperor.

In the beginning of March, as if the nation was not already ſufficiently embarraſſed, the convention added one more enemy to the combination againſt them, by declaring war againſt the king of Spain.

The ſubjugation of the United Provinces ſeems to have been the favourite project of the French general. When we conſider the vigour, ability, and ſucceſs, with which at the head of a deſperate and undiſciplined militia, he repulſed the armies of Auſtria and Pruſſia, when we attend him at the battle of Jemappe, and, through the conqueſt of the Netherlands, we are compelled to admire his talents, and to applaud his heroic conduct. The ſtruggles between the ariſtocracy and the ſtadtholder, which have divided the inhabitants of Holland from the foundation of the republic, and the diſguſt which had been excited by the interference of Great Britain and Pruſſia in favour of the latter, inſpired him with the hope of raiſing diſſenſions among the people he was marching to ſubdue. No ſooner had the National Convention given a ſanction to his meaſures, by a declaration of war, than the eaſy ſurrender of Breda and Gretruydenberg encouraged him to boaſt, that he would terminate

the conqueſt by a ſpeedy approach to Amſterdam. A train of circumſtances, however, ſoon interrupted the victorious career of Dumourier, and evinced to mankind the uncertainty of military ſucceſs. The garriſon of Williamſtadt withſtood every effort of the French arms, and Dumourier was obliged to retire with precipitation, leaving the conduct of the ſiege to the diſcontented Batavians, and the volunteers who followed his regular troops.

Scarcely had Miranda ſat down before Maeſtricht, and ſummoned the governor to ſurrender, when prince Frederic of Brunſwick arrived to its aſſiſtance, defeated the enemy, and ſaved him from the danger. The Auſtrians awakening from the inactivity into which they were plunged, ſurpriſed the French in Aix-la-Chapelle, drove them from the city of Liege, and the biſhop of that diſtrict returned in triumph to his palace, before the deputies of this new department could arrive at the place of their deſtination. But the generaliſſimo of the commonwealth ſtill remained unſubdued; he rallied around him the ſcattered battalions he had ſo often led to conqueſt and honour, and reſolved to make a final ſtand againſt his ſucceſsful antagoniſts. But fortune ſtill continued to frown on the arms of France; the forces of the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait attacked Dumourier, who had but a few months before driven the ſame troops out of France, and through the Netherlands into Germany. He ſaw with mortification and diſmay the laurels of Jemappe wither on the plains of Tirlemont. On the 14th of March, the imperialiſts advanced from Tongres towards Tirlemont, by St. Tiron, and were attacked by general Dumourier ſucceſſively on the 15th and the following days. The firſt attempts were attended with ſucceſs. The Auſtrian advanced poſts were obliged to retire to St. Tiron through Tirlemont, which they had already paſſed. On the 18th a general engagement took place, the French army being covered by Dormael on the left wing, and on the right by Landen. The action continued with great obſtinacy on both ſides, from ſeven o'clock in the morning till five in the evening, when the French were obliged to fall back, and the Auſtrian cavalry coming up, put them entirely to flight. The loſs in each army was great. The French diſplayed conſiderable courage and addreſs, but were overpowered by the ſuperior numbers, and perhaps by the more regular diſcipline of their enemies. Dumourier himſelf, in a letter to general Duval, ſays of this battle, that he attacked the enemy in the famous plain of Newingham, and fought the whole day with his right wing and centre. The left wing not only fought ill, but abandoned him and fled beyond Tir-

lemont. He fortunately withdrew the right wing and the centre, ſkirmiſhing from the 19th to the 20th; and, in the night, he took a poſition on the heights of Cumpitch. Thus the triumph of the Auſtrians altered the fate of the low counries, and changed the deſtiny of Europe.

The reſtoration of the Imperial authority was the immediate conſequence of the Auſtrian victories. When the ſplendid miſeries of royalty attract ſo much regard, the homely ſorrows of the vulgar demand ſome ſhare of our ſympathy. In the courſe of this conteſt the inhabitants of the Netherlands have been doomed to feel every ſad variety of pain; and change of place is only change of woe. At one moment they were ſtifled in the embraces of French fraterniſers, at another forced to crouch beneath the ſword of military violence; at one time compelled to embrace a ſcheme of anarchy, and, at another, to ſubmit to a ſyſtem of oppreſſion which violated every principle of genuine liberty and ſalutary ſubordination. The poſſeſſion of theſe provinces is no longer obtained by multiplied ſieges of fortified towns, which contract the extent of warlike operations, and confine their conſequences within a narrow ſphere; their diſmantled cities muſt yield to the attack of a ſucceſsful army; and a ſingle battle may bring upon the country a train of calamities which it is as fruitleſs to reſiſt as it is impoſſible to eſcape. Perhaps, however, the conduct of France was more deſtructive of the domeſtic repoſe of the people, and more inimical to the habits they had acquired, and the prejudices they had imbibed, than the moſt arbitrary acts of their former maſters. Their affection for the catholic faith muſt have inſpired them with indignation againſt thoſe lawleſs innovators who were ſubſtituting a code of infidelity in its ſtead; the tumultous aſſemblies which were ſummoned together under the auſpices of the republic, and the raſh proceedings by which thoſe meetings were diſtinguiſhed, muſt have revived their predilection for thoſe ariſtocratic tribunals which adminiſtred municipal juſtice with impartiality, however adverſe they might be ſuppoſed to the progreſs of political freedom. If the governors of the low countries remember, in the ſeaſon of returning proſperity, the promiſes of which they were ſo liberal on the eve of their late expulſion, it may ſtill be poſſible to inſure a ſtable and happy conſtitution to this hitherto diſtracted territory. In common with every other ſtate on the continent, it retains the rudiments of that feudal ſyſtem of legiſlation and policy which the reſearches of the profoundeſt inquirers, and the experience of many centuries, have proved to be capable of being reduced into a form of government the moſt adapted to Eu-

ropean

ropean manners, and the moſt congenial to the preſent condition of mankind.

Dumourier addreſſed another letter to Bournonville, dated the 28th of March, in which he gave an account of the retreat of a part of the army under generals Neuilly and Ferrand, who, by the deſertion of a great number of volunteers, were obliged to evacuate the city of Mons during the night. General Maraſſe, military commander of Antwerp, capitulated, and by that method, though not the moſt honourable, yet indiſpenſably neceſſary, ſaved a body of ten thouſand men. He added, that colonels St. Clair and Theuvenot were attacked without means of defence; that military convoys were detained at Bruges; that he had diſpatched ſome troops in order to liberate thoſe convoys; and that he had ſent forces to garriſon St. Omer, Cambray, and all the places on the line from Dunkirk to Givet. At this period Dumourier deſcribed the army as in a ſtate of the utmoſt diſorder, and as not having proviſions for more than ten days. He ſaid that the pretended ſuccours of men from the departments of the north conſiſted only of old men and boys, who, ſo far from being uſeful, ſerved only to conſume the proviſions and increaſe the confuſion. He declared, that if order and diſcipline were not reſtored---that if fifty authorities, each more abſurd than the other, continued to direct all political and military operations, France would be loſt: and he added, that with a ſmall number of brave men he would bury himſelf under the ruins of his country. He affirmed, that it was impoſſible for him to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy, who, without amuſing themſelves with ſieges, might, with an army of twenty thouſand cavalry, lay waſte and reduce to aſhes all that part of the country which lies in the vicinity of the metropolis. The French general concluded this melancholy repreſentation, with beſtowing eulogiums on the clemency and moderation of the Auſtrians, who, he obſerved, were entitled to the more praiſe, as from the examples of cruelty and outrage which the French had exhibited, a very different conduct on their part might have been expected. "I have always affirmed," ſays he, "and I repeat, that a *republic* can only be founded on virtue, and that *freedom* can be maintained only by order and wiſdom." ---Such is the outline of the proceedings which preceded the final defection of that celebrated general from the republicans of France, whoſe conduct he ſeems rather to have diſapproved than their cauſe. His great and ambitious mind was affected even to deſperation, when he had loſt the alluring epithet of *deliverer of nations*, by the raſhneſs of the convention and the irregularity of mobs; and it will perhaps

ong remain a doubt with ſpeculative men, whether Dumourier would not have continued faithful and victorious, if France had ſeconded his efforts with wiſdom and liberality, immediately after the retreat of the duke of Brunſwick.

The frequent reproachful addreſſes to the convention from the general, were at length conſtrued by them into inſult and treaſon. He had been too much accuſtomed to the ſtratagems of war and the fineſſe of political tranſactions, not to be previouſly informed of the deſign of the convention to order him a priſoner to their bar. When the commiſſioners of the northern army therefore came to Tournay with an evident deſign of ſounding his intentions, they found him with Madame Sillery, young Egalité, and Valence, ſurrounded with deputations from the diſtrict of Cambray. The interview was violent. Dumourier expreſſed himſelf in terms of invective againſt the Jacobins. "They will ruin "France," ſaid he; "but I will ſave it, though they ſhould "call me a Cæſar, a Cromwel, or a Monk." The commiſſioners carried the converſation no farther. They departed, and returned next day, determined to diſſemble, in order the better to diſcover the extent of his views. The general then became more explicit; he ſaid that the convention were a herd of ruffians, whom he held in abhorrence---that the volunteers were poltroons, but that all their efforts would be vain. "As for the reſt," added he, "there ſtill remains "a party. If the queen and her children are threatened, I "will march to Paris---it is my fixed intention---and the "convention will not exiſt three weeks longer." The commiſſioners aſked him by what means he would replace the convention? His anſwer was, "the means are already "formed." They aſked him whether he did not wiſh to have the laſt conſtitution? He replied, "that it was a fooliſh "one: he expected a better from Condorcet: the firſt con-"ſtitution, with all its imperfections, was preferable." When they aſked him whether he wiſhed to have a king, he replied,---"We muſt have one." He alſo told them, that he was employed to make peace for France; that he had already entered into a negociation with the prince of Cobourg, for an exchange of priſoners, and for the purpoſe of withdrawing from Holland thoſe eighteen battalions which were on the point of being cut off. When they informed him that thoſe negociations with Cobourg and the peace which he wiſhed to procure from France,, would not change republicans into royaliſts, he repeated the aſſertion that he would be in Paris in three weeks; and obſerved, that ſince the battle of Jamappe he had wept over his ſucceſs in ſo bad a cauſe. Dubuiſſon then propoſed to communicate

to

to him a plan of a counter-revolution: but he ſaid that his own was better.

The attempt to arreſt an able general at the head of his army, did not, it muſt be confeſſed, argue a ſuperior degree of wiſdom, either in the convention or its agents. As ſoon as the ſpecial commiſſioners therefore arrived from Paris for that purpoſe, and announced to the general their intention, he ſmiled, and aſſured them "that he valued his head "too much, to ſubmit it to an arbitrary tribunal:" and immediately giving the ſignal for a body of ſoldiers who were in waiting, he ordered the miniſter of war Bournonville who was ſent to ſuperſede him, and the commiſſioners, immediately to be conveyed to the Auſtrian head quarters at Mons, as hoſtages for the ſafety of the royal family. Dumourier, however, notwithſtanding his ſplendid talents, appears to have been groſsly miſtaken with regard to the diſpoſition of his army. They were ready to reſent to a man the affront which was ſo imprudently offered to their general, in ordering him to appear as a criminal at Paris, but, when he came to propoſe to them the reſtoration of royalty in the perſon of the prince, and to turn their arms againſt their country, the prejudices or the patriotiſm of Frenchmen aſſumed their wonted influence, and they conſidered it as their duty to diſobey. The general had ſcarcely advanced as far as Cambray before he found his army gradually deſerting. The artillery was the firſt corps that forſook him; and they were almoſt immediately followed by the national guards. M. Dumourier then harangued the troops of the line; but their reply was, "that though they loved him as a man, and ve-"nerated him as a general, they could not fight againſt their "country."

Thus defeated in his plan of a counter-revolution, and finding that no dependence was to be placed upon the majority of the army, general Dumourier, with two regiments of horſe, and accompanied by young Egalité and ſome other officers, determined to make his eſcape to the enemy at Mons; where, after a dangerous purſuit by a part of the army which he lately commanded, and being ſhot at ſeveral times, he at length arrived ſafe, at the head of that ſmall party which ſtill retained their fidelity to their fallen commander.

The conduct of general Dumourier has afforded room for many conjectures, and has excited a variety of ſuſpicions. The democratic party do not ſcruple to aſſert, that it was long his intention to betray his country, and that he was actually bribed by the Imperialiſts. Theſe conjectures, however, appear ſcarcely to be warranted by competent evidence.

dence. No traitor would have fought as Dumourier did on the 18th; and had it not been for the imprudent and abſurd proceedings of the convention in denouncing him as an enemy to his country, there is at leaſt a probability that he would ſtill have remained faithful to its cauſe. The aſſertions of thoſe who think differently are however ſtrong; and it is not impoſſible that both motives might have concurred to detach him from the cauſe of the republic; it is not impoſſible, that, finding a ſtrong and increaſing party againſt him in Paris, he might be diſpoſed to liſten to the advances of the combined powers, and might, in theſe circumſtances, even accept the wages of corruption.—It ſhould have been remarked, that general Dumourier had, previous to his intended march to Paris, eſtabliſhed an armiſtice with the Prince de Cobourg; and his highneſs had iſſued a moſt liberal proclamation, which accompanied the addreſs of M. Dumourier, and which aſſured the French nation, that it was not his intention to interfere at all in the internal government of France, and that no part of his army ſhould even enter the frontier, unleſs the general ſhould demand a ſmall body to act under him to ſupport his motions, and to co-operate as friends and brothers in arms.

Amidſt this accumulation of external misfortunes, the country of France was, at this period, internally agitated by the moſt formidable inſurrections in different parts. A conſiderable body of royaliſts aſſembled on the bank of the Loire, and threatened the reduction of Nantz. In the department of la Vendeé, they aſſumed the denomination of the Chriſtian army, and were commanded by a perſon of ſome note, of the name of Joly. Strong ſuſpicions have been entertained, that the inſurgents were ſecretly aſſiſted by foreign powers.

On the 2d of April, a member of the National Convention enumerated ſeveral cauſes of ſuſpicion againſt the executive council, and cited diſtinct charges againſt the miniſter Bournonville. In the ſame ſitting the commiſſioners of the convention at Rochelle announced, that the people of Nantz had made a ſucceſsful ſally againſt the revolters, had killed twelve hundred on the ſpot, and captured an equal number. On the ſame day the popular ſociety of Toulon denounced general Paoli as a ſupporter of deſpotiſm. They alledged that the general, in concert with the adminiſtrators of the department, had inflicted every kind of hardſhip upon the patriots, and, at the ſame time, favoured the emigrants and the refractory prieſts. They demanded that his head ſhould fall under the avenging ſword of the law. The convention decreed, that general Paoli and the Procureur General Syndic

Syndic of the department of Corſica ſhould be ordered to the bar, to give an account of their conduct.

It was the 4th of April before the National Convention received the intelligence that the commiſſioners whom they had ſent to ſeize Dumourier, and to conduct him a priſoner to Paris, had themſelves been arreſted by that general and ſent to the Auſtrians. On the receipt of this information, the convention decreed a large reward for bringing Dumourier to Paris dead or alive. They took the ſpeedieſt meaſures for ſecuring the peace of Paris, and for defending the frontiers. The conſternation which the defection of Dumourier had created, was, in ſome meaſure, relieved by letters of the 5th of April, from the commiſſioners of the northern army to the convention, informing them that their country was ſaved, that the camp of Maulde was diſbanded, and that all the troops had forſaken Dumourier. The commiſſioners added, that relying on the patriotiſm and activity of general Dampierre, they had appointed him proviſionally commander in chief. Dumourier paſſed through the camp of the army of the Ardennes, conſiſting of twenty battalions, troops of the line, and volunteers, with a park of artillery which he endeavoured to ſeduce, but failed in his attempt; and they univerſally came over to the intereſt of the convention, after having been exhorted by Becker, aid-du-camp to general Diretmann, to beware of the deluſions of their former commander, who only told them they ſhould ſoon have a king and laws, the better to effect his own ambitious projects.

The misfortunes and abaſement of the notorious duke of Orleans, will ſcarcely be regretted by any. A decree having paſſed in the convention for the baniſhment of all the Bourbons, this ſhameleſs monſter ſent a letter to the preſident, deſiring to know whether he, as a repreſentative of the people, could be included in the decree; when ſuch was the indignation even of this factious aſſembly, that the affirmative reſounded from every part of the hall. He was ſoon after arreſted and impriſoned at Marſeilles. On the 9th of April the following bulletin reſpecting him was delivered to the convention. Yeſterday morning Philip Egalité, *ci-devant duke of Orleans*, was conveyed to the priſon la Conciergerie, where he occupied the apartment which was once deſtined for the too celebrated Cardinal de Rohan. It is ſaid, that on entering this apartment Egalité fancied he perceived ſome partiality, ſome particular attention towards himſelf, which might hurt the feelings of his fellow priſoners; and that he in conſequence demanded for *Citizen* Egalité, the apartment à la Piſtole. This is a particular room

for which ten livres are paid at entrance; the furniture of which conſiſts of a table placed before a window, ſecured by iron bars, a chair of walnut wood, and a bed furniſhed with a bundle of ſtraw, covered with mattreſs. At one of the ſides are two beams, the ſuperior ſurface which of is uſually ſtored with morſels of black mouldy bread, left there by malefactors condemned to the galleys, the gallows, or the wheel.

On the 13th of April, a complaint was made to the National Convention, by the council of war of Liſle, of the diſobedience of general Weſtermann, whom they charged with having directed his guns againſt that place. A letter from Valenciennes was alſo read, ſtating that all there were pretty much in the ſame ſtate, and that a council of war had been held at General Farrand's quarters, to take the neceſſary meaſures for the defence of the city. The commiſſioners added, that ſeveral letters from the impriſoned deputies and Bournonville had been ſent in by an Auſtrian trumpet, but that the ſeals had been firſt broken. Gaudet, one of the intended commiſſioners for the frontiers, defended himſelf againſt an accuſation made by Robeſpierre, of being in the Orleans' plot, and of having communicated with the traitor Dumourier. It was likewiſe moved, that Orleans ſhould be inſtantly tried by the criminal tribunal of Marſeilles, and that a price ſhould be offered for the head of each of the fugitive Capets.

The violence or the crimes of the notorious Marat, the great leader of the Jacobins, at length produced his accuſation and impriſonment. He had the audacity to publiſh a ſummons to the people of the provinces to aſſemble and maſſacre all the opponents of the Jacobins. This was an inſtance of effrontery ſo very inſulting, that the Jacobins in the convention could not defend it, and a decree of accuſation paſſed againſt Marat as an inſtigator to murder, and he was ordered to be committed to priſon in ſpite of the hiſſes of the galleries, who wiſhed to be engaged in the horrid buſineſs.—The firſt who were to have fallen a ſacrifice were the deputies who *did not vote for the death of the king*. They were to have been previouſly expelled the aſſembly. The motion made for this purpoſe was warmly applauded by the galleries; and, upon a propoſal that it ſhould be laid upon and ſigned by the patriots, a hundred members of that party advanced in a body to the table and gave it the ſanction of their names, amidſt repeated acclamations of applauſe from the galleries. Cambon propoſed, that the motion with the ſignatures ſhould be printed and ſent to the army, and through the department of the country. Vergniaud, an

oppoſer

oppoſer of the Jacobins, roſe and ſaid, "I ſhall ſupport this "motion; for I think the department ought to know who "thoſe are that foment a civil war." This ſevere reflection upon the Jacobins excited great indignation in the galleries, which was expreſſed by the moſt vehement hiſſes and hootings.

The following addreſs of the Jacobins at Paris to the Jacobin ſocieties in the departments, ſigned by Marat, as preſident, occaſioned the decree of accuſation which was paſſed againſt him by the convention. "Friends, we are betrayed! "To arms. Dumourier, united with the criminal faction "who have ſupported him, is marching againſt Paris. Your "greateſt enemies are in the ſenate. The counter-revolution "is in the government and the convention. There exiſts that "ſacrilegious cabal directed by foreign courts. Let us ariſe. "Let us exterminate all the conſpirators. Let the departments, "diſtricts, municipalities, and all popular ſocieties, unite in the "expulſion of all thoſe unfaithful members who betrayed "their truſt, and who did not vote for the death of a tyrant. "Be fully perſuaded of this truth, that Paris without you can- "not ſave the republic. The Marſeilleſe are already on "their legs. To arms. Hurry to Paris. No delay. No "deliberations, elſe your country is loſt!"—After ſo groſs an inſult on the principles of juſtice, and on the peace and liberty of the repreſentative body, it is ſurpriſing that a jury could be found abandoned enough to acquit ſo notorious a delinquent; but he was too great a favourite with the populace to fall by a legal deciſion in a city where the multitude are ſovereigns. He was acquitted by the tribunal; and his return to the convention was a triumphal entry in which that aſſembly was highly diſgraced.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Declaration of General Dumourier concerning the Duke of Orleans—Briſſot and the other Deputies of the Gironde Party arreſted—A ſhort Account of the French Conſtitution—New Calendar—Aſſaſſination of Marat—Trial and Execution of the Queen and arreſted Deputies—Toulon evacuated—Tobago and St. Domingo taken.

UPON the news of the defection of Dumourier, general Kellerman, who commanded the army of the Alps, aſſembled his troops, and, in the preſence of the conſtituted authorities, addreſſed them upon that ſubject. The ſoldiers univerſally teſtified their adherence to the principles of the revolution, and anſwered the addreſs of their general by ſwearing by their arms that they would ſupport the republic of liberty. About the ſame time, the National Convention received a letter from Dampierre, general of all the forces at Valenciennes, dated the 13th of April; in which he aſſured them, "that, in a little time, the army would recover that "ſuperiority, which it loſt only by the treachery of thoſe "who commanded it."

Before general Dumourier left Frankfort, he drew up the following curious declaration, reſpecting the report of his connection with the duke of Orleans, which he gave to count Metternich, ſecretary to the governor of the Auſtrian Netherlands. "Having been given to underſtand, that cer-"tain ſuſpicions have been entertained againſt my inten-"tions, and that a pretended intercourſe, ſuppoſed to exiſt be-"tween myſelf and Philip d'Orleans, a French prince too "well known under the name of Egalité, has been inſinu-"ated; jealous to preſerve the eſteem of which I daily re-"ceive the moſt honourable proofs, I haſten to declare my "ignorance that an Orleans faction does really exiſt; that I "never had any connection whatever with the prince who "is ſuppoſed to be the chief, or who is made the pretext "of this faction; that I have never eſteemed this Philippe "d'Orleans, this Egalité, this French prince of the blood; "and, ſince that diſaſtrous period, when he burſt aſunder "the *ties of conſanguinity*, and violated every known law, by "criminally voting for the death of Louis XVI. on whoſe "fate he pronounced his opinion with the moſt atrocious "and *unbluſhing impudence*;---ſince that period, I ſay, my "contempt for him has been changed into a legitimate aver-"ſion, which leaves me the wiſh only of ſeeing him deli-"vered up to the ſeverity of the laws. As to his ſons, I be-

"lieve

"lieve them to be gifted with as many virtues, as their fa-
"ther poſſeſſes vices. They have effectually ſerved their
"country in the armies I commanded, without diſplaying at
"any time the leaſt tinge of ambition. For the eldeſt of
"them, I entertain the higheſt friendſhip, founded on the
"beſt merited eſteem."—From Frankfort Dumourier went to Studgard, the capital of the Duke of Wirtemberg's dominions, in Swabia, where he remained for a ſhort time; but he kept a ſecret his future deſtination, for fear of the daggers of the aſſaſſins, by whom the convention threatened to diſpatch him.

The defection of general Dumourier diſappointed in its conſequences the expectations of Europe. The leaſt reſult that could be apprehended from ſo important an event was the entire diſſolution of the northern army; but even this effect did not enſue, and, in leſs than a month, general Dampierre was enabled to reſtore to order and diſcipline the diſorganized troops, and to lead them to action, if not to victory. On the 8th of May, in a battle near St. Amand, between the combined armies and the French, Dampierre was mortally wounded, and ſoon after died. His laurels had not arrived at a ſufficient maturity to be aſſailed by the blaſts of envy or of faction, but accompanied him in their full bloom to his grave. The effuſion of human blood was the principal event of this action; the Auſtrians are ſaid to have loſt 2000 men, the French nearly the ſame number, but the loſs of the Engliſh is yet unknown. The ſerjeant-major of the Coldſtream regiment, by name Darley, who was among the wounded, is ſaid to have performed prodigies of valour. Though he had his arm broken and ſhattered by a ball, he continued to fight with the moſt animated and determined bravery for near two hours. He put to death a French officer, who made an attack upon him, but at length had his leg broken by another cannon ſhot, in conſequence of which he fell into the hands of the French. The duke of York ſent a trumpet on the morning of the 19th, to ſay that the ſurgeon who attended him ſhould be liberally rewarded for his trouble, and to requeſt that no expence ſhould be ſpared in procuring him every comfort that his ſituation ſhould admit of.

General Cuſtine, commander of the armies of the Rhine and the Moſelle, informed the convention about this time that he had been groſsly inſulted by three of their commiſſioners, and complained that he was accuſed reſpecting a letter which he had written to the duke of Brunſwick. In what manner the general was ſatisfied, we are not informed; but that he was, is evident from his acceptance of the command

of

of the armies of the north, ſoon after their retreat from the camp of Famars. The ſentiment, however, which he appears to have excited on this occaſion, proved afterwards fatal to this able and ill treated officer.

On the 13th of May, general Santerre appeared at the bar of the National Convention, and made this addreſs: "We "are ready to ſet out againſt the inſurgents in the depart- "ment la Vendeé; and to-morrow, and the enſuing "days, twelve or fourteen thouſand men will march. We "have eighty guns, and abundance of ammunition." The general concluded his addreſs in the following manner; "After "the counter-revolutioniſts ſhall have been ſubdued, an hun- "dred thouſand men may readily make a deſcent on Eng- "land, there to proclaim an appeal to the Engliſh people on "the preſent war." This was referred to the committee "of public ſafety.

It is now neceſſary to advert to the revolution, as it is termed, of the 31ſt of May, when the Gironde, or moderate party, was precipitated from power by the turbulent faction of Marat. The Gironde, in voting for the death of the king, defeated, or, at leaſt, delayed, the execution of that plot which had been formed by their adverſaries for their deſtruction. But as the majority of that party had voted for a ſuſpenſion of the puniſhment, this circumſtance was artfully employed by the Jacobins in the hope of equally effecting their purpoſes; and they ſoon ſucceeded in rendering the Gironde completely odious to the populace at leaſt of Paris. From the moment in which Marat had been committed to the Abbaye, the deliberations of the legiſlature had been almoſt entirely conſumed in mutual recriminations. The populace aſſembled in great bodies, and became more and more riotous and importunate. They expreſſed their deteſtation of the preſent ſtate of things, called out for laws and government, and in the hall of the convention the legiſlators were inſulted by the people of the galleries.

By the addreſs of the preſident of the convention to the people, which is couched in very ſtrong language, we may perceive how matters were then circumſtanced. "The "ſcandalous ſcene which has juſt paſſed convinces me of "the truth of a conſpiracy which has been revealed to me "by many good citizens, who, fearing the poignards of "aſſaſſins, have refuſed to make their names public. I "ſhall now develope this plot! Legiſlators, people, be at- "tentive! Your ſafety is concerned! The ariſtocrats, who "tremble at their inability to ſnatch from us our liberty by "the force of arms, are now preparing to deſtroy it by an "intrigue carried by gold. They wiſh to deſtroy the con-

"vention

" vention by inſurrection. The conſpirators, after having " prepared the minds of the people by crafty ſpeeches, " clothed in patriotic language, have miſled the members " of the popular ſocieties, of the conſtituted authorities, " and even of the convention itſelf, ſo as almoſt to have " perſuaded them, that to ſave the country, a new inſur- " rection was neceſſary. This inſurrection has been or- " ganized by clandeſtine committees. Every thing is " preconcerted and arranged. The diſorder which they " have created in the convention will ſerve as a pretext for " their projected riot. The women too lend their aſſiſt- " ance, many of whom have been formed into regiments " for this iniquitous undertaking. At the moment when " their miſguided arms are uplifted for the deſtruction of " their country, they endeavour to perſuade us that they " are employed in ſaving it. A prey to anarchy, there no " longer remains to France any rallying point. I love the " people too well not to uſe my utmoſt endeavours to ſave " them from the effects of their own madneſs; if, in the " exceſs of their blindneſs, it ſhould happen, that in this " chair I ſhould receive their attacks, covered with wounds " I will ſtill offer up my prayers for their happineſs, and " my laſt words ſhall be, *Oh, God! preſerve the liberty of* " *my country, and pardon thoſe murderers!* they know not " what they do. ISNARD."

The departments, at this time, were in a ſtate little better than that of the metropolis. Marſeilles ſeemed to have renewed the plan of a federative ſyſtem* of the ſouthern provinces. The ſections of that city got the better of the adverſe party, and co-operated with thoſe of Bourdeaux. Many of the citizens fled, and a greater number were apprehended and impriſoned.

The ſitting of the 31ſt of May opened at half paſt ſix in the morning, and did not cloſe till ten at night; and notwithſtanding a moſt perſuaſive diſcourſe from Vergniaux, followed by ſeveral conciliatory motions from Barrere, and in ſpite of the firmneſs diſplayed by ſeveral other members, Robeſpierre, Marat, and the deputies of the Commune, were finally victorious. A petition was received from the conſtituted authorities in Paris, demanding that the members of the commiſſion of twelve, with others, to the number of twenty-two, who had been formerly marked

* The great cities in the ſouth of France, Marſeilles, Bourdeaux, Touloufe, and Lyons, view the metropolis with a jealous eye. They ſay they have as great a right to be the ſeat of government as Paris, and are reported to have been forming a confederacy to leſſen the ſuperiority which Paris has aſſumed.

out (among whom were Iſnard, Guadet, Briſſot, Vergniaux, Genſonné, Barbaroux, the miniſter Le Brun, and the ex-miniſter Roland), ſhould be decreed in a ſtate of accuſation as enemies to their country. This petition was ordered to be printed. Lanjuinais, and ſeveral others, proclaimed that their deliberations were not free; and the galleries in return openly menaced thoſe who oppoſed themſelves to what was called the wiſh of the city of Paris. A majority of the convention had ordered the committee of twelve to be re-eſtabliſhed. The deputies of Paris, in a lofty tone, demanded, that it ſhould be again diſſolved. They informed the convention, that the ſections of Paris had eſtabliſhed, on the night preceding, a Proviſional Revolutionary Commune. A majority of the convention was diſpoſed not to recognize the municipality thus eſtabliſhed; but they at length were compelled not only to the recognition, but alſo to permit that the aſſembly, thus nominated, ſhould grant 40 ſous a-day to each of the ſans culottes of Paris who ſhould execute its orders, until the general tranquillity ſhould be reſtored. After this a general federation was decreed for the 10th of Auguſt. On the
June 1. following day the fauxbourgs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, with all the adherents of Marat and Robeſpierre, were again in motion. The drums beat to arms in every quarter; few perſons knew what was tranſacting, but every man was at his poſt. At nine o'clock in the evening it was known that another deputation from the municipality was about to repair to the convention, who had adjourned their ſittings at five o'clock to eight in the evening. M. le Brun with M. and Madame Roland were put under arreſt. Claviere, the late miniſter of the finances, concealed himſelf, but wrote to demand that he might be placed under the protection of the law.

On the 2d of June the convention decreed the arreſt of all the members of the committee of twelve, Fonfrede and St. Martin excepted. On the preceding evening the alarm bells were rung. When the reſpective departments heard of the impeachment of their repreſentatives, a conſiderable ferment took place, and ſeveral bodies of men threatened to march to Paris, to reſtore liberty to the inſulated convention; but the apparent though fallacious moderation of the predominant party, and the vigour of their meaſures to repel the common enemy, ſerved in moſt inſtances to appeaſe the reſentment of the provinces. The members of the convention ordered under an arreſt iſſued an addreſs to the French people, in which they develope the cauſes of the

the late commotions in the aſſembly and in Paris; and their account is as follows: "A law had been enacted which "preſcribed the formation of committees in the different "ſections of Paris, deſtined to watch over foreigners and "ſuſpicious people." This law was eluded. Inſtead of thoſe committees, others were formed in the moſt illegal manner. Theſe committees created a central committee, compoſed of one member from the committee of each ſection. This central committee, after ſome private deliberations, ſuſpended the conſtituted authorities, and aſſumed the title of the revolutionary council of the department of Paris, and alſo inveſted itſelf with a dictatorial power. An extraordinary committee had been formed in the boſom of the convention, to denounce the illegal and arbitrary acts of the conſtituted authorities, and to cauſe all perſons to be arreſted who ſhould be denounced as chiefs of conſpiracies. On the 27th of May theſe revolutionary committees, with an armed force, demanded the ſuppreſſion of the committee formed by the convention. This requeſt was decreed, but on the next day it was deferred till the committee ſhould have made their report. The revolutionary council of Paris refuſed to attend the report. On the 30th of May they intimated to the convention their order to ſuppreſs the extraordinary committee. Amidſt armed petitioners, ſurrounded by cannon, under continual inſults from the galleries, ſome members decreed the ſuppreſſion of it. On the famous 31ſt of May the generale was again beaten, the tocſin ſounded, and the alarm-guns fired. At theſe ſignals the citizens flew to arms, and were ordered to aſſemble round the convention. Some deputations demanded a decree of accuſation againſt thirty-five members of the convention. The aſſembly referred this to the committee of public ſafety, enjoining them to deliver in their report within three days. On the 1ſt of June, at three in the afternoon, the revolutionary council of Paris marched at the head of an armed force to inveſt the national hall. At night they appeared at the bar, and demanded a decree of accuſation againſt the denounced members. The convention paſſed to the order of the day, and ordered the petitioners to exhibit the proofs of the crimes imputed to the accuſed members. On the 2d of June the revolutionary council demanded, for the laſt time, the decree of accuſation againſt the obnoxious deputies. The aſſembly paſſed again to the order of the day. The petitioners now gave a ſignal to the ſpectators to leave the hall and ruſh to arms. About noon the generale was

beaten, the tocſin ſounded; more than a hundred cannon ſurrounded the national hall, and grates were formed to heat balls red-hot; cannon were pointed towards all the avenues; the gates were ſhut, and the ſentries ordered to ſtop all the members of the convention. Many of the deputies were inſulted by the ſatellites of Marat. The battalions, which ſeveral days before ſhould have marched againſt the royaliſts, ſuddenly arrived, and ſeized on the inner poſts of the hall. Aſſignats and wine were diſtributed among them. In ſhort, the repreſentatives were impriſoned in their own hall. To avert the rage of the people, it was ordered that the committee of public ſafety ſhould make their report. Barrere mounted the tribune, and propoſed, that the denounced members, againſt whom no proof of the imputed crimes had been produced, ſhould be invited to ſuſpend themſelves from their functions. Some of them ſubmitted to this meaſure. At length an end was put to the ſitting, the preſident walked out of the hall at the head of the convention, and ordered the ſentries to withdraw. The convention reached the middle of the court without meeting any reſiſtance; but being arrived there, the commander of the armed force ordered them to return. The preſident told him, the convention was not to be dictated to, that it held its authority independent of any other power than the French people, and that they alone had a right to command it. The commander, Henriot, drew his ſword, ranged his cavalry in order of battle, and ordered the cannoniers to point their cannon. His ſoldiers were ready to fire.---The preſident turned back, the members followed him, and attempted every outlet in order to eſcape, but every avenue was cloſed or defended by cannon. At length the aſſembly, unable to retire, reſumed their ſitting; and ſome deputies decreed, that the obnoxious members ſhould be put under arreſt at their own houſes. On the propoſal of Marat, Couthon demanded that Valazé and Louvet ſhould be added to that number: ſome members gave their conſent, for the greater part of them did not take any ſhare in thoſe humiliating deliberations. After the decree was ſigned, a deputation made its appearance, to teſtify its approbation of the decree, and offered an equal number of citizens as hoſtages for the arreſted members.

After theſe commotions had ſubſided, the firſt ſtep of the triumphant party was to complete the conſtitution. The national convention, on the 23d of June, iſſued a declaration of the rights of man, as a preface to their new form of government, which is contained in thirty-five articles.

It

It ſtates, "that the end of ſociety is the general happineſs; "that the rights of man are equal liberty, ſafety, and the "protection of property; that a free people know no other "motive of preference in their election to offices than vir- "tue and talents; and that the law is the protection of "liberty, and juſtice its rule." A few days after the publication of this declaration, they announced the completion of the new conſtitution of France, which had been diſcuſſed article by article, and paſſed as the conſtitutional act within the ſpace of a fortnight. It conſiſts of 120 articles arranged under general heads, of which the following are the moſt important: "The rights of a citizen are acquired, "as to natives, by birth; foreigners acquire them by mar- "rying a French woman, by being domiciliated in France "for one year, by maintaining an aged perſon, or adopt- "ing a child. The ſovereignty of the people is next pro- "claimed. The primary aſſemblies are compoſed of two "hundred citizens at the leaſt, and ſix hundred at the moſt, "of thoſe who have been inhabitants for ſix months in "each canton. The elections are made by ballot or open "vote, at the option of each voter. The ſuffrages upon "laws are given by yes or no. Of the national repreſent- "ation the population is the ſole baſis. There is one de- "puty for every 40,000 individuals. The French nation "aſſemble *every year* on the firſt of May, for the election. "The legiſlative body holds its ſeſſion for a year, and its "firſt meeting is the firſt of July. Its members cannot be "tried for the opinions they have delivered in the national "aſſembly. The *executive council* is compoſed of 24 "members, for which the electoral aſſembly of each de- "partment nominates one candidate. The legiſlative body "chooſe the members of the council from the general liſt. "Civil juſtice is adminiſtered by juſtices of the peace elect- "ed by the citizens, in circuits determined by the law. "They conciliate and judge without expence. Their "number and their competence are determinable by the le- "giſlature. The juſtices of the peace are elected every "year. The general face of the republic is compoſed of "the whole people. All the French are ſoldiers; they are "all exerciſed in the uſe of arms. No armed body can "deliberate. The public force, employed againſt enemies "from without, acts under the orders of the executive "council."---In this conſtitution the *elections* are too frequent; and, however viſionary politicians may flatter themſelves, nothing is more likely to eſtabliſh an ariſtocratical intereſt in republican governments than frequent elections. The choice of repreſentatives then, from the

frequent occurrence of the circumſtance, becomes a mere matter of courſe; election dwindles to a kind of congé d'elire, and the appointment in time becomes hereditary.

On the 23d of May, after a very ſevere conflict, in which the Engliſh troops, under the command of the duke of York ſuffered conſiderably, the French were diſlodged from their camp at Famars, which they had fortified with great labour and ability. "After ſome time ſpent in cannonading," ſays ſir James Murray, in the diſpatch, "two diviſions of huſſars paſſed the river Ronelle without "oppoſition at a ford at Merſhe. His Royal Highneſs ordered the brigade of guards, two battalions of Auſtrian "infantry, ſix ſquadrons of Britiſh and two of Hanoverian "light cavalry, to purſue the ſame route, in order to take "the batteries in flank, and ſecure a paſſage for the reſt of "the troops. This movement had the deſired ſucceſs; the "enemy retreated from all their poſts, falling back upon a "redoubt which they had thrown up upon the commanding heights, behind the village of Famars. General "Ferraris, after cannonading ſome time, attacked on his "ſide, and carried the intrenchments by aſſault. The "troops of the different nations diſplayed the utmoſt firmneſs and intrepidity in this arduous undertaking. Seven "pieces of cannon, and near two hundred priſoners were "taken in the redoubts. Some ſquadrons of French cavalry coming up at this time, and threatening the flank "of infantry; though ſuperior in number, they were attacked with the greateſt valour by the regiment of Hanoverian Garde de Corps. The conteſt was of the "ſevereſt kind; the ſquadrons mixed with one another, "and the French were defeated, though not without conſiderable loſs to the Garde de Corps; the regiment had, "upon that and other occaſions, three officers killed, one "taken, and four wounded, and 67 killed and wounded, "non-commiſſioned officers and privates. The reſt of the "Hanoverian troops loſt about 35 men killed and wounded. His Royal Highneſs advanced, with a part of the "troops, to a hollow way within a ſmall diſtance of the "works; but obſerving, from the diſpoſition of the enemy, "that they could not be carried at that time without conſiderable loſs, from which no proportionable benefit "would ariſe, he thought it better to defer the attack till "next morning at day-break, approaching and turning "them in the night. The enemy, apprehenſive of the "conſequences of ſuch a movement, abandoned the works "as ſoon as it was dark, and withdrew into Valenciennes. "This important poſition was then occupied by his Royal

"Highneſs,

" Highneſs, who was ſoon after joined by the reſt of his " column. It appears that the French generals, forſeeing " they could not defend the paſſage of the Ronelle, and un- " willing to riſk the event of a deciſive engagement, in ſo " confined a ſituation as that between the Ronelle and the " Scheldt, made early preparation for retreat. They paſſed " the Scheldt, and were ſeen marching towards Denain. " Captain Craufurd, aid-de-camp to his Royal Highneſs, ob- " ſerving a column of baggage, which was proceeding to- " wards the river, took two ſquadrons of the 11th regiment " of light dragoons, though the convoy was at that time " rather in the rear of their own works, and attacked and " diſperſed the troops who eſcorted it, killed and wounded " between fifty and ſixty, took fifty-ſix priſoners, and eight " waggons and thirty horſes. The enemy advanced in force " from the camp, and attempted to cut off this detachment; " they however effected their retreat with the loſs of only " three men killed and three horſes. General Clairfait, up- " on his ſide, attacked and carried the heights of Anzain, a " poſt of the utmoſt conſequence, which to a certain degree, " overlooks the citadel of Valenciennes, and which com- " pletes the inveſtment of the place." By this event the garriſon of Condé and Valenciennes were left to their fate.

Some time previous to this period, the flames of war had reached the Weſt Indies, when the firſt efforts of the Britiſh arms were crowned with ſucceſs. The iſland of Tobago was taken by a Britiſh ſquadron under the command of ſir John Laforey, about the beginning of April; and, encouraged by the diſputes which exiſted between the royaliſts and republicans in Martinico, admiral Gardner attempted a deſcent upon that iſland alſo, and landed there with about three thouſand men. But having found, on his arrival, the oppoſite party too ſtrong, he was obliged to re-embark his troops. The happineſs of extenſive colonial territories, however, is perhaps incompatible with the nature of republican governments; they are generally expoſed to the rapacity of needy delegates from the parent ſtate, or permitted to preſerve a precarious independence by their own exertions, plundered as the price of ptotection, and ſpared only when neglected.

On the 22nd of July the garriſon of Mentz yielded to his Pruſſian majeſty. The troops marched out with all the honours of war, under an expreſs engagement not to ſerve againſt the allied powers for one year. They had long been in want of every neceſſary, and particularly of medicines; and a conſiderable number had been forced to ſubſiſt entirely on horſe-fleſh, and the moſt unwholeſome food. The latter

end of June and the beginning of July, were chiefly diſtinguiſhed in the north by ſome petty ſkirmiſhes between the two grand armies. The latter part of July was marked by ſome ſucceſſes of more importance to the Auſtrians. The garriſon of Condé, after ſuſtaining a blockade of three months, ſurrendered on the 10th by capitulation to the prince of Cobourg; and Valenciennes on the 20th of the ſame month to the duke of York. The capture of this laſt place was at laſt unaccompanied with that bloodſhed which was generally imagined would have attended it. From the obſtinacy of the French commander it was preſumed that he would have riſked thoſe horrors which muſt inevitably have attended the ſtorming of the place; but by liſtening to the terms of capitulation proffered by the duke of York, he averted theſe calamities, without injuring his own reputation, or the honour of the garriſon. On the ſurrender of Valenciennes, a conſiderable detachment of the army under the command of his Royal Highneſs, directed their march towards Dunkirk, forcing the French poſts at Turcoin and Lincelles. The attack of the latter afforded the Britiſh troops an opportunity of diſplaying their valour and diſcipline. After the forces of our Dutch allies had been repulſed with loſs in their endeavour to diſlodge the enemy, a body of the guards, conſiſting of little more than a thouſand men, defeated and diſperſed near five thouſand of the French. This exploit, performed by comparatively raw ſoldiers, may be juſtly conſidered as one of the moſt brilliant actions of the war, and ſtrongly evinces the courage and perſeverance of our countrymen.

The French camp at Ghivelde, was abandoned on the approach of his Royal Highneſs, and he was almoſt immediately enabled to take the ground which it was his intention to occupy during the ſiege. On the 24th of Auguſt he attacked the out-poſts of the French, who with ſome loſs were driven into the town. In this action the famous Auſtrian general Dalton and ſome other officers of note were killed. The ſucceeding day the ſiege might be ſaid regularly to commence. A conſiderable naval armament from Great Britain was to have co-operated in the ſiege, but by ſome neglect admiral Macbride was not able to ſail ſo early as was expected. In the mean time the hoſtile army was extremely haraſſed by the gun-boats of the French; a ſucceſsful ſortie was effected by the garriſon on the 6th of September; and the French collecting in ſuperior force, the ſiege was raiſed on the 7th, after ſeveral ſevere actions in which the allied forces ſuffered very conſiderably. General Houchard was afterwards impeached by the convention for

not having improved his ſucceſs to the beſt advantage, as it is aſſerted that he had it in his power to capture almoſt the whole of the duke of York's army. In the retreat upon the night of the 6th of September, his Royal Highneſs prince Adolphus and the Field-Marſhal were, for a ſhort time, in the poſſeſſion of the enemy. A patrole of cavalry, which ought to have been in their front, having taken another road, they went into the village of Rexpoede, through which none of the columns was to paſs, but which was then occupied by the enemy. His Royal Highneſs was ſlightly wounded with a ſword upon the head and arm; but no bad conſequences followed.

The French, after this event, took a ſtrong poſition in the neighbourhood of Maubeuge, where they were immediately blockaded by the whole united force of the allies, collected under the prince of Cobourg. Upon the 15th and 16th of October, however, the prince was attacked by the troops of the republic under general Jourdain, who ſucceeded Houchard, with ſuch vigour and effect, that he was compelled, after an immenſe loſs, to abandon his poſition and repaſs the Sambre. It was ſome time before the allied forces were able to ſtop the progreſs of the French, and their generals even trembled for the fate of Oſtend. A conſiderable armament from England, however, being at that time preparing for the Weſt Indies, under ſir Charles Grey, their deſtination was altered; and by arriving at the fortunate moment at Oſtend, they probably prevented the low countries from once more becoming ſubject to France.

The forces of the republic were ſtill more eminently ſucceſsful in repelling the attempts of the rebels in the department of la Vendée. General Biron repulſed the army of the inſurgents from Lucon on the 28th of June. But with that inexplicable impetuoſity and raſhneſs which characteriſes all their proceedings, the general had ſcarcely announced his ſucceſs before he was ſuſpended from his command, and placed under arreſt. General Biron was ſucceeded by general Beyſſer and afterwards by Lechelle. It would be tedious to enter on a minute detail of this petty war, let it ſuffice to ſay that theſe unfortunate inſurgents made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance to every effort of the convention, till the middle of October, 1793, when they were completely routed.

The diſaffection of the ſouthern provinces which immediately followed the revolution, as it is called, of the 31ſt of May, was productive of perhaps more ſerious conſequences to the new government. It is well known that the deputies and people of theſe provinces, were among the foremoſt

foremoſt in the iniquitous tranſaction of dethroning their king on the execrable 10th of Auguſt, 1792. It is therefore ſomething extraordinary that the ſame men ſhould be among the firſt to rebel againſt the authority of the convention. The formidable union which took place under the name of *federate republicaniſm*, between the cities of Marſeilles, Lyons, and Toulon, in the courſe of the month of June and July, ſeemed to threaten almoſt the diſſolution of the exiſting authorities. A conſiderable army was however diſpatched againſt Lyons, and that city cloſely beſieged. The Marſellois in the mean time opened their gates on the approach of the republican army, and ſubmitted; but the people of Toulon entered into a negociation with the Engliſh admiral, lord Hood, who was then cruiſing in the Mediterranean, and who, in his proclamation, thus addreſſed them:—

"During four years you have been involved in a revolution which has plunged you in anarchy, and rendered you a prey to factious leaders. After having deſtroyed your government, trampled under foot the laws, aſſaſſinated the virtuous, and authorized the commiſſion of crimes, they have endeavoured to propagate throughout Europe their deſtructive ſyſtem of every ſocial order. They have conſtantly held forth to you the idea of liberty, while they have been robbing you of it. Every where they have preached reſpect to perſons and property, and every where in their name it has been violated; they have amuſed you with the ſovereignty of the people, which they have conſtantly held uſurped. They have declaimed againſt abuſes of royalty, in order to eſtabliſh their tyranny upon the fragments of a throne ſtill reeking with the blood of your legitimate ſovereign. Frenchmen! you groan under the preſſure of want, and the privation of all ſpecie; your commerce and your induſtry are annihilated, your agriculture is checked, and the want of proviſions threatens you with horrible famine. Behold, then, the faithful picture of your wretched condition; a ſituation ſo dreadful ſenſibly afflicts the coaleſced powers; they ſee no other remedy but the re-eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy. It is for this, and the acts of aggreſſion committed by the executive power of France, that we have armed in conjunction with the other coaleſced powers. After mature reflections upon theſe leading objects, I come to offer you the force with which I am entruſted by my ſovereign, in order to ſpare the further effuſion of human blood, to cruſh with promptitude the factious, to re-eſtabliſh a regular government in France, and thereby maintain peace and tranquillity in Europe. Decide, therefore, definitively,

" nitively,

" tively, and with preciſion. Truſt your hopes to the ge-
" neroſity of a loyal and free nation. In its name I have
" juſt given an unequivocal teſtimony to the well diſpoſed
" inhabitants of Marſeilles, by granting to the commiſſi-
" oners ſent on board the fleet under my command, a paſs-
" port for procuring a quantity of grain, of which this great
" town ſtands ſo much in need. Be explicit, and I fly to
" your ſuccour, in order to break the chain which ſurrounds
" you, and to be the inſtrument of making many years of
" happineſs ſucceed to four years of miſery and anarchy,
" in which your deluded country has been involved." In conſequence of this proclamation the Touloneſe opened their port to the Britiſh admiral, as to a protector and deliverer. The ſtandard of royalty was there erected, under the auſpices of lord Hood, and the impriſoned Dauphin was proclaimed ſovereign, with the conſtitutional prerogatives enjoyed by his predeceſſor in the year 1789.

On the 8th of October, the city of Lyons ſurrendered to general Doppet. The chiefs of the rebels had fled, but ſeveral of them were afterwards taken and executed. The convention provoked by the reſiſtance of the inhabitants, decreed that this great city, which for extent, and the magnificence of its buildings is exceeded only by Paris, ſhould be deſtroyed, and that even the name of Lyons ſhould be obliterated from the republic; that the grand edifices, the churches, convents, the palaces of the nobility and rich merchants, ſhould be reduced to a heap of ruins. The decree runs thus:—" The city of Lyons ſhall be deſtroyed.—
" Whatever was inhabited by a rich man ſhall be demoliſh-
" ed.—The poor houſe, the dwellings of ſlaughtered and
" proſcribed patriots, the edifices ſpecially deſigned for in-
" duſtry, and the monuments* conſecrated to humanity and
" public inſtruction ſhall alone remain.—The name of
" Lyons ſhall be effaced from the liſts of the towns of the
" republic. The re-union of houſes preſerved ſhall hence-
" forth bear the name of *Ville Affranchie*†. A column ſhall
" be raiſed upon the ruins of Lyons, to atteſt to poſterity
" the crimes and puniſhment of the royaliſts of that city,
" with this inſcription:—'*Lyons warred againſt Liberty*;
" *Lyons is no more.*'—The city of Lyons was ſuppoſed to contain one hundred and twenty-thouſand inhabitants. Its trade in fine ſilks and velvets was the moſt extenſive of any city in Europe.

Amidſt theſe ſerious and dreadful events, the French endeavoured to ſupport the principles from which their public

* Hoſpitals and ſchools. † Freed town.

actions

actions flowed, by feasts in imitation of the Greeks and Romans; in which, instead of gods and goddesses, they used personifications of powers and qualities; and by the fabrication of an almanac, in which events and dates are marked, not by any terms or epochas that have any reference to God, or to religion, but by signs or terms drawn from natural objects; and æras taken from important discoveries, and moral and political revolutions. According to the new calendar, the year is divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five intercalary days, which are dedicated to a national festivity, and called on that account *sans-culottides*. Each month is divided into decades, and the day of rest is appointed for every tenth day instead of the seventh. The year commences on the 22nd of September; and they give their months the following names:

Names of months.	English.	Term.
	AUTUMN.	
Vindemaire	Vintage month	from Sept. 22 to Oct. 21
Brumaire	Fog month	Oct. 22 to Nov. 20
Frumaire	Sleet month	Nov. 21 to Dec. 20
	WINTER.	
Nivos	Snow month	Dec. 21 to Jan. 19
Pluvios	Rain month	Jan. 20 to Feb. 18
Ventos	Wind month	Feb. 19 to Mar. 20
	SPRING.	
Germinal	Sprouts month	Mar. 21 to April 19
Floreal	Flowers month	April 20 to May 19
Priareal	Pasture month	May 20 to June 18
	SUMMER.	
Messidor	Harvest month	June 19 to July 18
Fervidor	Hot month	July 19 to Aug. 17
Fructidor	Fruit month	Aug. 18 to Sept. 16

SANS CULOTTIDES, AS FEASTS DEDICATED TO

Les Vertus	The Virtues	September 17
Le Genie	Genius	September 18
Le Travail	Labour	September 19
L'Opinion	Opinion	September 20
Les Recompenses	Rewards	September 21

The

The intercalary day of every fourth year is to be called *La Sans Culottide*; on which there is to be a national renovation of their oath, "to live free or die." The days of theſe decades are called, from the Latin numerals, 1 Primidi. 2 Duodi. 3 Tridi. 4 Quartidi. 5 Quintidi. 6 Sextidi. 7 Septidi. 8 Octodi. 9 Nonodi. 10 Decadi, which is to be the day of reſt.

About the ſame period a decree was paſſed, ordering all foreigners born in thoſe countries, with which the republic was at war, under arreſt, and their property to be in the cuſtody of the public accomptants till the end of the war.

The incendiary Marat, did not long ſurvive, to enjoy his triumph in the convention. On the 13th of July he was aſſaſſinated in his own houſe, while in the bath, by the hand of an enthuſiaſtic female of the name of Charlotte Cordé, a native of Caen, and who appeared to have ſome connexion with the deputies of the Gironde party. She had came from the interior of France for the purpoſe of executing this deed; and after ſhe was arreſted ſhe gloried in it, and declared that ſhe would die with pleaſure after having rid the world of a *monſter!*—As ſoon as the account of his death tranſpired, the ſection of the Theatre François beat the general, and put itſelf under arms. She continued to diſplay the ſame ſpirit of heroic firmneſs and reſolution to the laſt moment of her life; being aſked by her judges, who were her accomplices?—ſhe anſwered,—"I have none—no perſon has "prompted me to perform the good action which I have "done, and if people will but take pains to examine into all "the events preceding and ſubſequent to the death of Marat, "they will be eaſily convinced that a true republican ſoul "like mine could ſolely be excited by her own impulſe, to "free her country from its moſt dangerous enemy." Fauchet, the accuſed member of the convention, was afterwards confronted with her in court; his bewildered monaſtic look formed a moſt ſingular contraſt with the figure which the reſolute Charlotte Cordé made. Being aſked if Fauchet had not introduced her into the tribune of the convention? ſhe flatly denied the charge, ſaying,—"I did not eſteem "him enough for that: I have known him at Caen, as you "may know any man that paſſes by you in the ſtreets." Sentence of death was at length pronounced on her, and ſhe ſuffered execution with the ſame courage. She refuſed the aſſiſtance of a prieſt in her laſt moments. She addreſſed the following letter to her father from the priſon of the Conciergerie:—"My reſpected father, peace is about to reign in "my country.--Marat is no more!—Be comforted, and bury "me in eternal oblivion. I am to be judged to-morrow,

"the

" the 17th, at ſeven o'clock in the morning. I have lived " long enough, as I have atchieved a great exploit. I put " you under the protection of Barbaroux and his colleagues, " in caſe you ſhould be moleſted. Let my relatives find my " homage here; and remember, each and all of you, that " crime begets diſgrace and not the ſcaffold."

The funeral of this notorious anarchiſt was celebrated with the greateſt pomp and ſolemnity. All the ſections joined in the proceſſion, ſome with their colours, but all of them with their ſtandards. An immenſe crowd of people attended it. Four women bore the bathing machine in which Marat was ſtanding when he was aſſaſſinated; his ſhirt, ſtained with blood, was carried by another Amazon at the top of a pike; after this followed a wooden bedſtead, on which the corpſe of Marat was carried by citizens. His head was uncovered, and the gaſh made by the knife of the aſſaſſin could be eaſily diſtinguiſhed. The proceſſion paraded through ſeveral ſtreets; and was ſaluted on its march by ſeveral diſcharges of artillery. At half paſt ten o'clock at night, the remains of Marat were depoſited in a grave dug in the yard of the club of the Cordeliers, between four linden trees. At the baſe of his bed of ſtate the following words were inſcribed: " *Marat, the friend of the people, aſſaſſinated by the enemies of* " *the people.—Enemies of the country, moderate your joy, he will* " *find avengers!*"

That Marat was an enthuſiaſt, is beyond diſpute; and whether he was any other than a pernicious mad man ſtill appears a matter of doubt; he muſt at leaſt have been impelled by ſome other motive than avarice, ſince he is ſaid to have died poor. This, however, affords no apology for the atrocities which he provoked or committed; there are but few, therefore, who will probably lament his death, except thoſe who inſtigated, or at leaſt profited by his crimes. I have been the more particular with regard to the aſſaſſination of Marat, becauſe events of this nature, ſeem to be haſtening on a phœnomenon in the moral character of nations, which poſterity muſt regard with equal aſtoniſhment and deteſtation; namely the adoption of the mode of privately murdering, as a juſtifiable means of carrying on public hoſtilities, and avenging a nation on an open adverſary. With difficulty can we aſſign the motives which could induce one individual to perpetrate ſuch a deed to another. If inflicted as a puniſhment of paſt tranſgreſſions, it at the ſame time involves the party who adminiſters it in an equal degree of criminality with the culprit who ſuffers; and the certainty of a ſpeedy retaliation removes from it, that portion of prolonged ſaſety which is neceſſary for the complete gratification of revenge. Yet the religious madman may deem it a ſummary

mary mode of calling upon heaven to do juſtice between himſelf and his adverſary; and the ſuppoſed good of his country may perſuade the political enthuſiaſt to aim the mortal blow. But no man in his ſober ſenſes would attempt, much leſs juſtify, ſo henious a crime, on any pretence whatever.

In the night between the 1ſt and 2d of Auguſt, two municipal officers repaired to the tower of the Temple, a little before the clock proclaimed midnight, to announce to the captive queen the decree of the convention reſpecting her removal to the priſon of the Conciergerie. Her majeſty was in bed. "Muſt I riſe then?" aſked ſhe. The officers anſwered in the affirmative. She then begged them to withdraw, that ſhe might dreſs herſelf; and they complied.—When the queen was dreſſed, the officers ſearched her, and found twenty-five louis d'ors, which they took from her, beſides her pocket book. Her majeſty uſed a thouſand entreaties to be permitted either to keep the pocket book, or that they ſhould ſeal it up, and take a protocol reſpecting its contents. After many altercations and words, the queen recognized one of the municipal officers to be the ſame who ſignified to her laſt year her ſeparation from the princeſs Lamballe, when the latter was removed from the Temple to the Hotel de la France. "Sir," ſaid ſhe, "the ſepara-"tion which you announced to me a twelve month ago "was very painful; but I find the preſent not leſs melan-"choly." She begged to have an interview with her daughter and Madame Elizabeth. This was permitted, after ſome heſitation. Madame Elizabeth ſtepped firſt into the apartment, melting in tears, bordering on a ſtate of deſpair, and almoſt deprived of her ſenſes. They locked each other faſt in their arms. Her majeſty preſerved the moſt unſhaken fortitude in this trying ſcene. When her royal daughter appeared, ſhe ſaid, "My dear daughter, thou knoweſt thy re-"ligion; thou oughteſt to have recourſe to its ſolace in "every ſituation of life." The queen then demanded to ſee her ſon. She manifeſted the moſt poignant regret and anxiety; but her demand was refuſed: the officers told her, "your ſon is innocent, and he will not be hurt." She was conducted to the priſon through a narrow paſſage, very badly lighted, where her treatment was ſuch as would diſgrace a civilized people. She was confined in a narrow room or rather vault, of eight feet ſquare, and the couch on which degraded royalty was deſtined to repoſe was a hard bed of ſtraw. The graces had all deſerted her countenance, and the marks of premature old age ſeemed to proclaim that repeated ſorrows would ſoon have terminated a life, which

was

was unneceſſarily devoted to the hand of the executioner. Several were ſaid to be the cauſes which induced the convention to iſſue their inhuman decree. It was generally reported, that propoſals had been made to the queen ſome time ago, to ſave herſelf and her family by writing a letter to the prince of Saxe Cobourg, to induce that general to withdraw his forces from before Valenciennes. The queen not only refuſed to accept theſe propoſals, but reminded her enemies of the treatment of her murdered ſpouſe, after he had laſt year written to the king of Pruſſia to retreat from the French territory.

On the 27th of Auguſt general Cuſtine, after being committed a priſoner to the Abbey, was accuſed before the revolutionary tribunal of having maintained an improper correſpondence with the Pruſſians while he commanded on the Rhine, and of having neglected various opportunities of throwing a reinforcement into Valenciennes. The French have no diſtinct notions of the adminiſtration of juſtice; they have no idea of the nature of evidence. To be ſuſpected, is to be condemned. The unfortunate general, therefore, was ſentenced to ſuffer death, and his property confiſcated for the benefit of the republic. The people heard the ſentence with much applauſe. Cuſtine lamented, that in the criſis of his adverſity, he ſeemed to be forſaken by every friend. "I have no defenders," ſaid he; "they have "diſappeared. My conſcience makes me no reproach. I "die innocent." The next morning he was brought to the place of execution, where he ſhewed neither the calm reſignation of conſcious innocence, nor the indignant firmneſs that men of proud ſpirits, who have no ſuch conſolation, ſubſtitute for it. He kiſſed the crucifix, embraced his confeſſor, heſitated, uſed every artifice to gain a few minutes longer time, and at laſt was brought to the guillotine by force, ſtruggling to prevent the executioners from tying him to the board of the guillotine. He was however one of the moſt meritorious generals, perhaps, that ever the ungrateful French republic could boaſt.

The trial and condemnation of the queen immediately followed that of general Cuſtine. Being interrogated as to her names, ſurnames, age, qualities, place of birth and abode, ſhe anſwered, that her name was Marie Antoinette of Lorrain and Auſtria, aged about 38, widow of the king of France, born at Vienna, finding herſelf at the time of her arreſt in the place of the ſitting of the national aſſembly. The act of accuſation conſiſted of ſeveral charges; which, among other things ſtated, "that by a decree of the conven-"tion, of the 1ſt of Auguſt laſt, Marie Antoinette, widow

"of

" of Louis Capet, has been brought before the revolutionary " tribunal, as accuſed of conſpiring againſt France;—that " an accuſation being made of all the pieces tranſmitted by " the public accuſer, it appears that, like Meſſalina Brune- " haut, Fredegonde, and Medicis, who were formerly *quali-* " *fied with the titles* of queens of France, whoſe names have " ever been odious, and will never be effaced from the page " of hiſtory, Marie Antoinette, widow of Louis Capet, has " ſince her abode in France been the *ſcourge and the blood-* " *ſucker* of the French; that even before the *happy* revolu- " tion which gave the French people their ſovereignty, ſhe " had political correſpondence with *a man called* the king of " Bohemia and Hungary; that this correſpondence was " contrary to the intereſts of France; that not content with " acting in concert with the brothers of Louis Capet, and " the infamous and execrable Calonne, at that time mini- " ſter of the finances, with having ſquandered the finances " of France (the fruit of the ſweat of the people) in a " dreadful manner, to ſatisfy inordinate pleaſures, and to pay " the agents of her *criminal intrigues*, it is notorious that ſhe " has at different times tranſmitted millions to the Emperor, " which ſerved him, and ſtill ſupports him to ſuſtain a war " againſt the republic; and that it is by ſuch exceſſive plun- " der that ſhe has at length exhauſted the national treaſury; " that ſince the revolution the widow Capet has not for a " moment withheld criminal intelligence and correſpondence " with foreign powers; and in the interior of the republic, " by agents devoted to her, whom ſhe ſubſidized and cauſed " to be paid out of the treaſury of the ci-devant civil liſt; " that at various epochs ſhe has employed every manœuvre " that ſhe thought conſiſtent with her perfidious views to bring " about a counter-revolution. Firſt—She is accuſed, under " a pretext of a neceſſary re-union between the ci-devant " Gardes du-Corps and the officers and ſoldiers of the re- " giment of Flanders, of having contrived a repaſt between " the ſe two corps on the 1ſt of October, 1789, " which degenerated into an abſolute orgy as ſhe A. D. 1789. " deſired; and during the courſe of which the " agent of the widow Capet perfectly ſeconded her counter- " revolutionary projects, by bringing the greater part of the " gueſts, in the moment of inebriety, to ſing ſongs expreſ- " ſive of their moſt entire devotion to the throne, and the " moſt marked averſion for the people; of having excited " them *inſenſibly* to wear the white cockade, and to tread " the national cockade under foot; and of having authoriſed, " by her preſence, all the counter-revolutionary exceſſes, " particularly in encouraging the women who accompanied

" her, to diſtribute theſe white cockades among the gueſts;
" and of having, on the 4th of the ſame month, teſtified the
" moſt immoderate joy at what paſſed during theſe orgies.
" Secondly--Of having, in concert with Louis Capet, directed
" to be diſtributed very plentifully throughout the kingdom,
" publications of a counter-revolutionary nature, ſome of
" which were pretended to have been publiſhed by the con-
" ſpirators on the other ſide of the Rhine (meaning, we ſup-
" poſe, at Coblentz), ſuch as *Petitions to the Emigrants—Re-*
" *ply of the Emigrants--the Emigrants to the People--the Shorteſt*
" *Follies are the Beſt—the Order of March—the Return of the*
" *Emigrants, and other ſuch writings:*—of having even car-
" ried her perfidy and diſſimulation to ſuch a height, as to
" have circulated writings in which ſhe herſelf is deſcribed
" in very unfavourable colours, in order to cloak the impoſ-
" ture; thereby to make it to be believed by foreign powers
" that ſhe was extremely ill-treated by Frenchmen, to inſti-
" gate them to go to war with France."

The different charges ran to a prodigious length. The following is a ſhort abſtract of the charges on which the trial turned:—" Marie Antoinette was farther accuſed, that
" being brought to Paris ſhe immediately began to intrigue
" with the members of the legiſlature, and held nightly
" meetings with them; that ſhe was acceſſary in getting bad
" miniſters appointed, in order that her views might be
" aſſiſted; that her creatures were placed in all the public
" offices; men, who were known to be conſpirators againſt
" liberty; that ſhe was acceſſary in bribing the members of
" the legiſlative aſſembly to declare war againſt the Empe-
" ror her brother; that ſhe gave intelligence to the enemy
" of the plans of the campaign, as ſoon as they were deter-
" mined on by the council; which was the cauſe of the many
" failures which the French arms experienced; that ſhe
" combined with her agents in plotting the overthrow of the
" conſtitution on the 10th day of Auguſt, 1792; that on the
" 9th of the ſame month ſhe got a number of Swiſs guards
" into the Thuilleries, encouraged them to make cartouches,
" and animated Louis Capet to order his ſoldiers to fire*;
" and that the civil war which now rages in France has
" been produced by her intrigues."

On the trial a number of witneſſes appeared; but few of the charges were ſubſtantiated. After the interrogatories were

* Her enemies aſſert, that, in order to promote her views, ſhe kept the Swiſs guards in a ſtate of intoxication; that ſhe preſented the king with a piſtol, ſaying, "this is the moment to ſhew yourſelf;" and on his refuſing, called him coward.

cloſed, the public accuſer reminded the jury of the flagitious conduct of the late French court—of its conſtant machinations againſt liberty, which it did not like, and the deſtruction of which it ſought to compaſs at any rate; its efforts to kindle civil war, in order to turn its reſult to its own advantage, by appropriating to itſelf this Machiavelian maxim, *divide and reign!*—its criminal and culpable connections with the foreign powers with whom the republic is at open war; its habits of intimacy with a villainous faction, which was devoted to it; and ſeconded its deſigns, by exciting in the boſom of the convention animoſities and diſſen ions, by employing all poſſible means to ruin Paris, and arming the departments againſt that city; and by inceſſantly calumniating the generous inhabitants of that city, the mother and preſerver of liberty; the maſſacres perpetrated by the orders of that corrupted court in the principal towns of France, eſpecially at Montauban, Niſmes, Arles, Nanci, in the Champ de Mars, &c. He conſidered Marie Antoinette, as the avowed enemy of the French nation; as the principal inſtigatrix of the troubles which had taken place in France for theſe four years paſt, and to which thouſands of Frenchmen had fallen victims.

Chauveau and Tronſon du Coudray, officially appointed by the tribunal to defend Antoinette, acquitted themſelves of that duty, and ſolicited the clemency of the tribunal. The queen was then taken out of the hall. After which the preſident of the revolutionary tribunal addreſſed the jury in the following terms:—"Citizens of the jury, the French nation, "by its organ the public accuſer, has accuſed, before the "national jury, Marie Antoinette of Auſtria, widow of "Louis Capet, of having been the accomplice, or rather "the inſtigatrix, of moſt of the crimes of which the laſt "tyrant of France was found guilty; of having herſelf kept "up a ſecret underſtanding with powerful foreign nations, "eſpecially with the king of Bohemia and Hungary, her "brother, with the *ci-devant* emigrant French princes and "traitorous generals; with having furniſhed the enemies of "the republic with ſupplies of money, and of having con-"ſpired with them againſt the external and internal ſecurity "of the ſtate. A great example is this day given to the "univerſe, and it will ſurely not be loſt upon the nations "that inhabit it. Nature and reaſon, ſo long outraged, are "ſatisfied at laſt, and equality is triumphant. A woman "who lately occupied all the moſt brilliant diſtinctions, "which the pride of kings and the baſeneſs of ſlaves could "invent, occupies now, before the tribunal of the nation, "the place which was occupied two days ago by another

" woman, and this equality ſecures impartial juſtice.
" This trial, citizens of the jury, is not one of thoſe
" where a ſingle fact, a ſingle crime, is ſubmitted to your
" conſcience and your knowledge. You have to judge
" all the political life of the accuſed, ever ſince ſhe came
" to ſit by the ſide of the laſt king of the French; but you
" muſt, above all, fix your attention upon the manœuvres
" which ſhe never for an inſtant ceaſed to employ to deſtroy
" riſing liberty, either from within the kingdom, by her
" cloſe connexions with infamous miniſters, perfidious ge-
" nerals, and faithleſs repreſentatives of the people; or
" from without the kingdom, by cauſing the negocia-
" tion of the coalition of European kings; in ſhort, by
" her correſpondence with the *ci-devant* emigrant French
" princes and their worthy agents. Had we wiſhed for an
" oral proof of all thoſe deeds, the priſoner ought to have
" been made to appear before the whole French nation.
" The material proof reſts in the papers ſeized in the abode
" of Louis Capet, enumerated in a report made to the
" national convention by Gohier, one of its members; in the
" collection of the juſtificatory pieces of the act of accuſa-
" tion paſſed againſt Louis Capet by the convention; laſtly
" and chiefly, citizens of the jury, in the political events
" of which you have all been witneſſes and judges. If it
" were permitted to me, in fulfilling a limited office,
" to give myſelf up to emotions which the paſſion of hu-
" manity impoſes, we ſhould have invoked before the jury
" the names of our brothers at Nanci, at the Champ de
" Mars, at the frontiers, at la Vendée, at Marſeilles, at
" Lyons, at Toulon, in conſequence of the infernal ma-
" chinations of this modern Medicis: we ſhould have
" brought before you the fathers, the mothers, the wives
" and infants of thoſe unhappy patriots! what do I ſay?
" unhappy!---they have died for liberty, and faithful to
" their country. All thoſe families, in tears and deſpair,
" would have accuſed Antoinette of having ſnatched from
" them every thing that was moſt dear to them in the
" world, and the deprivation of which renders life inſup-
" portable. In effect, if the ſatellites of Auſtrian deſpot-
" iſm have broke in for a moment on our frontiers, and if
" they have there committed atrocities of which the hiſ-
" tory of even barbarous nations does not furniſh a paral-
" lel example; if our ports, our plains, and our cities are
" ſold or given up, is it not evidently the reſult of the man-
" œuvres planned at the Thuilleries; and of which Ma-
" rie Antoinette was at once the inſtigatrix and the moving
" principle? Theſe, citizen jurors, are the public events

" which

" which form the maſs of proofs that overwhelms Marie " Antoinette. With regard to the declarations which " were made in bringing on this trial, and the debates " which have taken place, there reſult from them certain " facts, which come directly in proof of the principal ac- " cuſation brought againſt the widow Capet; all the other " details, given either as a hiſtory of the revolution, or in " the proceedings againſt certain notorious perſonages, and " ſome treacherous public functionaries, vaniſh before the " charge of high treaſon, which weighs heavily upon An- " toinette of Auſtria, widow of the *ci-devant* king.--- " There is one general obſervation to be attended to; " namely, that the accuſed has owned that ſhe had the " confidence of Louis Capet. It is evident too, from the " declaration of Valaze, that Antoinette was conſulted in " political affairs, ſince the late king was deſirous ſhe " ſhould be conſulted upon ſome plan, of which the wit- " neſs could not tell the object. One of the witneſſes, " whoſe preciſion and ingenuouſneſs are remarkable, has " told you that the late duke of Coigny informed her in " 1788, that Antoinette had ſent the emperor, her brother, " two hundred millions, to enable him to carry on the " war which he then waged againſt the Turks. Since the " revolution, a bill of between 60 and 80,000 livres, " ſigned Antoinette, and drawn upon Septeuil, has been " given to the woman Polignac, then an emigrant; and a " letter from La Porte recommended to Septeuil not to " leave behind the leaſt trace of that gift. Lecointre of " Verſailles told you as an ocular witneſs, that ſince the " year 1779, enormous ſums had been expended at court " for the fetes of which Marie Antoinette was always the " idol."

Here the preſident went through the charges of the firſt of October, when an orgy was given by the life-guards--- the flight to Varennes---the maſſacre of the Swiſs on the 10th of Auguſt---and, coming to the conduct of the queen ſince her impriſonment in the Temple, he concluded as follows: " The perſons whoſe buſineſs it was to ſuper- " intend in the temple, always remarked in Antoinette an " air of rebellion againſt the ſovereignty of the people. " They ſeized an image repreſenting an heart; and that " image is a ſign of *ralliement*, which was worn almoſt " upon all the counter-revolutioniſts who came within the " graſp of national vengeance." After the tyrant's death, " Antoinette obſerved in the Temple, with regard to her " ſon, all the etiquette of the ancient court. The ſon of " Capet was treated as a king. In all domeſtic occur-

" rences he had the precedence of his mother. At tabl
" he sat uppermost, and was served first. I shall forbear,
" citizens of the jury, to mention here the interview of
" the chevalier de St. Louis, of the carnation flower left
" in the apartment of the accused, of the pricked paper
" given, or rather prepared, for an answer. This inci-
" dent is a mere gaol intrigue, which ought not to weigh
" in such a grand act of accusation. I conclude by a ge-
" neral reflection, which I had already an opportunity of
" presenting: it is the French nation which accuses An-
" toinette; all the political events are evidence against her.

" These are the questions, citizens of the jury, which
" the tribunal has determined to submit to you: 1st, Is it
" proved that there existed machinations and private intel-
" ligences with powerful states, and other external enemies of
" the republic; such machinations and intelligences tending
" to furnish succours in money, and to give them ingress
" into the French territory, for the purpose of facilitating
" the progress of their arms? 2dly, Is Marie Antoinette
" convicted of having co-operated with those machinations,
" and of having entertained those intelligences? 3dly, Is it
" proved that there existed a plot or conspiracy to light up
" a civil war in the heart of the republic? 4thly, Is Marie
" Antoinette convicted of having had a share in that plot
" and that conspiracy?"---The unfortunate victim was prejudged; and had the evidence been more frivolous, it is probable she would not have escaped. After an hour's consideration, therefore, the jury brought in their verdict ---" *Guilty of all the charges.*"

The queen heard the sanguinary sentence with dignity * and resignation. Perhaps indeed it might be considered by her less as a punishment than as a release; and whatever might be the foibles of her early years, there is good reason to believe that she died a real penitent, and, like her husband, found in the truths of religion, a source of consolation, of which the malice of her enemies was unable to deprive her.

Oct. 16. About half past four in the morning, the queen was conducted from the hall of the convention to the prison of the Conciergerie.

* When the president asked her whether she had any thing more to say in her defence, the queen's answer was as dignified as it was pathetic. " Nothing: I was a queen and you dethroned me; I was a wife " and you murdered my husband, I was a mother and you tore me " from my children.—Nothing now is left me but my blood. French- " men, drink it—glut yourselves with it! all I ask is, that you will not " keep me long in pain, but put a speedy end to my sufferings."

At

At five o'clock the generale was beat. At ſeven the whole armed force was on foot; cannons were planted on the ſquares, and at the extremities of the bridges, from the palace to the ſquare de la Revolution. At ten o'clock numerous patroles paſſed through the ſtreets. At half paſt eleven in the morning Marie Antoinette was brought out of the priſon, dreſſed in a white *diſhabille*. On her right was ſeated the executioner, and on her left the curate of St. Landry, a conſtitutional prieſt, dreſſed in a grey coat, and wearing what is commonly called a bob wig. The cart was eſcorted by numerous detachments of horſe and foot. Henriot, Ronſin, and Boulanger, generals of the revolutionary army, preceded by the reſt of the ſtaff officers, rode before the cart. An immenſe mob, eſpecially women, crouded the ſtreets, inſulted the queen, and vociferated, "Long live the Republic!" She ſeldom caſt her eyes upon the populace; and beheld with a cold indifference the great armed force of 30,000 men which lined the ſtreets in double ranks. The ſufferings which ſhe ſuſtained during her captivity had much altered her appearance, and the hair on her forehead appeared as white as ſnow. The queen without anguiſh or bigotry was ſpeaking to the prieſt by her ſide. Her ſpirits were neither elevated nor depreſſed; ſhe ſeemed quite inſenſible to the ſhouts of "Vive la Re-" publique!"—When ſhe paſſed through the ſtreet called Rue St. Honoré, ſhe ſometimes attentively looked at the inſcriptions of the words "Liberty" and "Equality" affixed to the outſide of the houſes. She aſcended the ſcaffold with ſeeming haſte and impatience, and then turned her eyes with great emotion towards the garden of the Thuilleries, the former abode of her greatneſs. She died in the thirty-eighth year of her age; and her corpſe was immediately after buried in a grave filled with quick lime, in the church-yard of the Magdalen, where her huſband had been buried in the ſame manner.

About this time, the royaliſts were repreſented as being in the moſt diſtreſſed ſituation. In la Vendée, formerly the province of Poitou, where their power was chiefly collected, they ſuffered repeated defeats. It is ſaid that the republicans maſſacred the chief of thoſe unhappy people who fell into their hands; eſpecially if they had pretenſions to nobility, or were poſſeſſed of wealth.

The convention having received information from their commiſſioner at Marſeilles, that the Engliſh at Toulon had hanged citizen Beauvais Preau, one of the national repreſentatives; ſuch a ſpirit of indignation was raiſed againſt the Engliſh, as cannot be eaſily deſcribed. The convention ordered all the Engliſh in France to be im-

mediately put under arreſt. "The crime is ſo great," ſaid Barrere, "that it cannot be expunged but by the ruin "of that nation."

In the midſt of the moſt ſerious and important debates of the convention, one of the members roſe up, and demanded the abolition of the figures of the kings and queens of hearts, diamonds, clubs and ſpades, from the cards uſed in the republic, requiring that figures, emblematical of the *Reign of Liberty* ſhould be ſubſtituted in their ſtead.

All the ſepulchral monuments of the kings of France, preſerved for ſo many ages, were now demoliſhed. The place of general interment was the church at St. Denis, about ten miles from Paris. It was the cuſtom to incloſe the hearts of the deceaſed monarchs in a fine vaſe of ſilver gilt. Theſe vaſes were ſeized by the popular ſociety of St. Denis, who ſent word to the convention, that they were of ſufficient value to equip a troop of horſe.

On the 30th of October, twenty-two deputies of the Gironde party, who had been for ſome time by a ſtate of arreſt, were condemned and executed, by the ſentence of the revolutionary tribunal, for treaſonous practices againſt the unity and indiviſibility of the French republic. The names of the deputies who ſuffered on this occaſion, were Briſſot, Vergniaud, Genſonné, Duprat, Valazé, Lehardi, Ducos, Boyer, Fonfrede, Boileau, Gardien, Duchatel, Sillery, Fauchet, Duperret, Laſource, Carra, Beauvau, Mainville, Antiboul, Vigée, and Lacaze. The reader will recognize among theſe names, ſeveral of thoſe who were moſt active in dethroning the king, and eſtabliſhing a republic. Valazé, who had prepared the charges againſt the king, ſtabbed himſelf as ſoon as the ſentence was pronounced. Fauchet was one of the conſtitutional biſhops; and Laſource a proteſtant clergyman, Duchatel, Ducos, Boyer, Fonfrede, and Lehardi, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their firmneſs and intrepidity. Briſſot* obſerved ſilence, but he ſeemed as if he ſtill were

* Briſſot was certainly a man of abilities, and indefatigable in the proſecution of his grand object—the deſtruction of political tyranny, or, under that veil, the acquiſition of importance and literary fame. He appears to have had a juſt ſenſe of the neceſſity of morals to the preſervation of freedom; and, in compariſon of other members of the convention, was a good character. He was infirm in body, but a very bold man. When the other deputies of the convention walked always abroad with piſtols in their girdles, and a cutlaſs at their ſide, Briſſot paraded the ſtreets of Paris, though obnoxious to many, with nothing but a little ſwitch.

meditating

meditating upon ſome plot. Sillery ſaluted the people with much reſpect, and was accompanied by a confeſſor. The prelate Fauchet died like a biſhop; he converſed very ſeriouſly with his confeſſor. Laſource died, like a grey friar, penitent. In ſhort, thirty-ſeven minutes were ſufficient to ſtrike off the heads of theſe criminals, to dig a grave for *federaliſm*, and to leave the remainder of the convention at liberty to carry on their deſigns a little more at eaſe.

The execution of the leaders of the moderate party muſt have ſatisfied every impartial obſerver, that the diſſentions in the convention are rather ſtruggles for particular aggrandiſement than for general freedom; yet by ſilencing oppoſition, it produced the appearance of unanimity, and by removing the hope of amendment, inculcated the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the ruling party. The decided difference of political ſentiments may be ſpecified as a reaſon for the ſeverities exerciſed againſt the royaliſts; but nothing could have induced the other members of this legiſlature to ſlaughter colleagues, who, for conduct ſimilar to their own, had encountered ſimilar oppoſition, but the operation of perſonal animoſity, or the inſatiable appetite for power. The articles of accuſation preferred againſt them were numerous and inconſiſtent: they were at the ſame time upbraided with deſiring the reſtoration of the monarchy, and by wiſhing to eſtabliſh a federative republic; with fomenting the war with England, and ſeeking to raiſe the Duke of York to the vacant throne of France. From ſuch abſurd contradictions we muſt conclude, that the diſapprobation of the projects of Danton and Robeſpierre was their chief offence, and the implacable reſentment of the ruling faction, the ſole motive for their condemnation. They died as martyrs to the cauſe, for the ſuſpicion of betraying which they ſuffered; and the ejaculation of "*Vive la Republique*" was the laſt which breathed from their lips.

The merit of conſpicuous talents Briſſot and his aſſociates may be allowed to claim; and by their untimely fate they expiated the guilt they incurred by ſanctioning the murder of their ſovereign. But the patient acquieſcence of the French in this meaſure, is the ſureſt proof of the ignorance of the genuine principles of freedom which prevails among that people. They have ſeen repreſentatives, freely nominated by themſelves, and who

ſtill

ſtill continued to enjoy the confidence of theſe electors, tried by a tribunal inſtituted by perſonal enmity, and from thence conducted to the ſcaffold, without reflecting, that by this proceeding their favourite republicaniſm is deſtroyed, and a tyrannical anarchy erected on its ruins.

It has been generally remarked, that no revolution which had liberty for its foundation or its pretext, was ever diſgraced by ſo wanton an effuſion of blood, by ſo many ſanguinary executions, ſuch inhuman maſſacres, ſo much rancour and perſecution of every kind, as the revolution in France. This may in great meaſure be imputed to the *irreligious principles*, which have unhappily made ſo fatal a progreſs in that country. There is nothing but religion that can impart uniformity to the moral character. Where expediency is the only rule of conduct, the human mind will naturally indulge in too great a latitude on ſome occaſions, eſpecially where the paſſions are ſtrongly intereſted. This perhaps is the diſtinguiſhing circumſtance, which marks the two revolutions of America and France. The Americans were poſſeſſed of a ſtrong ſenſe of religion; and conſequently, though the inſtances of treachery which occurred among themſelves were ſcarcely leſs numerous, in proportion, than thoſe of the French, the victims of popular fury were much fewer. They were under a neceſſity of defending themſelves; but, independent of this circumſtance, they could not forget that their religion taught them *to love their enemies:* but the majority of the French nation are either uninſtructed in the truths of religion, or have rejected its ſalutary reſtraints.

On the 6th of November, Philip Egalité *ci-devant duke of Orleans*, underwent an interrogatory before the revolutionary tribunal. Being queſtioned reſpecting his intimacy with Sillery, the deputy lately executed, he anſwered, "I was attached to Sillery until the moment "that I ſuſpected his patriotiſm; when I did ſo, I refuſed "any longer to ſee him."—"You have nevertheleſs," ſaid the preſident, "committed the care of your children "to his wife, who is now with them abroad."—"Yes," anſwered Egalité, "but that was at a time when I had no "cauſe to ſuſpect Sillery." He was condemned to death at the ſame ſitting at which he was tried; but with a view to prevent his fate, he promiſed to make a great number of diſcoveries, and his execution was in conſequence ſuſpended for ſome hours. But when he found there was no poſſibility of eſcaping, he acknowledged that he was the

author

author of the events of the 5th and 6th of October, and that all his machinations tended to revenge himſelf on a family whoſe deſtruction he had ſworn, but whoſe ſpoils he never wiſhed to ſhare. He impeached a great number of individuals, particularly Briſſot, Dumourier, Marat, and Robeſpierre, as agents, in his crime; the latter, it ſeems, had great difficulty in extricating himſelf on this occaſion. He was ſentenced to die at two o'clock in the afternoon, and at five o'clock he was conveyed in a cart to the place of execution. The eyes of the people were attentively fixed upon him. The cart ſtopped by ſome accident upon the *Place de l'Egalite* before his palace. He ſurveyed it with much attention, and turned his head to look at it as long as he could. To the exclamations of indignation and curſes beſtowed upon him by the people he made no reply, nor did he appear much affected by them. When the cart arrived at the ſcaffold, he jumped upon it firſt, and immediately laid down his head to undergo that puniſhment to which he was ſentenced. To live deſpiſed, and to die unpitied, is the moſt heavy misfortune which can happen to man; and ſuch a degree of miſery is the lot of only the moſt profligate and abandoned. When, therefore, it is ſaid that ſuch was the ſituation of Philip Egalité, the ſevereſt cenſure is conveyed which can be paſſed upon his character. After having long exhibited a portion of folly and wickedneſs, of ambition and weakneſs, which rarely combine in forming the ſame character, in his laſt moments he appears to have derived ſome relief from the ſtings of awakened conſcience, in the fond hopes of annihilation; and, with an affected courage, pronounced the period of his death to be the happieſt of his exiſtence. Born to protect the kinſman and the king in whoſe deſtruction he gloried, and to diffuſe happineſs over the land he aſſiſted to deſolate; in the purſuit of arbitrary power he allied himſelf to a faction by which he was neglected, contemned, and murdered. The faithful page of hiſtory will, therefore, tranſmit the duke of Orleans to the contempt and abhorrence of every future generation.

About this period, the turbulent peaſantry of Catalonia, whoſe diſcontent has ſo often diſturbed the repoſe of the Spaniſh monarchy, diſplayed their valour in its defence, by diſcomfiting the French army on their barren mountains.

It has been already hinted, that the Britiſh troops made every poſſible effort for the protection of Auſtrian Flanders,

ders, which ſeemed to be in imminent danger from the attempts of the enemy upon the whole frontier of that province. Anticipating victories, which they never obtained, the French proclaimed their reſolution of raſing Oſtend to the ground, ſurrounding the allied troops, and terminating the war by a blow. In order to diſconcert their ſchemes, the Duke of York determined to attack the enemy at Menin, upon the 28th of October. General Walmoden, to whom the execution of this deſign was to be entruſted, went upon the 26th, to Courtray, to take command of the corps which had formerly occupied the camp at Menin. Lieutenant-General Buſche took the command of that which had been poſted at Mouſeron, but which had fallen back to Worcoing. The attaek was to be made upon different points by theſe corps, in conjunction with that of lieutenant Wurmb, which lay at that time in the neighbourhood of Thouroute. Upon the morning of the 27th his royal highneſs marched with the troops which were encamped before Tournay, to take up the poſition he had formerly occupied between Beiſieux and Cyſoing, and which had been left ſome days before. Different poſts, which the enemy had eſtabliſhed upon the Marque, were driven back. A piquet of ſix officers and one hundred and fifty men, which had been poſted at the village Saingain, retreated acroſs the plain towards Lazennes; they had nearly reached the laſt mentioned village when a ſquadron of the 2d dragoon guards, led on by major Crawfurd, aid-de-camp to his Royal Highneſs, advancing with rapidity, gained their right flank, and charged them with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs, that not a ſingle man eſcaped; one hundred and four priſoners were taken, and the reſt killed upon the ſpot. The ſquadron of the 2d dragoon guards had only two men killed, and one man wounded. The other ſquadron of the queen's dragoon guards, two ſquadrons of the royals, and a diviſion of the Auſtrian light dragoons, came up in the purſuit.

In the mean time the enemy had made progreſs in another part of the country. They had attacked Nieuport, and paſſed, though only with a ſmall body, the canal of Ypres at Shooreback. In conſequence of this lieutenant general Wurmb had fallen back upon Ghiſtel, in order to cover Bruges and Oſtend. This change of general Wurmb's poſition rendered abortive the plan which had been formed for the attack of Menin upon the 28th. His Royal Highneſs therefore, ſtill keeping that important

object in view, ſent a reinforcement of three battalions to lieutenant general Buſche, who had by this time advanced again with his corps to Mouſcron, and diſlodged the enemy from that poſt, of which they had taken poſſeſſion; and it was determined that the attack on Menin ſhould be made on the 29th, by the corps of general Walmoden and Buſche; the former advancing directly upon the town of Menin, the latter upon the right bank of the Lys, againſt the village and heights of Hallouin. In order to favour this enterprize, by drawing the attention of the enemy to another quarter, the duke of York ſent two battalions of Auſtrian Infantry, and ſome companies of light troops, under the command of major-general Werneck, and two battalions of Britiſh infantry, with one ſquadron of the 7th and one of the 15th light dragoons, to attack Lannoy, which the enemy had entrenched, and occupied with one thouſand five hundred men. Major-general Abercrombie commanded this detachment; and he had orders to expoſe the troops as little as poſſible, but to confine the attack to a cannonade, until the enemy ſhould be driven from their poſt. This plan had the deſired ſucceſs. After reſiſting ſome time the heavy and well directed fire of the Britiſh and Auſtrian Artillery, which was gradually advanced to within a very ſmall diſtance of the town, the French gave way, retiring in great diſorder, part of them towards Liſle, and part towards Reubay. They were purſued with great ſpirit by lieutenant-colonel Churchill, at the head of the two ſquadrons of light dragoons, who killed and wounded near one hundred of them, and took fifty-nine priſoners. Several others were killed and taken by a party of Auſtrian Infantry, who entered the town. There were taken in all about one hundred and fifty priſoners, and five pieces of cannon, beſides ſeveral tumbrils and baggage waggons. The killed are ſuppoſed to have amounted to between two and three hundred. The loſs upon the ſide of the allies was very inconſiderable; but unfortunately, captain Sutherland, of the royal engineers, an officer of acknowledged merit, was killed upon this occaſion; and lieutenant Thornton, of the artillery, loſt his arm. The Auſtrians had eight or ten men killed and wounded. About the concluſion of the affair, accounts were received from general Walmoden, that the enemy had evacuated Menin the preceding night, and that they had the appearance of intending to give up their attack upon Ypres. The march of his Royal Highneſs from Englefontaine,

Englefontaine, and the ſubſequent movements of the troops under his command, ſeemed to have induced the enemy to abandon the enterprizes in which they had engaged on that ſide of Auſtrian Flanders, and in which they had been to a certain degree ſucceſsful.

The garriſon of Nieuport, by their ſkill and courage, laid the country under water, and repelled the enemy in every attack, till the ſafety of Oſtend was provided for by ſir Charles Grey. "On my road thither," ſays he, "I was met by ſeveral perſons, with the agreeable intel-"ligence, that the French were retiring, which was con-"firmed on my arrival. They began their retreat in the "night, and a part only of the rear guard was viſible at "day break this morning. They returned along the road "to Dunkirk, ſetting fire to every thing in their way. "I went with major-general Dundas to viſit the poſts "which they occupied, and, from the extent of their "encampment, I ſhould imagine that their numbers "could not have been leſs than was repreſented to "us, about eight thouſand. What loſs they may have "ſuſtained during the ſiege I have no means of eſtimat-"ing: our's, as I have already had the pleaſure of inform-"ing you, was very inconſiderable. The French have "left behind them four twenty-four pounders, and two "mortars, as well as a great number of ſhot, ſhells, and "intrenching tools. The whole were ſecured, and a "great part brought into the town before I left it."

On the 30th of October the town of Marchiennes ſurrendered to the duke of York. Eight battalions were put under the command of major-general Kray for this enterprize. They marched at midnight from Orchies in three columns, each column headed by two officers and ſixty volunteers, ſupported by three hundred men. Theſe were not permitted to load. The reſt of the troops of the different columns, with their cannon followed at ſome diſtance. A detachment from the corps of major-general Otto, poſted by Denain, marched about the ſame time, formed in four columns in ſimilar order, that the town might be attacked at once upon all ſides. The latter troops were diſcovered by the enemy's out-poſts, and prevented from penetrating by the oppoſition which they met with. Thoſe under General Kray, one column of which advanced upon the high road from Orchies, and the two others upon the left of it, got, about two o'clock in the morning, within a ſhort diſtance of the town before they were perceived. The volunteers at the head of the column,

column, which was upon the road, fell in with a piquet about two hundred yards from the gate, which they ſurpriſed, killed the greateſt part of it, and purſued the reſt ſo cloſely that they entered the place along with them. The troops in the town made little reſiſtance. After being driven from the market place, where they had at firſt aſſembled, they retreated to a convent near it. They there propoſed terms of capitulation, which gentral Kray conſented to, as they ſurrendered priſoners of war, with the ſole condition of the officers being permitted to wear their ſwords. There were one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-nine priſoners, officers included, moſt of them troops of the line. There were likewiſe twelve pieces of cannon, and twenty-two or twenty-three tumbrils taken. About three hundred of the enemy were ſuppoſed to have been killed. The loſs of major-general Kray's corps was between ſeventy and eighty killed and wounded.

The gloomy irreligion of France is productive of equal enthuſiaſm which Mahometan impoſture and papal ignorance inſpire. In the votaries of all we may remark the ſame deſire of diſſeminating their opinions, the ſame reſentment againſt thoſe who preſume to diſſent, and the ſame indifference in inflicting and yielding to the ſtroke of death. Connected with this ſentiment, and in the intervals which can be ſpared from the more ſerious buſineſs of proſcriptions and executions, the unextinguiſhable frivolity of the national character now burſt forth with renovated ſplendour. The erection of temples to modern philoſophy, in lieu of thoſe conſecrated to the Deity of Chriſtianity, and the worſhip of Pariſian women, arrayed in the inſignia of the goddeſs of freedom, were at this period, the occupations which diverſified the toils, and relaxed the cares, of the legiſlators of France. And the multitude ſhed their blood on the frontiers, or enjoyed the revels of the metropolis; rejoiced at the guillotine over the lifeleſs remains of their fellow-citizens, or weeped in the theatre at the exhibition of fictitious woe, according to the varying caprice of the dictators by whom they were directed.

In the execution of Madame Roland, the wife of the famous miniſter of that name, we diſcover the fury which raged againſt her huſband. She died like the heroine, who had participated her huſband's counſels, and adviſed his meaſures. Awed by her reproaches into ſhame, or terrified into the fear of detection by their continuance, her judges at once delivered themſelves from remorſe, and

ſecured

ſecured the prolongation of their jurisdiction, by her ſummary condemnation. One of them ſaid to her "Inno-"cence ſhews itſelf with candour, and crime with impu-"dence." Madame Roland did not diſown her connexions with Briſſot, Vergniaux, and other deputies who had lately ſuffered death.

On the 12th of November, M. Bailly, the firſt mayor of Paris, was executed, purſuant to his ſentence, on the Field of Federation, formerly called the Champ de Mars. The red flag, which was the ſignal of the maſſacre of the patriots, was tied to the cart's tail, and dragged in the mud. M. Bailly was a man of very ſuperior talents; a member of the far boaſted and far famed academy; a great aſtronomer, and in particular, remarkable for his eloquence. The revolution, though it abſorbed in its vortex, and though, with a comet's glare, it attracted to its train men of all ranks, fortunes, and accompliſhments, could not boaſt of a more able adherent than Bailly. He was condemned to die, becauſe he was of the Briſſotine party. On the 16th, general Houchard, Manuel*, late a member of the convention, and general Brunet, at eleven o'clock in the morning, were conveyed in a cart from the Conciergerie, in Paris, to the Place de la Revolution. Houchard preſerved a fixed ſilence during the journey from the priſon to the place of execution. He ſometimes looked around on the people, who accompanied the proceſſion in great numbers. Manuel evinced much firmneſs and converſed during the whole journey with Brunet, who caſt looks upon the people, whilſt they vented their indignation upon him and his companions. When the cart arrived at the Place de la Revolution, Manuel leaped firſt upon the ſcaffold, and ſeemed anxious that the fatal ceremony ſhould be performed without the leaſt delay. He placed himſelf on the plank without waiting to have his hands tied behind him, and, diſdaining any aſſiſtance, fixed his head under the machine. He was executed firſt. Brunet, the farmer general of the army of Staley, looked at the inſtrument of death with a ſmile of contempt, and laid his head down with great tranquillity. Houchard diſplayed equal fortitude. On the ſame day, Cuſſi, one of the deputies of the convention, who had been out-lawed, was alſo executed.

* This gent'eman diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſending in his reſignation to the convention when the queſtion of the king's death was diſcuſſed. He was a leader of what was termed the moderate party, and was, on that account condemned to the guillotine.

Barnave,

Barnave, late member of the conſtituent aſſembly, was executed on the firſt of December, with Duport Duterbre, the late miniſter of juſtice, and four other condemned victims, on the ſquare of the revolution. They heard their ſentence pronounced with great intrepidity. Immediately after, Duport began to harangue the tribunal and the ſpectators; but he had ſo ſooner uttered the word Citizens, than Barnave interrupted him, exclaiming, "Citizens, revolu-"tions kill men, but poſterity will judge them." The audience immediately drowned his voice with the ſhouts of *Vive la republique!* Duport Dutertre preſerved his heroic fortitude till his laſt moment; but it was quite otherwiſe with Barnave, who, on aſcending the ſcaffold, exclaimed, in a faultering tone of voice, "Citizens, I die innocent." His limbs trembled with fear at the aſpect of the fatal axe, and they were forced to pull him to the plank or board to be tied. It was then that he cried, "Long live the nation; "long live the religion."—The famous Rabaut de St. Etienne, a member of the convention, and the author of "The "Sketch of the French Revolution," was arreſted on the 5th, in the ſtreet Poiſonniere. He was a leading man in the firſt conſtituent aſſembly, and always a principal performer on the theatre of the revolution. Having, however, diſpleaſed thoſe who were now at the head of affairs, his hiſtory of the revolution did not avail to ſmooth his deſtiny. According to the uſual ſummary mode of proceeding adopted by the revolutionary tribunal, the next day, he finiſhed his career by the guillotine.—A few days after, Madame du Barre, miſtreſs to Louis XV. was condemned to die. As ſoon as ſentence was paſſed upon her, ſhe declared that ſhe had important ſecrets to diſcloſe. The execution of the ſentence of death was therefore ordered to be ſuſpended. What ſhe had profeſſed to diſcloſe, however, being futile, and merely meant for delay, ſhe was executed at four o'clock in the afternoon of the day on which her trial was concluded. Great crowds of people went to behold once more that *famous woman.* She ſtruggled violently with her executioners, ſhrieking moſt bitterly while they were tying her to the board. One of the principal charges againſt Madame du Barre was, her having been ſeveral times in England to ſecure great ſums to the enemies of France; her having worn mourning at London for the late Louis XVI; and living in a ſtyle of familiarity with the miniſterial party; eſpecially with Mr. Pitt, whoſe portrait ſhe brought with her, and carefully preſerved on a ſilver medal.

Though the ſtrong lines between Weiſſenbourg and Lauterberg had been forced by the Auſtrians, and the army of

the Rhine diſperſed, yet theſe advantages were not attended with ſuch deciſive effects, as might have been expected. The French ſeemed to poſſeſs an elaſticity of courage, which roſe under misfortune. They were unwearied in their efforts to recover the advantages they had loſt on the Rhine. Repulſed by the Duke of Brunſwick at Landau, and on the ſame day defeated by the troops under general Wurmſer, with incredible loſs, they drew back for a ſhort time behind Straſburg, but ſoon returned to the charge, hung on the confederates, haraſſed them inceſſantly, and, having defeated them in ſeveral engagements, forced them to raiſe the ſiege of Landau, and to fall back beyond the Rhine, for the ſafety of their principal poſts on the German frontier, and the ſecurity of their winter quarters: ſo that, at the end of the campaign, the poſſeſſion of four towns was the whole fruit of the campaign; for, Toulon it was found neceſſary to evacuate, and to ſet on fire the French ſhips in the harbour, on account of the daily reinforcements of the French army, which at laſt conſiſted of between *thirty* and *forty-thouſand* men. "For the "complete defence of the town and its extenſive harbour," ſays lieutenant-general Dundas, "we had long been obliged "to occupy a circumference of at leaſt fifteen miles, by eight "principal poſts, with their ſeveral intermediate dependent "ones; the greateſt part of theſe were merely of a temporary "nature, ſuch as our means allowed us to conſtruct; and of "our force, which never exceeded twelve thouſand men "bearing fire-locks, and compoſed of *five different nations* "and *languages*, near nine thouſand were placed in our "ſupporting thoſe poſts, and about three thouſand remain-"ed in the town. On the 16th of October, at half paſt two "o'clock in the morning, the enemy, who had before fired "from three batteries on Fort Mulgrave, now opened two "new ones, and continued a very heavy connonade and "bombardment on that poſt till next morning. The works "ſuffered much. The number of men killed and diſabled "was conſiderable. The weather was rainy, and the con-"ſequent fatigue great. At two o'clock on the morning of "the 17th the enemy, who had every advantage in aſſem-"bling and ſuddenly advancing, attacked the fort in great "force. Although no part of this temporary poſt was ſuch "as could well reſiſt determined troops, yet, for a conſider-"able time, it was defended; but, on the enemy entering on "the Spaniſh ſide, the Britiſh quarter, commanded by cap-"tain Conolly of the 18th regiment, could not be much "longer maintained, notwithſtanding ſeveral gallant efforts "were made for that purpoſe. It was therefore at laſt car-"ried, and the remains of the garriſon of ſeven hundred men

"retired

" retired towards the ſhore of Balaguier, under the protec-
" tion of the other poſts eſtabliſhed on thoſe heights, and
" which continued to be faintly attacked by the enemy. As
" this poſition of Balaguier was a moſt eſſential one for the
" preſervation of the harbour, and as we had no communi-
" cation with it but by water, 2200 men had been placed
" there for ſome time paſt. On the night preceding the
" attack, three hundred more men had been ſent over, and
" on the morning of the 17th four hundred were embarked
" ſtill farther to ſupport it. When the firing at Balaguier
" ceaſed, we remained in anxious ſuſpenſe as to the event
" till a little before day-light, when a new ſcene opened, by
" an attack on all our poſts on the mountain of Pharon.
" The enemy were repulſed on the eaſt ſide, where was our
" principal force of about ſeven hundred men, commanded
" by a moſt diſtinguiſhed officer, the Piedmonteſe Colonel
" de Jermagnan, whoſe loſs we deeply lament; but on the
" back of the mountain, near one thouſand eight hundred
" feet high, ſteep, rocky, deemed almoſt inacceſſible, and
" which he had laboured much to make ſo, they found
" means, once more, to penetrate between our poſts, which
" occupied an extent of above two miles, guarded by four
" hundred and fifty men; and, in a very ſhort ſpace of time,
" we ſaw, that with great numbers of men, they crouded
" all that ſide of the mountain which overlooks Toulon.
" Our line of defence being thus broken in upon in its two
" moſt eſſential poſts, it became neceſſary to adopt deciſive
" meaſures, ariſing from the knowledge of the whole of our
" actual ſituation. A council of the flag and general offi-
" cers was therefore aſſembled. They determined on the
" impracticability of reſtoring the poſts we had loſt, and on
" the conſequent propriety of the ſpeedieſt evacuation of the
" town, evidently, and by the report of the engineers and
" artillery-officers, declared untenable. Meaſures of execu-
" tion were taken from that moment. The troops were
" withdrawn from the heights of Balaguier without much
" interruption from the enemy, and in the evening, ſuch
" poſts as neceſſarily depended on the poſſeſſion of Pharon
" were ſucceſſively evacuated, and the troops drawn in to-
" wards Toulon. The forts d'Atrigues and St. Cathe-
" rine ſtill remained, together with the poſts of Sablettes,
" Cape Brun, and Malbouſquet, from which laſt the Spa-
" niards withdrew in the night, in conſequence of the ſup-
" porting poſt of Neapolitans at Miciſſey having left the
" battery there eſtabliſhed, and abandoned it without orders.
" Every attention was alſo given to enſure the tranquillity
" of the town. In the night the combined fleets took a new

" ſtation in the outer road. Early in the morning of the " 18th the ſick and wounded, and the Britiſh field artillery " were ſent off. In the courſe of the day the poſt of Cape " Brun was withdrawn into la Malgue, the poſt of Sab- " lettes alſo retired, and the men were put on board. Dur- " ing the night, meaſures were arranged for the final em- " barkation of the Britiſh, Piedmonteſe, and Spaniards, who " occupied the town, and of the troops of the ſame nations " who were now at la Malgue, amounting in all to about " ſeven thouſand men; for the Neapolitans had by mid- " day embarked. Having determined with lieutenant-ge- " neral Gravina, commanding the Spaniſh troops, that, in- " ſtead of embarking at the quays and in the arſenal of the " town, our whole force ſhould aſſemble near Fort la " Malgue, and form on the peninſula which from thence " extends into the harbour, every previous diſpoſition was " made, and every care taken to conceal our intention. " The arſenal and dock-yard were ſtrictly guarded. The troops " were ranged accordingly on the ramparts, and the tran- " quillity of the town was much enſured from the time the " enemy began to throw ſhells and ſhot into it; which they " did from our late batteries at Miciſſey and Malbouſquet. " About ten o'clock at night fire was ſet to the ſhips and " arſenal. We immediately began our march, and the " evacuation of the town, which it was neceſſary ſhould be " made with ſecrecy and expedition. The fort of St. Ca- " therine having, without orders, been quitted in the courſe " of the day, and poſſeſſed by the enemy, the conſequent " early knowledge of our march, had we taken the com- " mon route, through the gate of Italy, and within muſ- " quet ſhot of that fort, might have produced great incon- " venience; we therefore, by a ſally-poſt, gained an " advanced part of the road, and without accident were " enabled to quit the town, arrive at Fort la Malgue, and " form on the riſing ground immediately above the ſhore. " The boats were ready, the weather and the ſea in the " higheſt degree favourable: the embarkation began " about eleven o'clock, and by day break on the 19th the " whole without interruption, or the loſs of a man, were on " board ſhip." The great fire in the arſenal, the blowing up of the powder ſhip, and other ſimilar events which took place in the night, certainly tended to keep the enemy in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe and uncertainty. The French priſoners who had been left in the Themiſtocles, were ſtill in poſſeſſion of her, and had ſhewn a determination to reſiſt the attempts of the Engliſh to come on board. The ſcene of conflagration around

around them, heightened by the late tremendous explosion, had however awakened their fears for their lives. "Think-
" ing this to be the case," says sir Sidney Smith, "I ad-
" dressed them, expressing my readiness to land them in a
" place of safety, if they would submit; and they thankfully
" accepted the offer, shewing themselves to be completely
" intimidated, and very grateful for our humane intentions
" towards them, in not attempting to burn them with the
" ship. It was necessary to proceed with precaution, as
" they were more numerous than ourselves. We at length
" completed their disembarkation, and then set her on fire.
" On this occasion I had nearly lost my valuable friend and
" assistant, lieutenant Miller, of the Windsor-Castle, who
" had staid so long on board to insure the fire taking, that
" it gained on him suddenly, and it was not without being
" very much scorched, and the risk of being suffocated, that
" we could approach the ship to take him in. The explo-
" sion of a second powder-vessel, equally unexpected,
" and with a shock even greater than the first, again put
" us in the most imminent danger of perishing; and when it
" is considered that we were within the sphere of the falling
" timber, it is next to miraculous that no one piece of the
" many which made the water foam round us, happened to
" touch either the Swallow or the three boats with me."

Some time before the evacuation of Toulon, the enemy had opened a considerable battery on the height of Arenes, which much annoyed one of the principal outposts. It therefore became necessary to attack it. Dispositions for that purpose were made, and a corps of four hundred British, three hundred Sardinians, six hundred Neapolitans, six hundred Spahiards, and four hundred French, marched from the town. Notwithstanding all these were obliged to cross the new river on one bridge only, to divide into four columns, to march across olive-grounds, intersected by stone walls, and to ascend a very considerable height, cut into vine terraces, yet they succeeded in surprising and forcing the enemy, and were soon in full possession of the battery and height; but instead of forming upon and occupying the long and narrow summit of the hill, the impetuosity of the troops led them to follow the enemy, to descend the height, to ascend other distant heights, and at last, in disorder, to encounter such superior advancing, as obliged them precipitately to retire, and to relinquish the advantages they at first gained. Lieutenant-general O'Hara, who had arrived at the battery on our first success, being involved in the consequence of this sudden reverse, was wounded in the arm and made prisoner.

The iſlands of Tobago and St. Domingo in the Weſt Indies, and moſt of the French territories in the Eaſt Indies, ſubmitted to the Britiſh arms, or were ſubdued by them. The inhabitants of St. Domingo, who found themſelves oppreſſed by a continued ſucceſſion of deputies from the convention, and who were unfurniſhed with any means of defence from the mother-country, joyfully yielded to the Engliſh armament, as the beſt method of ſecuring their immediate ſafety, and obtaining permanent ſecurity in future.

CHAP. XXII.

Arguments in the Britiſh Parliament for and againſt the war with France.—Conqueſt of Martinico.—Execution of Hebert and his aſſociates.—Proclamation of the King of Poland.—Trial of Danton and his accomplices.—Battles on the continent.

DURING the receſs of 1793, it was evident to the Britiſh miniſter, that the voice of the nation, at leaſt of the great holders of property, was ſtill for war; which, however, was placed beyond all doubt by the decided and vaſt majorities that appeared for its continuation in both houſes of parliament, at the beA. D. 1794. ginning of next year. Among the arguments that were urged, on both ſides of this great queſtion, were the following. On the ſide of the war it was argued, that the murder of the king and queen, and other noble and innocent ſufferers, that all the horrors of France, naturally awakened the minds of men and nations to ſympathy; but a ſympathy that leads to indignation and vengeance. The preſent war, ſaid they, differs from all former wars. It is not a war of feudal pride and revenge, ſuch as is found in rude ages, among barbarian tribes; nor yet of religion; nor yet of ambition for the ſubverſion of ſtates and extenſion of conqueſt. It is a war, the object of which, on the part of France, is the ſubverſion of government, the extirpation of religion, the diſſolution of ſociety. The French, in the preſent war with Britain, were the aggreſſors. They endeavoured,

endeavoured, by diſſeminating their principles, to diſunite the people from the conſtitution and government of this country; they made war on our allies, and declared war againſt ourſelves. As to the probable ſucceſs of the war, their reſources, though great, were tranſient, as being the fruits of rapine and blood; which cut up by the roots all induſtry, the only permanent ſource of wealth.—The firſt campaign, it was ſaid, had been ſingularly ſucceſsful. Our allies, aided by our troops, had gained important advantages on the Rhine; we had crippled the French marine at Toulon; we had taken ſome places in the Weſt Indies; by perſeverance we might exhauſt the unnatural and ſagacious reſources of our enemies, and reduce them at laſt to a fit temper for reaſonable negociation.—What can we do? no power to treat with; no ſecurity for peace! This order of things in France cannot be permanent. As their reſources fail, and famine invades, the reſtraints of their ill-jointed government muſt become weaker and weaker. Power obtained by guilt, and founded on atheiſm, is incompatible with a new ſyſtem of laws of any kind, but, moſt of all, with the rigour of republican virtue.

It was urged, on the other ſide, that to interfere in the internal government of nations is equally unjuſt and impolitic: unjuſt, becauſe, whatever theory we embrace concerning the nature of government, the limits of government are fixed, and not to be extended at the pleaſure of thoſe who adminiſter them; impolitic, becauſe ſuch interference cannot fail to be a ſource of manifold calamities. The war with France, on the part of Great Britain, was begun when the public mind was agitated by the death of the French king. But, however much ſuch tragical events may rouſe ſympathy and indignation, they ought not to be made the grounds of war; for thus we ſhould never have peace. The ignorant and unthinking multitude are ſtruck with remarkable occurrences, and yield up their minds to the temporary impreſſions which they receive from them, in the ſame manner as they are affected by theatrical exhibitions. They neither look back on the paſt, nor forward on the future. As they do not recollect, ſo neither can they anticipate. The diſcerning and wiſe not only attend to events as they riſe, and the circumſtances that accompany them; they alſo inquire into their cauſes, and anticipate their conſequences. We are fighting againſt the French, ſaid they, in order to ſtop the progreſs of opi-

nion,

nion. But war, by rouſing deep attention, opens the ſoil for the admiſſion of opinions. During the courſe of the ſtruggle between Great Britain and her colonies, the attention of mankind was turned to the principle on which the American republic claimed, and ultimately eſtabliſhed independence. In like manner the principle will be diſcuſſed on which French freedom is now contended againſt. Who knows, continued they, but this improvident war may haſten the ills it was intended to obviate? War brought new burdens on France; new burdens diſcontents; diſcontents revolution: ſo in Germany there may be a reflux in the tide of war to ſimilar revolution.

But it is ſaid, how is it poſſible to make peace with the French? with whom ſhall we treat? With thoſe, it is replied, who are making war againſt you.—Have they power to ſuſtain a war, and not power to make a peace? Individuals may periſh, but the *Committee of Public Safety* remain as firm, as the Britiſh government would do though miniſters were changed. The fall of *Robeſpierre* or *Danton* would only bring up others who are now in obſcurity; and their fall would but make room for others of the ſame horrid deſcription. The ſyſtem would ſuffer no change. A ſagacious writer,* ſpeaking of the government of the United Provinces, ſays it was a government held together by a dread of the Spaniards, at that time maſters of the Auſtrian Netherlands. In like manner the French republic is held together by the external preſſure of the confederates. But, there is danger of driving the French to ſuch a degree of deſperate ferocity as may convert them into a nation of aſſaſſins and robbers. They may loſe the ſpirit of manufactures and commerce, and become a military republic. They might flouriſh in this character without money, with agriculture and the uſe of iron and gunpowder. The Romans were not merchants; yet they conquered the world. The French, with a greater command of mechaniſm than the Romans, can ſpare more hands for the war. Like the Iſraelites, part of them may ſtay at home to cultivate the fields, and part may paſs the *Jordan* in order to acquire new ſettlements. It does not ſeem at all probable that ever the confederates can ſubdue ſo numerous and ſo enlightened a nation as the French: but if they did, how would they be able to keep them in ſub-

* Sir William Temple.

jection?

jection? The miniſter of war in France required three hundred thouſand men, as a military eſtabliſhment, for the maintenance of good order and juſtice among willing ſubjects. What ſort of army muſt that be that ſhall rule over eighty-four refractory departments, ſix hundred refractory diſtricts, and forty thouſand refractory municipalities? The powers of Europe combined are not able to maintain ſuch an army at ſuch a diſtance; nor is it probable they would remain long in France, without imbibing the ſentiments of the people.

Theſe and other arguments againſt the war have undoubtedly great force; yet when we reflect on what the conſequences might poſſibly have been of leaving the French entirely to themſelves, in the full and undiſturbed poſſeſſion of all their uſurped power and property, we ſhall be inclined to heſitate before we condemn the preſent war as unneceſſary or inexpedient.—The French with great vigour and livelineſs of mind, are, beyond all doubt, the moſt arrogant nation in the world. In every thing they aſſume the privilege of taking the lead and dictating to their neighbours. In one age they are the moſt bigoted in religion, and the moſt profuſe in their donations to the church; in another the moſt devoted to their kings, and the moſt gallant and obſequious to their ladies: and now they affect to carry the ſimplicity of republicaniſm to an equal extreme: they overturn all inſtitutions, human and divine; and, in their abhorrence of order and due ſubordination, wage war with heaven and earth. In theſe oppoſites the character of the French is equally ſeen; the ſame exceſs diſcovers itſelf, whether it be an officer of the army haſtily ruſhing into a duel on account of ſome fancied diſreſpect to a miſtreſs; or the preſident of the aſſembly giving the kiſs of fraternity to negroes, and encouraging the ladies to bring all their jewels and ornaments to the public treaſury, and obſerving, that the beſt ornaments of beauty are republican virtues. The propagation of their political tenets was the great object of their enthuſiaſm, even before they were provoked to hoſtilities by the invaſion of the Germans.—There was, indeed, a chance, if they had been left alone, of their falling out among themſelves; but, if they could have avoided internal confuſion, the reſtleſs ambition of their nature would have vented itſelf in intrigues among their neighbours; to whom, like the Romans, they would have given the law, if they could,

under

under the veil of admitting them into an alliance or fraternization with Frenchmen.

During the month of January, intelligence was received from Barcelona, that the Spaniſh troops, which were at Banuls de Mar, attacked the town of Port Vendre, and the intrenchments on the heights behind the place, and carried them, after an obſtinate and bloody action, taking ſix pieces of cannon; that general Cueſta afterwards directed a ſudden attack upon fort St. Elmo, where the French had retired from Port Vendre; and, notwithſtanding the inceſſant fire kept up by the garriſon, two battalions of Walloons and ſome other corps gained the almoſt inacceſſible heights by which the place is commanded, and obliged the garriſon to ſurrender priſoners of war; that the guns of the fort of St. Elmo were immediately turned upon the town of Collieure, which was given up at diſcretion the next morning; that on the 21ſt, the Marquis de las Amarillas, at the head of three columns, attacked the flank of the batteries and entrenchments in the front of the Spaniſh vanguard at Bolo, carried three batteries, and obliged the French to retreat to Banuls de Aſpres; that a falſe attack was at the ſame time made on the right of the enemy's camp, by a column from Ceret, commanded by the Portugueſe general Forbes, and another on the left by general Hurrigary, who fell in with a column of two thouſand men, on their march from Perpignan to the camp of Banuls de Aſpres, which they charged, killed five hundred on the ſpot, and, in the purſuit, took two hundred priſoners, and two baggage waggons, with very inconſiderable loſs.—It is computed that, in theſe ſeveral actions, the Spaniards have taken ſeventy pieces of heavy artillery, a great quantity of cloathing and ammunition, and ſix months proviſion for ten thouſand men.

Accounts were alſo received from the head-quarters at Bollou, that the allies had attacked and carried all the enemy's advanced lines and batteries; which ſucceſs, together with the capture of Port Vendre, fort St. Telmo, and Collioure, determined the enemy, whoſe left and rear flanks were laid open, to quit, in the courſe of the following night, all their camps and ports in the front of the allies, and retire into Perpignan, leaving the Spaniards maſters of the country to the very gates of the town.

In the ſittings of the French convention of the 27th

of

of January, a deputation of Americans were admitted to the bar, and the orator requeſted the pardon of Thomas Paine, whoſe papers, he ſaid, had been examined, and were found to contain no dangerous propoſitions. The deputation therefore, with confidence, requeſted that Thomas Paine ſhould be reſtored to the fraternal embrace of his fellow-citizens; and they offered themſelves ſureties for his conduct during the ſhort time that he ſhould remain in France. The preſident, after a high compliment to the American people, ſaid, "You requeſt us to "deliver up Thomas Paine; you are anxious to re-con- "duct to your own ſide the apoſtle of liberty. We "muſt applaud this generous devotion. Thomas Paine "was born in England—that was enough to ſubject him "to the decree in the firſt inſtance, which our own "ſafety demanded by the revolutionary laws. The "convention will take into conſideration your de- "mand." In a ſhort time after, the requeſt was complied with.

Much about this period, the Swiſs republic anſwered Lord Robert Fitzgerald's declaration, which recommended to the ſerious conſideration of the Helvetic body ſome important obſervations on the relative ſituation of the republic to the belligerent powers. "Theſe obſer- "vations," ſaid they, "we have examined with all "that care and attention which is due to the intereſts of "our country; and we think that we afford your Excel- "lency a proof of the eſteem which we entertain for "your character, by making an open and ſincere expo- "ſition of our ſituation and our conduct. However "afflicting the remembrance of thoſe terrible events in "France (which your Excellency has brought to our re- "collection), and the ſad fate of our brethren who ſuf- "fered ſo unfortunately may be, yet our grief muſt "nevertheleſs yield to the principles of our conſtitution. "Theſe principles have reſted for ſeveral centuries on "the relations of peace, amity, and good neighbour- "hood with all the ſurrounding powers. The opera- "tion of theſe principles has never been interrupted by "foreign wars. A rigid and exact neutrality was the "invariable maxim of our anceſtors; and having re- "ceived it as a ſacred inheritance, we have conceived it "to be our duty to abide by it in the preſent war. And "this conduct has produced a ſalutary influence, not on- "ly on our external ſafety, but on our internal peace. "Accuſtomed to obſerve ſcrupulouſly all engagements

"entered

" entered into, we will neither wander from our declar-
" ed neutrality, on any pretence whatever, nor will we
" liſten to any inſinuation which might give riſe to juſt
" complaints. It is for us to preſerve the enjoyment of
" that happy and peaceable ſituation, to which all our
" moſt zealous efforts tend. We will unite our force to
" repel even the ſlighteſt attempts that may be made to
" diſturb our repoſe, or to undermine the foundation of
" it by any deſtructive principles. It is towards this
" end that our foreſight is directed, by carefully guard-
" ing our frontiers, and by endeavouring to prevent any
" difficulties by a correſpondence inſeparable from our
" local relations. We intreat your Excellency to aſſure
" his Britannic majeſty of the invariable determination
" of the Helvetic body; and it is with entire confidence
" we expect, from his good-will, that, following the
" example of his illuſtrious anceſtors, who at all times
" have maintained the independence of the Helvetic
" confederacy, he will continue henceforth to enter-
" tain a ſincere affection for our proſperity and our
" repoſe."

The accounts from Paris of the 27th of February, brought a very melancholy detail of the ſituation of that capital with reſpect to proviſions, particularly butcher's meat. The people were driven to ſuch a pitch, that a ſupply no ſooner arrived in Paris, than the multitude ſeized on it, and ſhared it among them. A very poor ſmall pullet ſold for ten livres, and the market of Poiſſy, which uſed lately to furniſh from four thouſand to eight thouſand oxen, the laſt market day only produced two thouſand. On the morning of the 21ſt, two large waggon loads of ſtinking fowls were expoſed on the quay of St. Valley, but the commiſſaries of the police ordered them to be thrown into the river. The merchants, notwithſtanding the laws, ſtill continued to monopolize; vegetables were equally as ſcarce; however, from the meaſures adopted by the magiſtrates, they hoped this ſcarcity would ſhortly ceaſe.—In the convention both Barrere and Legendre propoſed the obſervation of a voluntary Lent, to ſave the conſumption of meat. Barrere obſerved, that under the old ſyſtem there were about ſix months in the year that meat was not eaten, which made a difference of one half in the conſumption of that article; beſides which, before the war, all the country people lived on the produce of the earth, and now one million two hundred thouſand men eat meat daily; la

Vendee

Vendee furniſhed a number of oxen and ſheep, and now furniſhes none. Legendre, with great earneſtneſs, urged the decreeing of the lent, alledging that they would otherwiſe be obliged to faſt in ſpite of themſelves; for the time was at hand when they would have neither meat nor candles; that the oxen killed lately did not afford tallow enough to light each other to their deaths; and that the provincial reſources for cattle were exhauſted, and the foreign ones totally ſtopped. It was decreed that the propoſal of Barrere ſhould be taken into conſideration. The French convention have ordered all the pleaſure grounds to be tilled, or employed in paſture, and adopted other meaſures to put a ſtop to the preſent ſcarcity of proviſions.

Among thoſe who were at this time executed at Lyons, was Jean Baptiſte Victoire Guillotine, M. D. formerly of that city. He was charged with having correſponded with perſons at Turin. It is an extraordinary thing that he ſhould ſuffer death by an inſtrument of his own invention. He died with great reluctance, and declared, that when he produced his inſtrument to the world, it was from motives of humanity alone.

Towards the end of the month, diſpatches were received from vice admiral Lord Hood, and lieutenant-general David Dundas, dated St. Fiorenzo in the iſland of Corſica, giving intelligence, that the tower and garriſon of Mortella ſurrendered on the 10th of February; that the ſtrong redoubt and batteries of the convention were taken by ſtorm on the 17th, after a ſevere cannonading of two days; that the ſame night the enemy abandoned the tower of Forneli, and two conſiderable ſea batteries dependent upon it; that on the 19th they retreated from St. Fiorenzo to Baſtia; that previous to their retreat one of their frigates was ſunk, and another burnt in the gulf; and that the town, forts, and port, were taken poſſeſſion of the ſame day by his majeſty's land and ſea forces. The loſs of the Britiſh conſiſted of thirteen killed, and thirty-nine wounded, beſides ſix ſailors of the Fortitude killed, and fifty-ſix wounded, from the fire of the fort of Mortella.

The complete conqueſt of the very valuable iſland of Martinico was effected on the 23d of March, the laſt and moſt important fortreſs of fort Bourbon having ſurrendered to his majeſty's arms at four o'clock in the afternoon; at which time his royal highneſs prince Edward, major-general of his majeſty's forces, took poſ-

ſeſſion of both gates with the firſt and third battalions of grenadiers, and the firſt and third light infantry. "Having "concerted meaſures with the admiral," ſays ſir Charles Grey, "for a combined attack by the naval and land "forces upon the fort and town of Fort Royal, and the "batteries of my ſecond parallel being ready, thoſe on "Morne Tortenſon and Carriere kept up an inceſſant "fire upon Fort Royal, and all the other batteries on "Fort Bourbon, during the day and night of the 19th "inſtant, and on the morning of the 20th following, "till the ſhips deſtined for this ſervice had taken their "ſtations. The Aſia of 64 guns, captain Browne, and "the Zebra ſloop of 16 guns, captain Faulknor, with "captain Rogers, and a body of ſeamen in flat boats, "the whole under commodore Thompſon, compoſed "the naval force; and the land force conſiſted of the "firſt battalion of grenadiers, under lieutenant-colonel "Stewart, and the third light infantry, under lieute-"nant-colonel Buckeridge, and the firſt light infantry, "under lieutenant-colonel Coote, from lieutenant-gene-"ral Preſcott's camp at Soururie. The navy acquitted "themſelves with their uſual gallantry (particularly "captain Faulknor, whoſe conduct juſtly gained him "the admiration of the whole army), carrying the fort "by eſcalade about twelve o'clock of the 20th inſtant, "under the able conduct of commodore Thompſon, "whoſe judicious diſpoſition of the gun and flat-boats, "aſſiſted by that ſpirited and active officer captain Ro-"gers, contributed materially to our ſucceſs; at the "ſame time that the land forces, commanded by that "excellent officer colonel Symes, critically advancing "with equal ardour, forced and entered the town trium-"phantly, hoiſting the Britiſh colours, and changing "the name to Fort Edward. Immediately after this "general Rochambeau, who commanded in Fort Bour-"bon, ſent his aid-de-camp with a flag, offering to "ſurrender on capitulation; and the terms were finally "adjuſted and agreed to on the 22d inſtant, by three "commiſſioners on each ſide; the ratifications thereof "being ſigned by the commanders in chief on the 23d "following; and the garriſon, amounting to nine hun-"dred men, marched out this morning priſoners of "war, laying down their arms on the parade of Fort "Royal, and were embarked for France immediately. "His majeſty's troops, having marched in, ſtruck the "French and hoiſted the Britiſh colours, and changed

"the

" the name from Bourbon to that of Fort George. " Forts Bourbon and Royal have ſuffered greatly from " our fire during the ſiege, and we are diligently em- " ployed to put them in a proper ſtate of defence, ef- " fectually to ſecure this important acquiſition of territory " to the crown of Great Britain. I am reſtoring order " as faſt as poſſible, from the confuſion naturally occa- " ſioned by a ſiege, and have the pleaſure to obſerve that " every thing in the forts is as tranquil and well-regu- " lated as could be expected in the time."

On the 25th of March, at nine o'clock in the morning, in conſequence of the verdict of the revolutionary tribunal, the following perſons were brought from the priſon of the Conciergerie to the Place de la Revolution. where they ſuffered under the axe of the guillotine, viz. Hebert, Ronſin, Momoro, Vincent, Du Croquet, Kocq a Dutchman, general Laumur, M. M. Bourgeois, Mazuel, La Boureau, Ancard, Le Clerc, Proly, Desfieux, Anacharſis Clootz, Pereira, Florent, Armand, Deſcombes, and Dubuiſon, convicted of being the authors and accomplices of a conſpiracy which exiſted againſt the ſafety and liberty of the people, and againſt the exerciſe of the lawful authority, tending to trouble the ſtate by a civil war, by arming the citizens againſt each other; and the object of which was, in the courſe of the preſent month Ventoſe, to diſſolve the national repreſentation, to aſſaſſinate its members and the patriots, to deſtroy the republican government, to ſeize upon the ſovereignty of the people, and to give a tyrant to the ſtate.

At the trial of the conſpirators, *one only*, Laboureau, was acquitted. As ſoon as he was liberated, the preſident of the tribunal embraced him, and placed him at his ſide, while the hall reſounded with applauſes! when the ſentences were pronounced, Anacharſis Clootz was the only one who addreſſed the auditors. He appealed to the *human race*, whoſe conſtant orator he had been. Ronſin made an attempt to ſpeak, but was carried off with the reſt. The conſpirators, when carried back to the Conciergerie, demanded a gallon of wine to be divided among them, and ſome ſoup. About nine in the morning, they were conveyed in three carts to the place of execution. Never (ſays the editor of the *Annales Patriotiques*) did a ſpectacle attract ſuch a crowd, ſuch an infinite number of ſpectators. During the whole way along, hands were clapped, and hats toſſed in the air, amidſt the cry of " Vive la Republique!" Inſenſible to the

the indignation expreſſed againſt them, they paſſed along; ond when at the foot of the ſcaffold, they embraced each other. Hebert, vulgarly entitled *Father Ducheſne*, was guillotined the laſt, and his head was held up to the people. At this ſight, the clapping of hands, and ſhouts of the ſpectators, were accompanied by the cry "Live the Republic." Hebert, on his firſt examination, appeared very much caſt down, and even ſhed tears, to find his projects overthrown. Vincent and Ronſin, looking at general Laumur, at the very moment when his head was beneath the guillotine, ſaid to Hebert—"*Had it not been for the unſkilfulneſs of that block-head, we ſhould have ſucceeded!*"

Much about this time, the following *note* was delivered by the Auſtrian envoy at the diet of Ratiſbon, on the part of the emperor, to demand the ſenſe of the Germanic ſtates, reſpecting the neceſſity of arming all the inhabitants on the frontiers of Germany, and the furniſhing of a *triple contingent* on the part of the ſaid ſtates. "All Europe knows the manifold and juſt grounds "which have compelled the Germanic empire, united "under its ſupreme chief, to declare a general war, for "the maintenance of the moſt binding covenants and "the moſt ſacred treaties; for the preſervation of ſocial "order from a wild, deſtructive, and moſt anarchic tyranny, falſely called freedom; for the defence of an "acknowledged religion from peſtelential atheiſm; for "the ſupport of the conſtitution of the empire againſt "an arbitrary, horrible, and univerſal revolutionary "power; for keeping up the imperial honour; for the "protection and future ſecurity of the imperial privileges and the frontiers; and for obtaining a ſuitable "and entire ſatisfaction againſt the common enemy of "all public order, againſt the moſt wanton diſturbers of "all the beneficent ties of ſocial happineſs, and the moſt "cruel deſpots and violators of the moſt ſacred rights "of mankind.—Equally well-known are the different "ſplendid victories from the firſt day of the opening of "the laſt campaign, which were gained, blow upon blow, "by the almoſt incredible bravery of the German troops "on the Rhine, the Ruhr, the Maeſe, the Mayn, the "Mozelle, &c. &c. which were happily followed by "the deliverance of the United Netherlands, invaded "in the moſt lawleſs manner, and the emancipation of "many other German diſtricts and important countries "from the ſway of falſe French liberty; the capture of Condé,

" Condé, the recapture of the city and important for-
" treſs of Mentz, the taking of Valenciennes, Queſnoy,
" &c.—But this campaign, ſo glorious for battles, ſieges,
" and conqueſts, could not bring back the French to a
" more equitable and more juſt ſenſe of reaſon, princi-
" ple, and action, towards the Germanic nation, of-
" fended to the higheſt degree. That faction, hoſtile
" to the human race, which ſtyles itſelf the national
" convention of France, ſtrengthens daily her power of
" reſiſtance by the moſt terrible means, by numberleſs
" arbitrary confiſcations, by the plundering of the
" churches, and the rich, having already ſeized the
" property of the clergy, nobility, and crown, and by
" the moſt deſperate meaſure of a general requiſition of
" all fighting men, ſupported by the moſt terrific inſtru-
" ment the guillotine.—The violent decrees compelling
" the people to riſe in a maſs, have given additional
" force and ſtrength to the numerous hoſtile armies now
" in the field, ſo that they ſucceeded at laſt, after reno-
" vated, daily, and moſt violent attacks, notwithſtanding
" the ſteadieſt countenance and moſt gallant reſiſtance
" on the part of the German warriors, to retake by their
" ſuperiority a part of the conqueſts—a loſs, which in
" all probability would not have enſued, if the contin-
" gents of the empire had been properly ſent.—This
" general requiſition of all the fighting men effected a
" great ſuperiority, and changed entirely the mode of
" making war, increaſed the dangers and difficulties of
" this coercive war, and ſeems in ſome manner to ne-
" ceſſitate the riſing in a maſs of the inhabitants of the
" frontiers of the Netherlands, Anterior Auſtria, Briſ-
" gatt, and other places, in order to procure ſafety to
" the property of the loyal ſubjects of the empire,
" againſt the ravages, branded with the wildeſt exceſſes,
" occaſioned by an enemy driven to deſpair by the miſery
" which reigns in their own country, and emboldened
" by their recent ſucceſſes."

His Pruſſian majeſty ſoon after publiſhed the following objections againſt a general armament of the inhabitants of the empire, viz. 1. By employing the peaſants againſt the enemy, agriculture would want hands. 2. That there were not arms ſufficient to give to ſuch a maſs of people. 3. That it was impoſſible, in ſo ſhort a time, to teach the manual exerciſe to the inhabitants. 4. It was found by the experience of the two laſt campaigns, that the ſoldiers oppoſed to the French muſt be perfectly

exerciſed, in order to make head againſt them. Laſtly, Independent of the above reaſons, it was infinitely dangerous at ſuch a critical period, when the French were watching every advantage to inſinuate their principles, to aſſemble ſo great a number of men, whoſe ideas upon forms of government muſt be various, and among whom diſſentions might ariſe, diſaſtrous in their conſequences both to the armies, and to the conſtitution of the empire.

Meanwhile the number of patriots in Poland were daily increaſed by perſecution and oppreſſion. The Ruſſian troops having evacuated Cracow on the 23d of March, the experienced general Koſciuſko immediately took advantage of the circumſtance, and entered that town on the night of the 24th. Next morning he ordered the gates of the town to be ſhut, declared himſelf commander in chief of all the Poliſh forces, impoſed an oath of fidelity on all the military in the town, rendered himſelf maſter of the public treaſures, took a regiſter of the plate of the churches, of the king's palace, and, in ſhort, proceeded to meaſures of a military ſequeſtration. The gates were kept ſhut till three o'clock in the afternoon. On the 25th the gates were again ſhut, and the general exhorted the inhabitants to arm themſelves immediately in ſupport and defence of the late conſtitution. A revolutionary tribunal was eſtabliſhed on the 26th, compoſed of fourteen members, and a reſolution was taken, that, throughout the republic, in the towns as well as in the country, every five houſes ſhould be obliged to furniſh one man armed and equipped, at their expence, for the defence of the conſtitution, againſt the *uſurping powers*. On the ſame day, and the day following, an extraordinary aſſembly of the magiſtrates and a town-council was held. The different corporations aſſembled under their reſpective banners before the town-houſe, from whence the magiſtrates led them on in a proceſſion to the church of the Holy Virgin, where the conſtitution of the 3d of May, 1791, was publicly read with great ſolemnity, accepted, and an oath taken to defend it. General Koſciuſko afterwards iſſued an univerſal proclamation, exhorting the Poliſh ſubjects to reſpect the dominions of the emperor, and to give no reaſon of complaint to any of the ſubjects of his Imperial majeſty. This proclamation was ſent to all the Auſtrian commanders and magiſtrates of the frontier territories, requeſting at the ſame time, that if, during the preſent troubles

troubles and revolution in Poland, any violence ſhould be committed on the perſons or property of any of the ſubjects of his Imperial majeſty, application ſhould be made to the revolutionary government of the republic, which engages to procure an immediate and ample ſatiſfaction and indemnification for ſuch a violation. In conſequence of the above declaration, general Koſciuſko, on receiving information reſpecting ſome of the ſtraggling diſbanded troops, who had ſeized a magazine in the Auſtrian territories, wrote a letter to the Imperial officers of that place, offering an indemnification for all damage done, as ſoon as an account of the amount of the ſame ſhould be tranſmitted to him.

A few days after, the king of Poland iſſued the following proclamation to the inhabitants of Warſaw.—"Melancholy experience, dear fellow-citizens, has "convinced us but too ſtrongly, how injurious all com-"motions are to the public welfare. If freſh ones "ſhould break out, it is to be feared, that our already "too much afflicted country will ceaſe to exiſt as a na-"tion. The inſurgents at Cracow try every means to "delude your minds, and draw you into their plans. "It is your duty, therefore, to be guarded againſt them "in time, that we may not have to accuſe ourſelves of "being the cauſe of our own deſtruction. What bene-"fit reſulted to us from our former actions? After ſo "many ſtorms and loſſes, the republicans only hope to "ſee better days by the return of peace, as ſoon as their "internal and external relations can be properly regu-"lated. What can be the object of theſe inflammatory "publications, which have been circulated, and of which "we foreſee the evil conſequences? Beware of French "principles and connections. Is it poſſible you can be "blind to the means which they employ to introduce "their ſyſtem among you? They will endeavour to in-"flame your imagination with the hopes of bettering "your circumſtances, or recovering your loſt provinces. "They will propoſe to you entirely to ſacrifice what "little money and property has been left to you. Is it "poſſible you can be ſo blind as to attempt this without "any reſources or connections, but ſuch as will only "furniſh new pretexts to thoſe who ſeek the ruin of "our name and country? The preſent ſituation of Po-"land, without doubt, is melancholy; but conſider "that the means by which it is propoſed the country "ſhould ſave itſelf, comes from thoſe who, by our ruin,

" only ſeek to retard their own downfall for a few " months longer. The offers which have been made " you tend only to haſten your deſtruction. They will " not omit to hold up to you the example of ſome of " your fellow-citizens; but this very circumſtance, and " the deſtruction already occaſioned by fire and ſword, " ſhould open your eyes. The foreign intrigue, which " pretends to hold out ſuch immenſe advantages, and " which perhaps is founded on bribery, has hardly made " its appearance, and already we ſee the bad conſe- " quences of it. What troubles and damages have not " the forced marches of the troops occaſioned to the in- " habitants? What ſuſpicions are already occaſioned, " and how many impriſonments have taken place. " What end can you promiſe to a cauſe with ſuch be- " ginnings? How much blood has been ſhed in the " ſacred name of liberty—a word ſo often abuſed to the " worſt of purpoſes. Ye nobles and heroes, who " have bound yourſelves by the moſt ſolemn oaths " to be faithful to your king and your country, and " to defend the laws and religion of your anceſtors, " be aſſured that the artifices employed to gain " your ſanction will eventually prove your own ruin. " The arms you bear are only an honour to your ſtation, " ſo long as they are employed to maintain lawful authori- " ty; for every one who aſſumes powers not given to him " by the nation, whatever ſpecious pretexts he may hold " out, can only be conſidered as a rebel. And you, ye " uſeful inhabitants of peaceful cities, be careful not to " miſtake your rights and duties. Honeſty and induſtry, " which multiplies the riches of a ſtate, and love of virtue, " can alone enoble your ſtation, and raiſe you to an equality " with the other ranks in the ſtate. Conſider every man " as an enemy, who may attempt to introduce tumult and " d ſorder into your peaceful habitations, and baniſh them " from among you."

The ſitting of the French convention of the 31ſt of March, was taken up with long diſcuſſions relative to the accuſation of Danton and others. Legendre moved, that they ſhould be heard at the bar; but this was oppoſed by Robeſpierre, and therefore not complied with. Robeſpierre in his ſpeech on this occaſion, thus expreſſes himſelf; " Could not all that is ſaid of Danton " be ſaid of Briſſot, Hebert, and Chabot? They were, at " certain periods, the defenders of liberty. Why then " ſhould Danton be allowed a privilege which was denied

" to

" to his companion Fabre d'Eglantine? Attempts were " made to alarm you on the abuſe of power. What have " you done which you have not done freely, which has " not contributed to the ſalvation of your own country, " which has not drawn down upon you the bleſſings of the " people? It is feared, that individuals may be ſacri- " ficed. Do you then diſtruſt that juſtice which con- " ſtitutes the people's hope? I declare, that whoſoever " trembles at this criſis is guilty. Me too they have " tried to intimidate. The friends of Danton have writ- " ten, that if Danton be overthrown, I muſt periſh un- " der the ſtrokes of the ariſtocrats. They have imagined, " that connections might induce me to divert the courſe " of juſtice. What ſignified to me the dangers that may " threaten? My life is my country's, my heart is free " from reproach, and above all fear. I was alſo the " friend of Petion, of Roland, of Briſſot; they betray- " ed their country, and I declared againſt them."

St. Juſt then entered into a long report relative to the treaſon of Danton and his accomplices; which he repreſented as one of the many conſpiracies, from that of the duke of Orleans to the preſent, ſet on foot by the combined powers, in order to deſtroy the public. In this report, St. Juſt, in detailing the various attempts to reſtore monarchy, thus repreſented the machinations of Hebert. " On the ſtage of the revolution, we have " ſeen a great number of performers, the greater part of " whom had talents to do good, but wanted the heart " and integrity to perform it. It will be pleaſing to us, " nevertheleſs, to ſee, that all the wickedneſs with which " tyrants reproach us, ſprings from themſelves; and that " from their thrones have iſſued the rivers of corruption " that have inundated France. We will follow the fo- " reign powers ſtep by ſtep, and meaſure the route of " their agents. All the inimical governments have per- " ceived, that ſhould they attack us with one faction alone, " that faction would readily be diſconcerted. They " therefore ſet on foot, at one and the ſame time, ſeveral " factions, which are involved in each other, like the " ſkies of Deſcartes, and the aim of which is the ſame, " although they are not known mutually to each other. " In the firſt place ſprang up, on the ruin of all princi- " ples, and with the progreſſion of every deſcription of " crimes, though without energy and audacity, the fac- " tion called d'Orleans, after him whom it wiſhed to

"place on the throne. By Federaliſm, which was to "beſtow on each commune an independent authority, "an endeavour was next made to corrupt with greater "facility the French nation, which would thus have "been divided; a part of the convention was led into "this opinion, and the members who became the ac- "complices of this (Briſſot, &c.) merited the fate they "experienced. An infinity of other means have been "practiſed to annihilate the republic: all of theſe have "been deſtroyed, but new conſpirators have formed new "plots upon their ruin. At length, Hebert appeared "on the political horizon: Hebert, who, to deceive the "the people, addreſſed them in groſs language. He "ſoon perceived to what the deſtruction of religious "worſhip would lead; and becoming accordingly a loud "declaimer againſt the eternal baſis of morality, he at- "tacked providence, denied the immortality of the ſoul, "which comforted Socrates when he ſwallowed the juice "of hemlock; and wiſhed, in concert with his followers, "to baniſh from nature the ſupreme Being. Let not the "people loſe ſight of the Divinity! Thoſe who made re- "ligion a pretext for the reſtoration of royalty, have "endeavoured to diſſeminate among us the horrible "principle of atheiſm. Hebert delighted in repeating, "that the revolution, like Saturn, would devour its "children. No! It well devour none but the friends "of tyranny;—no one true child of liberty will periſh. "Danton and Lacroix talk in vain of clemency. Let "us be inflexible. It is indulgence that is ferocious, "when it protects the enemies of the people. In the "territory of France, none but freemen ſhall remain. "Let us, like Prometheus, ſteal from heaven the fire "which ſhall deſtroy tyrants, and give life to the re- "public." This ſpeech was frequently interrupted by applauſes.

On the 3d of April, after the reading of the act of accuſation, and the report of St. Juſt, the Public Accuſer requeſted, that general Weſterman ſhould be brought from the Conciergerie, in order to be tried with the deputies. This requeſt was complied with. As ſoon as general Weſterman arrived, the revolutionary tribunal proceeded to the examination of evidence againſt him. Cambon, the deputy, was examined. His depoſition related entirely to Fabre d'Eglantine, Delaunay d'Angers, and Chabot. He developed the meaſures adopted by the

Committee

Committee of Five, to ſuppreſs the finance companies and to eſtabliſh the credit of aſſignats; and he diſcloſed the manner in which the three deputies alluded to had altered the decree paſſed by the convention, relative to the Eaſt India company. Fabre d'Eglantine, when under interrogation, ſeemed to be much agitated. Camille Deſmoulins ineffectually challenged Renauldi, one of the jurors. Danton, on being queſtioned as to his reſidence and name, replied, "My reſidence will ſoon "be a non-entity, but my name will live in the Pantheon "of hiſtory*." Herault de Sechelles being interrogated as to his name and ſtate, replied "I am called Marie Jean, "names of little celebrity even among the ſaints. Be"fore the revolution I had a ſeat in this hall, and was "deteſted by the Parliamentarians." He demanded Simon, then in priſon, for his defender. Lacroix, Camille Deſmoulins, and ſeveral others, expreſſed their aſtoniſhment at ſeeing themſelves comprehended among villains in the act of accuſation.

On the 5th, the decree paſſed by the convention, and the letter received by the committees of public and general ſafety from the adminſtrators of the police were read to the deputies. They perſiſted, however, in the determination not to anſwer interrogatories, unleſs Robeſpierre, Barrere, and St. Juſt, were ſummoned to attend. The conduct of Danton was extremely turbulent, and he inveighed in very ſtrong terms againſt the judges. In conſequence of the mode of conduct adopted by the priſoners, the jury found Danton, Camille Deſmoulins, Lacroix, Philippeaux, Herault de Sechelles, and Weſterman, guilty of a conſpiracy againſt the republic; and Chabot, Bazire, Fabre d'Eglantine, Julien de Toulouſe, and

* The ſuperficial and flimſey writings of Voltaire have certainly undone France. It is earneſtly to be hoped, therefore, that the example will operate as a caution to all other governments, and teach them to beware of permitting with impunity impious and licentious publications. They may rely upon it, there are no libels ſo dangerous to a ſtate as thoſe againſt God. The cauſe of religious toleration ought ever to be venerated. But if the belief of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, which is the great foundation of morality, be once removed, there can be no dependance on the principle or integrity of a people. Let ingenious men freely indulge themſelves in verbal conteſts concerning the diſputed points of theology: but let every impious ſcoffer, who preſumes to aim his deſtructive ſhafts at any of the great doctrines of religion, be ſeverely puniſhed, and his writings ſtrictly prohibited. Till this is the caſe no government can be ſafe, nor will it be poſſible to maintain order, nor even common honeſty, among men

Delaunay d'Angers, guilty of corrupt practices; d'Eſpagnac, the two Freys, Dietrichen, and Guſman, were alſo found guilty. Lullier was acquitted.—At two o'clock in the afternoon, the revolutionary tribunal paſſed ſentence of death upon them, and ordered them to be executed at the expiration of three hours. At five o'clock the condemned perſons were conveyed in three carts from the Conciergerie to the Place de la Revolution. In the firſt cart were Danton, Chabot, Lacroix, Fabre d'Elgantine, and Herault de Sechelles; in the ſecond, Philippeaux, Delaunay d'Angers, Bazire, and Camille Deſmoulins; in the third, Weſterman, and others. They all behaved with intrepidity, except Lacroix. Danton in particular, who was executed laſt, ſhewed the utmoſt contempt of death.

Next day, Couthon thus addreſſed himſelf to the national convention. "We are here to give you ſome particulars, reſpecting what happened yeſterday before the revolutionary tribunal, where Vadier and I were preſent without being ſeen. The conſpirators ſaid, that nothing was more glorious than to conſpire againſt a government which conſpires. Danton even had the audacity to fling little balls in the faces of the judges. Meanwhile, Simon, Thouvet, and Dillon, in the priſon of the Luxembourg, eſcorted by their military fellow-priſoners, were waiting the moment to break their chains, to ſeize the avenues to the committees of public welfare and general ſafety, to butcher their members, and to inflict the ſame barbarity on the patriots of Paris, and on the revolutionary tribunal: then, taking the ſon of Capet from the Temple, they were to put him into the arms of Danton, who was to preſent to the people their new deſpot."—"They caluminate your committees," ſaid Vadier; "They ſpeak of arbitrary power, and a dictator. We can anſwer this in a few words. Examine the whole tenor of our life, and pronounce. For my part, I ſwear here, that if there were a member, who would uſurp but for an inſtant the ſoveriegn power, though old age has chilled my vigour, yet I would ſtab him in this hall!"—Couthon moved, that every deputy be bound to give an account of his former and preſent fortune, and that each of them declare that the national vengeance may ſtrike his head if he impoſe on the nation. This motion was unanimouſly decreed, amidſt loud burſts of applauſe.

In

In the ſitting of the Jacobins, a few days after, Robeſpierre propoſed, that the conſpiracy ſhould be the order of the day, and that every citizen ſhould be invited to ſpeak on that ſubject, and elucidate the profound crimes of the conſpirators. "We ſhall in this way," ſaid he, "cruſh the enemies of liberty, which cannot be effected "by partial meaſures."—Chales, having demanded a report on the decree which obliges the members of the convention to give an account of their conduct and their property, Robeſpierre thus addreſſed himſelf to the club in reply. "Of what importance is it that the convention oblige "each of its members to account for its property? Is "it not clear, that ſcoundrels can evade the rigour of "this meaſure? Theſe miſcreants have their property "in foreign countries, in a port folio. Briſſot aſſerted, "that he was poor, though it be known that he was "the proprietor of ſeveral houſes in London. Chabot "ſaid, that he did not touch a ſhilling with his wife, "whoſe dowry had been kept from him. This was "equally falſe; and, in ſhort, all the criminals who "have periſhed by the hand of juſtice, inſiſted on their "poverty. They unceaſingly ſaid to the people; We "are poor and incorruptible, and it cannot be proved, "that we poſſeſs any property. Citizens, let us conſider it as an invariable principle never to afford to bad "citizens the means of ranking themſelves among the "patriots. Let us require from them the teſts that belong excluſively to the patriots, and let us reject all "thoſe that may be common both to the latter and the "ariſtocrats. The patriots are pure. If any of them "poſſeſs the gifts which virtue deſpiſes, and which "avarice alone eſteems, they are very far from wiſhing "to conceal the fact. They are, on the other hand, "extremely deſirous to make a good uſe of what they "poſſeſs. Conſpirators alone can find it their intereſt "to make any concealment from the people. The "proofs we ought to require, conſiſt in a life, every "moment of which has been ſpent in the exerciſe of "virtuous actions, in a life filled with ſacrifices to the "country. The propoſition made to the convention, "and which goes to the length of obliging every member to give in a ſtatement of his property, is therefore "not ſo important as at firſt ſight may appear. Little as "it promiſes, however, I know that it came from an "honeſt and juſt man. In defeating the conſpiracy,

"we

" we ſtill left ſomething undone. While a league of " tyrants ſhall exiſt againſt France, liberty will be ex- " poſed to the utmoſt danger. This reflection ought to " call forth both our juſtice and our vigilance: it ſhould " engage us not to abandon the great meaſures it be- " comes us to take. To ſtrike a terrible blow at ariſto- " cracy, as ſoon as it may rear its inſolent head, and to " ſnatch from it the diſguiſe under which it is concealed; " ſuch ſhould be the order of the day. Let us ſo alarm " this ariſtocracy, that it may neither preſume to attack, " nor miſlead us. Let us, on the other hand, protect inno- " cence, and ſnatch from tyranny the horrid expectation of " deſtroying the patriots.

Towards the end of March, general Melas ſet out from Saarbourg, with an intention of diſlodging the French from the environs of Perl, where they were beginning to entrench themſelves. The firſt attack which they attempted was of little importance; they came to no regular engagement, and there were only two Croatians wounded. Next day the Auſtrians made a new attack at ſeven o'clock in the morning; the French feigned to retreat, in order to draw them from the batteries which they had behind Perl; but they being aware of the ſtratagem, remained in their poſition. Upon this, the French reſolved to make an attack; which they did towards the evening. The Auſtrians had taken their diſpoſitions ſo well, that the firſt fire of the muſquetry of the Croatians killed between 80 and a 100 of the enemy. This warm reception quickly compelled them to retreat. The French, no doubt, ſuppoſed, upon the firſt attack of the Auſtrians, that the country was going to riſe againſt them; for at the ſame moment the tocſin was ſounded in all the villages, and a crowd of the inhabitants; even women and children, armed themſelves with all ſorts of weapons, in order to reſiſt the Auſtrians.

About the ſame time, the duke of York received a report from count Walmoden, that the enemy, having ſucceeded in ſurpriſing the Heſſian poſts at Tenbreuil, between Werwick and Ypres, got behind the Hanoverian pickets, and cut them off. Succour, however, having arrived from Menin, the enemy was driven back, and forced to recroſs the Lys, and to deſtroy the bridge which they had made. Of Hanoverians the loſs was one man killed,

killed, one officer, and ſeven men wounded, and three officers and 143 men taken priſoners.

On the 17th of April, remarkable ſucceſs attended the general attack made by the armies of the combined powers. According to the plan propoſed, the Auſtrian, Britiſh, and Dutch armies aſſembled on the 16th upon the heights above Cateau, in order to be reviewed by his Imperial majeſty. After which the Auſtrian and Britiſh armies paſſed the Selles, and encamped in front of the town, while the Dutch formed their camp immediately in its rear. At nine o'clock next morning, the three armies moved forward in eight columns. The firſt column compoſed of Auſtrian and Dutch troops, under the command of prince Chriſtian, of Heſſe Darmſtadt, advanced upon the village of Catillon, which was forced after ſome reſiſtance, in which the enemy loſt four pieces of cannon, and from thence proceeded acroſs the Sambre, and took a poſition at Favril, between the Sambre and the Petite Helpe, ſo as to inveſt Landrecies on that ſide. The ſecond column, commanded by lieutenant-general Alvintze, and conſiſting of the reſerve of the Auſtrian army, moved forwards upon Mazinguet, and having forced the French entrenchments at that place, as well as at Oiſy, proceeded to Nouvion, and took poſſeſſion of the whole wood called the Foreſt of Nouvion. The third column, which conſiſted of the main body of the Auſtrian army, and with which his Imperial Majeſty and the prince of Cobourg went themſelves, proceeded along the high road leading from Cateau to Guiſe, and, after carrying the two villages of Ribonville and Waſſigny, where the enemy were ſtrongly entrenched, detached the advanced guard forwards, which took poſſeſſion of the heights called the Grand and Petit Blocus, and puſhed forward as far as Henappes. The fourth and fifth columns were formed of the army under the command of his royal highneſs the duke of York. Of the firſt of theſe the duke took the direction, aſſiſted by lieutenant-general Otto. Lieutenant-general ſir William Erſkine, commanded the other column. The duke's column was intended to attack the redoubts and village of Vaux, as well as to render itſelf maſter, if poſſible, of the wood called the Bois de Bohain, which the enemy had ſtrongly entrenched. In conſequence of the very great defiles and ravines which they found on their march, the duke's column was not able to arrive at the point of attack till one o'clock

o'clock in the afternoon. As ſoon as the cavalry of the advanced guard appeared upon the heights, the French began a very ſevere cannonade, from the effects of which, although very near, they were however enabled, in great meaſure, to cover themſelves by the natural inequalities of the ground. Having examined their poſition, and finding it very ſtrong, the duke determined to endeavour to turn it by their right, and for this purpoſe, ordered the whole of the column to move forwards, under cover of the high ground, leaving only a ſufficient quantity of cavalry upon the heights to occupy the enemy's attention. Strong batteries likewiſe were formed, which kept up a ſevere fire, and protected the movements very conſiderably. As ſoon as the troops had gained ſufficiently the enemy's flank, the advanced guard, under the command of major-general Abercromby, was directed to begin the attack, and two companies of the light corps of Odounel, ſupported by the two grenadier companies of the 1ſt regiment of guards, under the command of colonel Stanhope, ſtormed and took the Star Redoubt, above the village of Vaux, while the three battalions of horſe grenadiers, led on by major-general Petraſh, attacked the wood, and made themſelves maſters of the works which the enemy had conſtructed for its defence. The enemy's fire at firſt was very ſevere, but when the troops approached they began to retreat on all ſides, and were ſoon put to flight. The duke of York immediately detached a part of the cavalry, conſiſting of Huſſars, and one ſquadron or the 16th regiment of light Dragoons, commanded by major Lippert of the former corps, round the wood to the right, who completely ſucceeded in cutting them off, took four pieces of cannon and a howitzer, with a conſiderable loſs of men on the part of the enemy; whilſt the cavalry of the advanced guard on our left, under the command of colonel Devay of the regiment of arch-duke Ferdinand's huſſars, purſued them through the wood, and drove them into the village of Bohain, which they evacuated immediately. Sir William Erſkine was equally ſucceſsful with his column, which was intended, by the villages of Marets and Premont, to turn the wood of Bohain, in order to facilitate the attack. He met with no reſiſtance till he arrived at the village of Premont, where he found the French ſtrongly poſted; he immediately formed his line, and having detached the brigade of Britiſh infantry, and the Auſtrian regiment of Cuiraſſiers of Zetchwiſtz,

with four ſquadrons of Britiſh light dragoons, under the command of lieutenant-general Harcourt, in order to turn the poſition, he attacked it in front with three battalions of the regiment of Kaunitz, ſupported by a well directed fire of the Auſtrians and Britiſh artillery of the reſerve, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Congreve, and ſucceeded completely in driving the French from the redoubts, where he took two pieces of cannon, and a pair of colours. From thence he proceeded to turn the wood with a part of the corps, leaving the reſt upon the poſition at Premont. The ſixth, ſeventh and eighth columns were intended to obſerve the enemy on the ſide of Cambray; the firſt of theſe, compoſed of Auſtrians, and commanded by major-general count Haddick, puſhed forward as far as the village of Crevecoeur, and detached ſome light troops acroſs the Scheldt, without meeting with any reſiſtance. The ſeventh column, conſiſting of Auſtrians and Dutch, under the hereditary prince of Orange, moved forward upon the high road leading from Cateau to Cambray, and advanced beyond Beauvois with the eighth column, compoſed chiefly of Dutch troops, commanded by major-general Geyſau, covered the hereditary prince of Orange's right flank, and moved forward in front of St. Hilaire. The prince's advanced guard were attached by the French, whom they repulſed with great eaſe.——The ſignal ſucceſs which attended theſe extenſive and complicated operations determined the emperor to begin immediately the ſiege of Landrecies; and therefore the prince of Orange, to whom the direction of the ſiege was committed, moved with the greateſt part of the camp from Beauvois, and took a poſition ſo as to complete the inveſtiture of that fortreſs; while his Imperial majeſty, with the grand army, covered the operations of the ſiege on the ſide of Guiſe, and that under the duke of York's command did the ſame towards Cambray. The loſs of the combined armies on this occaſion, was inconſiderable; whilſt that of the French was very great. The Britiſh, in particular, were peculiarly fortunate. The Hon. captain Carleton, of the Royals, a young officer of promiſing merit, was the only one they had to regret. Of privates three were killed and ſix wounded. In the various attacks, the French loſt upwards of thirty pieces of cannon, of which nine were taken by the column under the duke of York's command, beſides the two

which

which were taken by lieutenant-general ſir William Erſkine.

A few day after, the prince of Orange made a general attack upon the poſts, which the French ſtill occupied in the front of Landrecies, and ſucceeded in getting poſſeſſion of them all, and in taking by ſtorm their entrenched camp, and a very ſtrong redoubt, which they had thrown up at the village of Eloques, within ſix hundred yards of the place. He took advantage of this redoubt to cover the left flank of the trenches, which were then opened. According to the original plan, adopted before the battle of the 17th, it was determined to withdraw the detached corps of each army, as ſoon as the poſition for the inveſtiture of Landrecies was properly ſecured; and in conſequence, orders were given that theſe corps ſhould retire. But on the 21ſt, the French attacked two detached corps of the prince of Cobourg's army, at Grand Blocus and Nouvion, under the command of major-general Bellegarde, and lieutenant-general Alvintzy. The prince of Cobourg having requeſted the duke of York to ſupport the former, his Royal Highneſs marched immediately with five battalions of Auſtrians, and major-general ſir Robert Lawrie's brigade of Britiſh cavalry. Theſe troops, however, did not arrive till the affair was over, general Bellegarde having repulſed the French with great ſlaughter, and having taken four pieces of cannon, and one howitzer. As the French appeared in great force on general Alvintzy's front, the prince of Cobourg did not think it proper to ſupport a poſt which was of no importance to him, and which was at any rate to be abandoned that night. General Alvintzy was therefore ordered to retire to his poſition in the line, which he did in great order, and with very inconſiderable loſs, although expoſed to the enemy's cannonade.

On the morning of the 22d, the duke of York received a report from lieutenant-general Wurmb, who commanded a detached corps of the army at Denaing, that the French had attacked him in great force on the 19th; that at firſt his advanced poſts were obliged to retire, and that the enemy had already got poſſeſſion of the village of Abſcon, and of one of the redoubts on his front; but that, upon a reinforcement coming up, they were completely driven back with great loſs. The Heſſians however ſuffered conſiderably, having loſt five officers, and ſeventy men killed and wounded.

In

In the courſe of the following week, intelligence was received at the admiralty, from rear-admiral Macbride, that the Echo ſloop had arrived at Plymouth on the 25th, bringing with her a letter from ſir John Warren, of his majeſty's ſhip Flora, who was on his paſſage to Portſmouth, with the Pomone and La Babet French frigates, captured by the ſquadron detached under his command. The Concorde and La Nymphe arrived the preceding evening with L'Engageante, another French frigate, captured by the Concorde. On this occaſion, the following letter was written by ſir John Warren to rear-admiral Macbride. "Sir, in purſuance of your orders, "I proceeded with the ſhips Arethuſa, Melampus, La "Nymphe, and Concorde, to cruiſe on the coaſt of "France, and on the 23d of April, from variable winds, "being to the weſtward of Guernſey, Rock Dover "bearing E. by S. four or five leagues, Guernſey N. E. "half Eaſt ſeven or eight leagues, I diſcovered at four "in the morning four ſail, ſtanding out to ſea on the "larboard tack, the wind S. S. W. and, as the morning began to break, I ſaw from their manœuvres and "firing of guns they were ſome of the enemy's ſhips of "war. They ſoon afterwards appeared in a line of "battle on the larboard tack; and as our ſhips from "having chaſed, were not collected, I made the ſignal "to form in ſucceſſion. We croſſed each other on contrary tacks, and the enemy began the action at a conſiderable diſtance; their ſternmoſt ſhip having paſſed "over, they again tacked; but the wind changing two "points in our favour, I perceived it was impoſſible to "weather them, and therefore made the ſignal for the "ſhips to engage as they came up, ſo as to prevent the "enemy gaining their own ſhore, and to oblige them to "come to a cloſe action: I am happy to ſay we ſucceeded in this object. The engagement laſted nearly three "hours, when two of the ſhips ſtruck: I then made the "ſignal for thoſe who were coming up to purſue and engage the enemy, as from the ſituation of this ſhip, "having led the line into action, ſhe was incapable of "continuing the purſuit. Another of the enemy's ſhips "ſtruck to the Concorde, ſir Richard Strachan, in the "evening. On our ſide, *four men* only were killed, and "*eight* wounded.—The French ſquadron conſiſted of "L'Engageante, 36 guns, 18 pounders, 300 men, "Monſieur Deſgraceaux Chef D'Eſcadre; La Pomone, "44 guns, 24 pounders, 400 men; Le Reſolue, 36 "guns, 18 pounders, 320 men; La Babet, 22 guns, 9 pounders,

" pounders, 100 men. They ſailed from Cancalle Bay " the evening before we met them."

On the continent, ſucceſs ſtill attended the arms of the confederates. In conſequence of a report from the prince of Cobourg, the duke of York, on the 23d of April, ſent a detachment of cavalry from Cateau to reconnoitre the enemy, who were reported to have aſſembled at the Camp de Ceſar, near Cambray. This patrole, with which general Otto went, found the enemy in great force, and ſo ſtrongly poſted at the village of Villers en Cauchie, that he ſent back for a reinforcement, which the duke immediately detached. It conſiſted of two ſquadrons of the Zetchwitz cuiraſſiers, major-general Manſel's brigade of heavy cavalry, and the eleventh regiment of light Dragoons. As they could not arrive till it was dark, general Otto was obliged to delay the attack till the next morning, when it took place ſoon after day-break. He then ordered two ſquadrons of Huſſars; and two ſquadrons of the fifteenth regiment of light Dragoons, to charge the enemy, which they did with the greateſt ſucceſs; and, finding a line of infantry in the rear of the cavalry, they continued the charge without heſitation, and broke them likewiſe. Had they been properly ſupported, the entire deſtruction of the enemy muſt have been the conſequence; but, by ſome miſtake, general Manſel's brigade did not arrive in time for that purpoſe. The French, however, were completely driven back, and obliged to retreat in great confuſion into Cambray, with the loſs of 1200 men killed in the field, and three pieces of cannon; while the loſs on the other ſide, conſidering the danger of their ſituation, was very inconſiderable. The only officer wounded was captain Aylett, of the 15th regiment, who had the misfortune to receive a ſevere wound in the body by a bayonet.

On the 26th, at day-break, the French attacked the duke of York's army on all ſides, on the Heights above Cateau; when, after a ſhort, but ſevere conflict, they were repulſed with conſiderable ſlaughter. It appeared, that the attack of the enemy was intended to be general, along the whole frontier from Treves to the ſea. The corps, which attacked that under the duke's command, conſiſted of a column of 28,000 men, who marched out of Cambray the preceding night at 12 o'clock, with 79 pieces of cannon, and a ſmaller one, which moved forwards by the way of Premont and Marets. The enemy formed

formed their line at a very early hour, and, under favour of a fog, advanced to the attack of the villages in the duke's front, which, being occupied by light troops only, they poſſeſſed themſelves of without much reſiſtance; and advancing, formed their attack upon the village of Troiſville, into which they had actually entered, but were diſlodged again by the well directed fire of grape-ſhot from two Britiſh ſix-pounders, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Congreve. Their movements being now plainly ſeen, and their left appearing to be unprotected, it was determined to detach the cavalry of the right wing, under the command of lieutenant-general Otto, and to turn them on that flank; whilſt by a ſevere cannonade from the front, our utmoſt endeavours were uſed to divert their attention from this movement. Some light troops likewiſe were directed to turn, if poſſible, their right flank; but having received a very ſevere fire from a wood, which they imprudently approached too near, they were obliged to retire. They however immediately rallied, and, after driving the enemy back, took from them two pieces of cannon. General Otto completely ſucceeded in his movements. The French were attacked in their flank and rear, and, although they at firſt attempted to reſiſt, they were ſoon thrown into confuſion, and the ſlaughter was very conſiderable. Twenty-two pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition, fell into the hands of the allies. While this was paſſing on the right, fortune was not leſs favourable on the left. The cavalry of the left wing having moved forward to obſerve the enemy's column, which was advancing from Premont, and Marets, the 7th and 11th regiment of light dragoons, with two ſquadrons of arch-duke Ferdinand's huſſars, under the command of major Stephanitz, attacked their advanced guard with ſo much ſpirit and impetuoſity, as to defeat them completely. Twelve hundred men were left dead on this part of the field; ten pieces of cannon, and eleven tumbrils, filled with ammunition, were taken. The loſs on the ſide of the allies was likewiſe conſiderable. Of Britiſh officers major-general Manſel and lieutenant Fellows were killed; captain Pigot, lieutenant Moore and lieutenant Froom were wounded; and adout 300 privates were either killed or wounded.

General Walmoden's aid-de-camp arrived at Deynſe, on the 30th, with the diſagreeable news, that the French, the day before, had attacked the port at Moucron, where general Clairfayt, with ſome battalions of Auſtrians, had joined the

Hanoverians; and that, after a long and ſevere action they had forced the allies to retire with the loſs of ſome cannon and tumbrils.---The ſame day, however, the agreeable intelligence of the ſurrender of Landrecies was received. At ten o'clock in the morning, the town offered to capitulate, and requeſted a ſuſpenſion of arms for forty-eight hours, to arrange the articles; but this was abſolutely refuſed, and they were allowed only half an hour to come to a determination, which, upon a ſecond requeſt, was extended to an hour. But before this time was elapſed, the deputies of the town came out, and after a very ſhort conference, agreed to deliver up the place at five o'clock in the evening, and that the garriſon ſhould be priſoners of war.

On the 1ſt of May, about one o'clock in the morning, the duke of York, with all the troops under his command, marched from the camp near Cateau, and proceeded to St. Amand, with part of the cavalry, in the evening; but from the exceſſive heat of the day, and a ſevere ſtorm which laſted the whole night, the infantry was not able to arrive till the next morning. The duke, immediately after his arrival, went over by appointment to Tournay, to meet general Clairfayt, in order to conſult with him upon the neceſſary operations for compelling the enemy to retire from Flanders; and had, at the ſame time, an opportunity to inquire more fully into the unfortunate affair of the 29th. General Clairfayt told his royal highneſs, that the enemy had taken the advantage of his abſence at Dennin, to attack and carry the poſt at Moucron, and conſequently Moucron itſelf, which was incapable of defence: that, with regard to the affair of the 29th, it had been his intention to attack the enemy, as ſoon as ſix battalions of Auſtrian infantry, which had been ſent to him from the emperor's army, were arrived; but that the enemy had been beforehand with him, and had begun the attack; that his troops behaved with much courage and reſolution, from eight o'clock in the morning, when the attack began, till four o'clock in the afternoon; but that as ſoon as the order was given to retreat, from the intricacy of the country, they fell into a confuſion, from which it was impoſſible ever to rally them.

About the ſame time, the garriſon of *Menin*, under the command of major-general Hammerſtein, after ſuſtaining the attack for four days, finding no poſſibility of ſuccour, gallantly determined to fight their way through the enemy, which they effected without any great loſs, though continually haraſſed in their march. The garriſon conſiſted of four battalions of Britiſh and Hanoverian troops, and four companies of the loyal emigrants. Thus the armies of

Great Britain, in conjunction with thoſe of her German allies, abundantly ſuſtain her reputation for military courage and martial bravery. The valour diſplayed in this ſally, by a handful of men againſt 10,000 of the French, may have been equalled, but has never been ſurpaſſed, in the annals of military atchievements.

CHAP. XXIII.

State of Poland—Atchievements of Koſciuſka—Reſolutions of the Swedes, Danes and Americans—Robeſpierre's report upon the Decadatory Feſtivals—Battle of the 10th of May—Execution of Princeſs Elizabeth—Battle of the 17th of May—Baſtia, the metropolis of Corſica, ſurrenders to lord Hood—Continental engagements—Defeat of the Spaniſh troops.

POLAND, though formed to be a great independent ſtate, for ſome time paſt, has been in imminent danger of total diſmemberment. It has only one ſtrong fortreſs, which has been ſeized and occupied by the Ruſſians. Woods and rivers it has; but not ſuch barriers as uſually define and defend great kingdoms. Yet the ſpirit of liberty, riſing like Antœus after every fall, and the varying courſe of human affairs, may poſſibly reſtore the Poles, and even exalt them above their former rank in the ſcale of nations. May the ſpirit of Koſciuſko be encourged, and the rights of the Poles, a people worthy of liberty, and capable of receiving it, be protected!

General Koſciuſko left Cracow about the end of March, taking the route for Warſaw, his army of regulars and artillery having been reinforced by 4000 peaſants, armed with pikes, ſcythes, and the like. On the 4th of April, at a village called Raclawica, which is ſeven German miles from Cracow, on the road to Warſaw, he met with a body of Ruſſian troops, conſiſting of about 6000 men, with a park of heavy artillery, who were marching againſt Cracow, for the purpoſe of reducing it. They were headed by the Ruſſian general Turmanzow, and advanced in three columns to the attack of the Poles, with great impetuoſity. Some ſquadrons of the Poliſh cavalry were defeated at the firſt onſet; but their infantry, led on by general Koſcinſko

in perſon, and ſupported by the whole body of the peaſants, attacked the Ruſſian centre with ſuch a *ſpirit of deſperation*, that the line was immediately broken, and a dreadful carnage of the Ruſſian troops enſued, the peaſants refuſing to give any quarter. The Ruſſian corps de reſerve attempted to take the Poles in flank; but this plan was rendered abortive by the vigilance and coolneſs of general Koſciuſko, and the whole Ruſſian army entirely diſperſed. Colonel Woronzow was taken priſoner. Upwards of 1000 Ruſſians were killed on the field, while the Poles loſt only 60 men, and had about 80 wounded. The Ruſſians likewiſe loſt eleven pieces of heavy cannon, and all their ammunition.

The 17th of April was a dreadful day for Warſaw. Some days before, the Ruſſian general Ingelſtroem diſpatched thence all the Ruſſian cavalry, that they might ſupport thoſe troops who had marched at an early period againſt Koſciuſko; ſo that no more than three battalions of Ruſſian infantry remained at Warſaw. A commotion, therefore, took place, which ſtruck general Ingelſtroem to be one of ſo ſerious a kind, that he collected together his three battalions, and acquainted the king of Poland with what had happened. His Poliſh majeſty anſwered, that he had already heard of the diſturbances; and that he requeſted the general to march his troops from the capital, to avoid blood-ſhed, until the minds of the people ſhould have been appeaſed. Meantime general Ingelſtroem ſent general Bauer with a Ruſſian detachment to the arſenal, to take poſſeſſion of it; but general Bauer came too late; the Burghers had already ſeized it, taken out the arms, and made general Bauer with his whole detachment priſoners. At this period, the whole number of the citizens of Warſaw, ſupplied with the arms taken out of the arſenal, came forth, and drove out of that city a whole battalion of Ruſſian infantry. The two other battalions, headed by general Ingelſtroem, took ſtation in St. Catherine's-ſtreet, and made reſiſtance. Although the Poles fired upon them from all the houſes, yet the Ruſſians reſiſted with great gallantry, forced their way into the houſes, and, by means of the outbuildings, endeavoured to eſcape from one adjacent yard to another. After an inceſſant combat of *thirty-ſix hours*, they ſucceeded ſo far as to gain the open field, with the loſs of one half of their number. The remains of their corps, under the guidance of generals Ingelſtroem, Apraxin, and Subonw, effected a junction with the Pruſſian general Wolky and his ſmall corps, at the diſtance of two leagues from Warſaw. The Poles, in order to drive the Ruſſians

from

from their poſts, ſet fire to ſeveral edifices at Warſaw. No ſooner had the Ruſſians left that capital, than the Poles ruſhed into all the dwellings occupied by the Ruſſians, plundered and pillaged them, and put to the ſword moſt of the inhabitants who ſtill remained. During the tumult, the magiſtrates aſſembled in a body; but their efforts to quell the inſurrection were entirely fruitleſs.

The principal cauſe of this inſurrection was a note which the Ruſſian general baron Ingelſtroem delivered on the 16th to the king of Poland, and the permanent council, in which he demanded the death of twenty Poles, moſt of whom were perſons of eminence, and poſſeſſion of the arſenal for him and his troops, for the ſake of preſerving the public tranquillity. His Poliſh majeſty remonſtrated; but the Ruſſian miniſter inſiſted upon his demands being immediately complied with, and the Ruſſian troops actually endeavoured to take poſſeſſion of the arſenal early next morning, and attempted to diſarm the Poliſh ſoldiers who were ſtationed in it. The intelligence was inſtantly brought to the king's palace, and the inhabitants ſupplicated Staniſlaus to reſent their attempt. The king ſaid to the petitioners, "Go, "and defend your honour."

About this time a convention was ſigned between the miniſters of Sweden and Denmark, in which they mutually bound their reſpective courts to fit out a fleet of eight ſail of the line each, and a proportionable number of frigates, for the protection of their commerce; and, in caſe their ſhips ſhould be unlawfully ſeized and detained, they promiſed, after proper remonſtrances, to make *repriſals*. The two courts conſidered all the ſhips, which for ſome time before had been brought into Britiſh ports, as unlawful detentions; and all their proceedings bore a very warlike aſpect. Article I. curiouſly enough declared, that the courts of Demark and Sweden had obſerved as ſtrict a neutrality towards their friends and allies, *as circumſtances would permit*. Article X. declared that the Eaſt Sea, being always conſidered as an incloſed ſea, no ſhips of war belonging to foreign powers could enter it. By article XI, a copy of the convention was to be ſent to each of the powers at war; declaring, at the ſame time, that the Swedes and Danes wiſhed to preſerve friendſhip and harmony, and that the convention had no other object than to make their neutrality reſpected.

On the 14th of April, the houſe of repreſentatives at Philadelphia, entered into the following reſolution: "That "until compenſation ſhould be made for all loſſes and da"mages contrary to the laws of nations, and in violation

" of the right of neutrality, until all poſts now held and " detained by the king of Great Britain within the territo- " ries of the United States ſhould be ſurrendered, and un- " til compenſation for negroes carried away contrary to " the treaty of peace, all commercial intercourſe between " the United States and the ſubjects of the king of Great " Britain, ſhould be prohibited." Mr. Jay was appointed miniſter to England on the 18th; and, on the 28th, Congreſs debated the queſtion for prohibiting the importation of goods from Great Britain and Ireland. After a warm diſcuſſion, the queſtion was negatived in the Senate-houſe by the caſting voice of the preſident, *Waſhington*; the numbers on each ſide being thirteen. The bill paſſed the houſe of repreſentatives by a great majority.

On the 4th of May, the French attacked the poſt of Rouſſelaer, where colonel Linſinghen was cantoned with one ſquadron of the Hanoverian regiment du corps, and two ſquadrons of the 10th regiment of light dragoons. They were, however, repulſed, with the loſs of three pieces of cannon and 200 men killed. The colonel thinking the poſt untenable with infantry, fell back in the evening to Thourout, and from thence to Bruges; but, having received a reinforcement, he again moved forward to Thourout.

A few days after, Robeſpierre made the long promiſed report upon the Decadatory Feſtivals. After having obſerved that the victories of the Republic were noiſed throughout every quarter of the univerſe; that there was an entire revolution in the phyſical order, which could not fail to effect a ſimilar revolution in the moral and political orders; that one half of the globe had already felt this change, which the other half would ſoon feel; and that the French nation had anticipated the reſt of the world by 2000 years, inſomuch that it might be conſidered as conſiſting of a new ſpecies of men, the orator proceeded to launch forth in the praiſe of republican morality and a democratical government. The plan of the decree was then read, ſetting forth that the worſhip of the Supreme Being conſiſted in the practice of the duties of man; among which it ranked the deteſtation of treachery and tyranny, the puniſhment of traitors and tyrants, the ſuccouring of the wretched, reſpect for the weak, the defence of the oppreſſed, the doing to others all poſſible good, and the ſhunning of injuſtice towards any one; that feſtivals ſhould be inſtituted to recal man to a recollection of the Divinity, and to the dignity of his exiſtence; and that theſe feſtivals ſhould be named either after the glorious events of the French revolution, ſuch virtues as are deareſt and moſt uſeful to man, or the

moſt

moſt conſpicuous benefits of nature. On the days of the Decades the following feſtivals are to be celebrated:---To the Supreme Being; to nature; to the human race; to the French nation; to the benefactors of humanity; to the martyrs of liberty; to liberty and equality; to the republic; to the liberty of the world; to the love of the country; to the puniſhment of tyrants and traitors; to truth; to juſtice; to modeſty; to glory and immortality; to frugality; to courage; to ſincerity; to heroiſm; to diſintereſtedneſs; to ſtoiciſm; to love; to conjugal love; to paternal love; to maternal tenderneſs; to filial piety; to infancy; to youth; to virility; to old age; to misfortune; to agriculture; to induſtry; to our anceſtors; to poſterity; and to happineſs.—By this decree, the freedom of religious worſhip is maintained; every ariſtocratical and other aſſembly ſubverſive of public order is ſuppreſſed; and, in caſe of diſturbances, the motive or occaſion of which may conſiſt in any particular mode of worſhip, thoſe who ſhall excite theſe troubles by their diſcourſes or counter-revolutionary inſinuations, and thoſe who ſhall cauſe them by outrages as unprovoked as unjuſt, ſhall be equally puniſhed by all the rigour of the law.

On the 10th of May, the army under the command of the duke of York having been attacked near Tournay, by the French, in different columns, to the amount of 30,000 men, after a ſharp engagement which laſted five hours, the French were repulſed, with the loſs of 13 pieces of cannon, and above 400 men taken priſoners. The attack began at day-break, when the enemy attempted to turn the duke's left flank, but were driven back by the Auſtrian regiment of Kaunitz, which was poſted in a wood to cover the troops on that ſide. The French then directed their next efforts againſt the centre of the army, upon which they advanced under a heavy cannonade with great reſolution; but a favourable opportunity preſenting itſelf of attacking them on their right flank, which did not ſeem to be protected, lieutenant-general Harcourt was detached for that purpoſe, with ſixteen ſquadrons of Britiſh cavalry, and two of Auſtrian huſſars. General Harcourt, having ſucceeded in gaining their flank, attacked them with ſo much reſolution and intrepidity, that they immediately began to retreat, in the courſe of which they were ſoon broken, and ſuffered conſiderable loſs. While this was paſſing in the corps under the duke's particular command, that of the Hanoverians on the right was attacked with equal vigour. This, however, after a ſevere conteſt, terminated to the advantage of the Hanoverians, who maintained

tained their poſt, and repulſed the French with conſiderable loſs. Of the duke's army upwards of 30 were killed, and about 80 wounded. Two hundred and thirty horſes alſo were either killed, wounded, or miſſing.

On the ſame day, the ill-fated ſiſter of Louis XVI. fell a victim to the republican ſyſtem of government in France. She was fetched from the temple on the night preceding, and taken to the Conciergerie, where ſhe was next morning examined before the revolutionary tribunal; but the examination was very ſummary. The only queſtion put to her was, her *name* and *quality?* To the firſt ſhe anſwered, that her name was Phillipina Maria Elizabeth Helena of France; and her quality, ſhe ſaid, was aunt to the king. This aſſertion was ſufficient; ſhe was immediately declared guilty of conſpiring againſt the Republic, and executed the ſame day. She was followed to the ſcaffold by twenty-five perſons condemned at the ſame time, but was not ſuffered to fall under the edge of the fatal axe, till the heads of all her fellow-ſufferers had been ſtruck off. That amiable and moſt virtuous princeſs did not ſuffer for any crimes of her own, but for the offences of others, which were falſely imputed to her. The revolutionary tribunal itſelf conſidered her death as a political neceſſity. The murder of one, however, ſo renowned for innocence of manners, and benevolence of diſpoſition, without even the pretext of a crime, diſtinguiſhes the horrors of France, at this period, and ſtamps a character that is their own, in the annals of human cruelty. Having aſcended the ſcaffold, ſhe immediately caſt up her eyes to heaven, and, proſtrate on her knees and wringing her hands, demanded of the king of kings that fortitude, which the horrors of her ſituation had rendered ſo neceſſary. Having continued in prayer till the moment when ſhe was to ſubmit her head to the enſanguined inſtrument, ſhe advanced with the greateſt compoſure, with a kind of heroiſm inſpired by religion, and perfectly reſigned to the decree of Providence. Though ſhe bled the laſt among her twenty-five fellow-ſufferers, ſhe diſplayed a fortitude ſuperior to them all. In her prayer ſhe reſembled the celebrated Magdalen of le Brun, which uſed formerly to be an object of admiration to the curious in the church of the Carmelites at Paris. When ſhe was paſſing in the cart through Rue St. Honore, ſeveral attentive ſpectators could diſcern even in the eyes of her executioner an expreſſion of pity, which, in ſimilar caſes, riſes often ſuperior to conſtraint. All the other ladies who ſuffered with the princeſs, where either ſo very old, ſo diſhevelled, ſo disfigured by rouge, or ſo very filthy and ragged

ragged in their dreſs, that the ſight of them almoſt ſmothered the riſing ſentiment of compaſſion.

Some time prior to this ſavage execution, thirteen perſons were condemned, moſtly nobles, widows of nobles, and counſellors of the late parliaments. Among theſe the heart of every reader of feeling will bleed to read the name of the venerable and excellent Mons. Lamoignon de Maleſherbes, one of the official defenders of the late king. His crime may be eaſily imagined. He was 72 years old. His daughter, Marianne Rozambeau, aged 23, was condemned at the ſame time.

A letter from the duke of York, dated Tournay, May 13, contained the following intelligence: "Since my laſt "letter no attempt has been made by the enemy to moleſt "any of my poſts. On Sunday morning, however, they at- "tacked in great force general Clairfayt's corps, which had "the night before croſſed the Heule. The action laſted "from one o'clock in the afternoon till eleven o'clock at "night, when general Clairfayt ſucceeded incompletely, "driving them back into the town of Courtray; but, not "being able to take poſſeſſion of the place, he retreated firſt "acroſs the Heule, and afterwards behind the river Man- "del; but being ſtill very cloſely purſued by the enemy, he "found himſelf under the neceſſity of continuing his march "to Thielt, where he has taken up a poſition in order to "cover Ghent, Bruges, and Oſtend. His loſs, I am ſorry "to ſay, has been very conſiderable." The cannonading of Sunday was moſt diſtinctly heard at Oſtend; and ſo heavy was it that *five hundred* diſcharges of artillery were heard within one hour.

With regard to the army commanded by the duke of York, the French, having ſucceeded in forcing the paſſage of the Sambre, had conſequently obliged general Kaunitz to retreat, and to take up a poſition between Rouſcroy and Binch, in order to cover Mons, in which he was attacked on the 14th, but had the good fortune to repulſe the enemy, with the loſs of 5000 men *, and three pieces of cannon. Upon this ſucceſs, the emperor immediately determined to march to the duke's aſſiſtance, and next day arrived at Tournay, leaving his brother, the arch-duke Charles, to conduct his army to Orchies.

Having now received a reinforcement of 25,000 Auſtrians, the duke of York, relieved from the neceſſity of confining himſelf to a defenſive operation, reſolved to act offenſively, in order, by a joint co-operation with the troops under the com-

* The duke of York's letter.

mand

mand of general Clairfayt, to compel the enemy to evacuate Flanders. It was accordingly determined that an attack ſhould be made on the French, on the 17th of May. The army was put in motion about midnight, and proceeding towards Lannoy, waited there till day-break. A vigorous and well ſupported attack was then commenced, and, it was ſuppoſed, that the attack was quite unexpected; for the enemy after a ſhort reſiſtance gave way, and fell back from Lannoy to the village of Roubaix. The duke immediately purſued them with the right wing of his army, and not ſtopping at Lannoy, puſhed forward to Roubaix, where the enemy made a ſtand, and where they had a very great number both of cavalry and infantry. In their approach to the village, they were ſeverely galled by a heavy diſcharge of grape ſhot from a battery. They nevertheleſs attacked and forced the village, and the French retired, as it was then thought, diſcomfited, and in great diſorder, towards Liſle. While one wing of the duke of York's army was thus fortunate, the other, which advanced againſt the enemy, on the ſide of Courtray, was equally ſucceſsful. After the forcing of Roubaix, his royal highneſs reſted for ſeveral hours, with a determination to attack the enemy again on the ſucceeding morning. In purſuance of this determination, the army moved forward on Sunday morning, and the enemy at firſt made a ſhew of retiring, and ſeemed unwilling to hazard another battle; but this, as it afterwards appeared, was only a feint to draw on the allies. The manœuvre unfortunately ſucceeded. The gallant ſoldiers of the Britiſh regiments, fluſhed with victory, puſhed forward with alacrity and vigour. After retiring ſome time, the French at length made a ſtand, and at ſeven o'clock in the morning, being reinforced by the whole garriſon of Liſle, attacked the Britiſh detachment on all ſides. The greater part of the Auſtrians poſted on the left could not afford any aſſiſtance. The conflict now commenced, and with dreadful carnage. Hemmed in by an army of 60,000 men, to retreat was impracticable. In this ſad ſituation, the Auſtrians quitted the field in great diſorder, and the Britiſh were left alone to ſuſtain the attack; which they did with a degree of courage increaſed rather than diminiſhed by the greatneſs of the danger. It will ſcarcely be believed that the Britiſh were enabled to make good their retreat. Their loſs, however, was very great; of about 5000, the amount of the Britiſh troops, one thouſand at leaſt were killed and wounded. Lieutenant-colonel Ludlow of the firſt regiment of foot guards, and lieutenant-colonel Manners of the 3d, colonel Drummond of the artillery, major Wright and captain Browne of the 14th regiment, were wounded.

wounded. Lieutenant-colonel Ludlow's wound was in the arm, which was afterwards amputated; and major Wright died of his wounds. The 3d regiment of guards loſt one hundred men; the 14th, 37th, and 53d regiments of cavalry ſuffered alſo conſiderably. All the artillery, as might be expected, fell into the hands of the enemy, together with one pair of colours of one of the regiments of guards. The emperor after the battle iſſued a proclamation, acknowledging the defeat, but calculated to quiet the minds of the people of Tournay.

On the 22d of May, the French, having made an attack upon the combined army, under the command of his Imperial majeſty, were repulſed, after a long and obſtinate engagement. The attack began at five o'clock in the morning, but did not appear to be ſerious till towards nine, when the whole force of the enemy, conſiſting of 100,000 men, was brought againſt the right wing, with the intention of forcing, if poſſible, the paſſage of the Scheldt, in order to inveſt Tournay. At firſt they drove in the out-poſts, and obliged general Buſche's corps, which was poſted at Eſpierre's, to fall back upon the main army; but upon ſuccour being ſent, general Walmoden, who commanded the Hanoverians, retained his poſition. The French, by conſtantly bringing up freſh troops, were enabled to continue the attack without intermiſſion, till nine o'clock at night. The troops of the right wing being greatly fatigued, it became neceſſary to ſupport them from the duke of York's wing; for which purpoſe, beſides ſeven Auſtrian battalions, the duke detached the ſecond brigate of Britiſh, under the command of major general Fox; who conducted themſelves with ſuch ſpirit and gallantry, particularly in the ſtorm of the village of Pontechin, that they forced it with the bayonet. The enemy began to retreat, and during the night withdrew all their poſts, and fell back upon Liſle. Seven pieces of cannon and about five-hundred priſoners fell into the hands of the allies; and the loſs of the French, in killed and wounded, was ſuppoſed to amount to little ſhort of 12,000 men*; which is by no means improbable, as they were expoſed to an inceſſant fire of cannon and muſquetry for upwards of twelve hours. The loſs on the ſide of the allies was likewiſe conſiderable.

On the ſame day Baſtia †, the capital of Corſica, with ſeveral

* London Gazette.

† Baſtia has a very ſtrong fortreſs, and a commodious haven. It is thought to be the Martinum of the ancients. The Genoeſe governor uſed to reſide in this city. The inhabitants employ themſelves chiefly in ſea affairs.

Corſica

ſeveral poſts upon the heights, ſurrendered to lord Hood. On the 19th his lordſhip received a meſſage, that the garriſon was deſirous of capitulating upon honourable terms; in conſequence of which, the following note was ſent to Gentili, the commandant of the garriſon. "Sir, in conſideration "of the very gallant defence the garriſon of Baſtia has "made, and from the principles of humanity which ever "govern Britiſh officers, I am diſpoſed to give you terms; "and if you will ſend on board two or three officers, pro- "perly authoriſed to treat, I truſt a capitulation will be ſoon "ſettled, as honourable to the inhabitants as can in any rea- "ſon be expected.—HOOD."

This brought on board the *Victory* three officers, who informed lord Hood that Gentili, the commandant, would aſſemble the officers of the ſeveral corps, and of the municipality, if a truce took place; which was agreed to, a little before ſun-ſet. Next day his lordſhip received from Gentili an anſwer to his letter. "My lord, in conſequence of the "propoſal which you have made, I have the honour of "ſending to you two adjutant-generals of the army, and "two members of the adminiſtrative corps of this town, "who are commiſſioned to preſent to you the plan of a ca- "pitulation between the garriſon and inhabitants of Baſtia, "and you, my lord, in the name of the king of Great Bri- "tain. Theſe four commiſſioners, who equally poſſeſs my "confidence, and that of the garriſon and of the citizens, "have inſtructions to arrange with you the ſettlement of all "matters relative to this capitulation. I hope that you "will be ſatisfied, and that they will enable you to fulfil the "views you have ſignified to me, of putting an end to the "unavoidable conſequences of the calamities of war. Cap- "tain Young has had a long conference with me. I was of "opinion, that a reciprocal underſtanding might co-ope- "rate in the ſucceſs of the negociation which occupied our "attention, and I have requeſted him to acquaint you with "my ingenuous and loyal intentions.—GENTILI."

On the 21ſt the four gentlemen above mentioned, vice-

Corſica is an iſland in the Mediterranean. It lies north of Sardinia, and ſouth of Genoa, to which republic it formerly belonged. It is ſaid to have taken its name from a Ligurian female, who diſtinguiſhed herſelf by leading a colony there from her own country. This lady was named Corſa Bubulea. It is about forty leagues long, ſeventeen broad, and one hundred in circumference. The air of this iſland is not in general wholeſome, nor is the ſoil remarkable for its fertility. It has, however, ſome rich mines of iron. The vallies afford a tolerable plenty of paſture, wine, oil, and fruits. The whole iſland is watered by three rivers.

admiral

admiral Goodall, captain Young, captain Inglefield, and lord Hood's ſecretary Mr. M'Arthur, ſettled the articles of capitulation, which were ſigned the following morning, when his majeſty's troops took poſſeſſion of all the poſts above the town, the troops in each returning to the citadel, from whence they marched to the Mole Head, where they grounded their arms, and were embarked, in order to be immediately conveyed to the Port of the Mountain*. The town of Baſtia, the citadel, and all the forts, and outworks, and every thing contained in them, that was not the private property of the garriſon or inhabitants, together with the ſhips of war, and all the veſſels lying in the port, were delivered up to his Britannic majeſty, without any deterioration of the batteries, artillery, mines, magazines of ammunition, proviſions, or any ſort of ſtores.

About the ſame time, general baron de Beaulieu, having marched into the duchy of Bouillon, defeated a conſiderable body of French who covered that canton; and having killed twelve hundred men, and taken three hundred priſoners, with ſix pieces of cannon, and ſeveral caiſſons, he took poſſeſſion of the town of Bouillon, and ſummoned the citadel to ſurrender, which was refuſed. The inhabitants having fired upon the Auſtrians, the town was given up to be pillaged.

On the 24th, general count Kaunitz, having attacked the French army which had paſſed the Sambre, and had taken a poſition with its left to Rouveroy, and its right to Fontaine l'Eveque, completely defeated them, and obliged them to retreat in great confuſion over the river, which in a ſhort time he intended to paſs with his army in purſuit of them. The French loſt near fifty pieces of cannon, and above five thouſand men, three thouſand of whom were made priſoners †. The loſs of the Auſtrians was not ſo great, as they in a manner ſurpriſed the enemy.

Mareſchal Mollendorff, on the ſame day, ſurpriſed the French in their intrenchments in the neighbourhood of Keyſerſlautern, and defeated them with conſiderable loſs. The force of the French conſiſted of about twelve thouſand men. They were poſted behind the defiles of Otterbach, Hagelſbach, and the Lauter. The whole of this country was covered with redoubts and entrenchments; ſeveral dykes had been cut, and the bridges were every where deſtroyed; while three ſtrong poſitions were prepared, to facilitate their retreat in caſe of accidents. The loſs of the French amounted to one thouſand killed, more

* Toulon. † London Gazette.

than

than two thouſand priſoners, eighteen pieces of cannon, and two howitzers. After the engagement Mareſchal Mollendorff eſtabliſhed his head quarters at Winnweiller, and the prince of Hohenloe Ingelſingen took poſſeſſion of Neuſtadt.

On the following day, the French made an inroad into the duchy of Luxemburg, with an army of forty thouſand men, and took poſſeſſion of Arlon, which obliged general Beaulieu, who had taken the town of Bouillon by ſtorm, to retire, and to fall back on Marche in order to cover Namur. The advanced poſts of the Pruſſian army extended as far as Deux-Ponts and Carleſberg.

Much about this period, authentic accounts were received at Barcelona of the total defeat of the Spaniſh troops. It was ſtated, that half the army was killed or taken. The whole of the artillery, conſiſting of one hundred and thirty pieces, fell into the hands of the French, together with all the baggage, camp-equipage, proviſion, ſtores, ſtraw, barley, ammunition, and arms, as well as all the ſick and wounded that were in Ceret, Arles, and Pratto del Mollo. The French were therefore expected to lay ſiege to Collieure and Bellegarde at the ſame time, as they were ſufficient in force to make theſe attempts, and with too great proſpect of ſucceſs.

CHAP. XXIV.

Aſſaſſinations attempted.---French victories announced.---The Emperor's addreſs to the inhabitants of the Netherlands.---Affairs of Poland.---Lord Howe's victorious engagement with the French.---Diviſions in the Convention on the organization of the Revolutionary Tribunal.---Military operations on the Continent and in the Weſt Indies.---Union of Corſica to the Crown of Great Britain.

IN the ſitting of the convention of the 25th of May, it was announced, that an attempt had been made to aſſaſſinate Collot d'Herbois in the ſtreet, by a man named Admiral, who had diſcharged a piſtol at him. The aſſaſſin, after this attempt, went to his houſe, where he reſolved to defend himſelf. Collot, who was accompanied by a man named Geoffroi, called in the aid of a patriot, and was

was deſirous to aſcend to the apartment in which the aſſaſſin had placed himſelf. As the latter had, however, again loaded his piſtol, and threatened to fire on any one who ſhould approach, Geoffroi reſiſted the determination of Collot d'Herbois, who, in ſpite of the menaces of the aſſaſſin, ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution, and addreſſed him thus; "I command you, in the name of the people, to "ſtay where you are. I will either periſh in the attempt, "or will ſecure the aſſaſſin; and I deem it conformable to "the practice of virtue and probity to exterminate ſuch "monſters." He then went up to the apartment, opened the door, and received the fire of the aſſaſſin. Admiral had been a domeſtic in the family of Bertin, and ſerved on the 10th of Auguſt in one of the Paris battalions. He had afterwards been attached to a corps of volunteers, from which he had been diſmiſſed for miſconduct, and his life contained ſeveral other ſimilar paſſages.---It was likewiſe announced, that an attempt had been made on the life of Robeſpierre. On the 23d, a young woman, named Aimée Cecil Regnault, the daughter of a ſtationer, went to his houſe, and from the ſingularity of her inquiries created a ſuſpicion; ſhe was in conſequence apprehended, and taken before the committee of public ſafety. On being interrogated, her anſwers (which warmly expreſſed her attachment to the late king) evidently betrayed a deſign to follow the example of Charlotte Cordé, by aſſaſſinating Robeſpierre. The convention attributed this plot to the machinations of the Britiſh miniſtry, and declared the Engliſh government guilty of *Leze Humanité*. They alſo paſſed a decree, "That no quarter ſhould be given to the Engliſh or Ha-"noverian ſoldiers." Many were of opinion, that the attempt upon Robeſpierre was merely a ſtratagem, to render the man more popular with his ſatellites.

Barrere, in his ſpeech on the abovementioned ſavage decree, adverted to the time of Hebert and Danton, when a correſpondence was eſtabliſhed between Paris and London, to keep up a conſtant circulation of atrocious calumnies, and of plots tending to cut off certain members of the convention. He expatiated on the rumours circulated in the Engliſh papers, reſpecting the pretended aſſaſſination of the committees of public and general ſafety; and on the plan of a dictatorſhip, which the court of London aſcribed to Robeſpierre, with a view to render him odious. He complained, as an eſpecial grievance, that in the Engliſh journals the troops of the republic were ſtyled "*The ſoldiers of* "*Robeſpierre*;" the French armies, intitled Conventional Gangs of Robbers and Cut-throats; and a deſpotiſm injurious

to

to the national repreſentation aſcribed to the committee of public ſafety. Thus, continued Barrere, have the Engliſh conſtantly aimed at bewildering the public opinion. At the firſt period of the revolution, they inſinuated, that we only fought for a change of government. At the ſecond, they endeavoured to inſtil a belief, that there was in France a ſecret plan of dictatorſhip, which they aſcribed to the committee, who intended to transfer it afterwards to Robeſpierre. Calumnies, ſuch as theſe, may be conſidered as a phantom, which their enemies whirl at will over the heads of the incorruptible republicans, whoſe fertile labours, ſeconded by the courage of the armies, and the might of the people, will baffle all their malicious deſigns. Barrere next accuſed the Engliſh government of having purchaſed corn in France, not for conſumption, but to leave it to rot and decay; of having intercepted the corn by ſea, to ſtarve the French; of having corrupted the human ſpecies; of having deſtroyed one part of mankind to enſlave the other; of having formed the beſt concerted plan to organize murder; and of having put in execution a regular plan of famine.

Barrere then read an addreſs to the armies of the republic, the purport of which was adopted by the convention. It is as follows: "England is capable of every outrage on "humanity, and of every crime towards the republic. "She attacks the rights of nations, and threatens to anni- "hilate liberty. How long will ye ſuffer her armies to "continue on your frontier. The Engliſh brought about "the ſcandalous ſurrender of Toulon. They maſſacred "our brethren at Genoa, and burnt our magazines in the "maritime towns. They have corrupted our cities, and "endeavoured to deſtroy the national repreſentation. They "have ſtarved our plains, and purchaſed treaſons on the "frontiers. When the event of battles ſhall put in your "power either Engliſh or Hanoverians, bring to your re- "membrance the vaſt tracts of country they have laid "waſte. Carry your view to la Vendée, Toulon, Ly- "ons, Landrecies, Martinique, and St. Domingo, places "ſtill reeking with the blood which their atrocious policy "has ſhed. Do not truſt to their artful language, which "is an additional crime, worthy of their perfidious cha- "racter and Machiavelian government. When they fall "into your hands, republican ſoldiers, be ſure to ſtrike; "give them no quarter; let not one of them return to "the traitorous territory of England, or be brought into "France."

This atrocious decree of the convention, however, that could proceed only from the moſt infuriated ſpirits, is nobly contraſted

contraſted by the judicious and humane manifeſto of the Duke of York; which no doubt had its due effect on the minds of all the French officers and ſoldiers in whom there remained the ſmalleſt ſpark of military bravery.

" His Royal Highneſs the Duke of York thinks it in-
" cumbent on him to announce to the Britiſh and Hanove-
" rian troops under his command, that the national con-
" vention of France, purſuing that gradation of crimes
" and horrors which has diſtinguiſhed the period of its go-
" vernment, as the moſt calamitous of any that has yet
" occurred in the hiſtory of the world, has juſt paſſed a
" a decree that their ſoldiers ſhall give no quarters to the
" Britiſh and Hanoverian troops. His royal highneſs
" anticipates the indignation and horror which will natu-
" rally ariſe in the minds of the brave troops whom he
" addreſſes, upon receiving this information. His royal
" highneſs deſires, however, to remind them, that mercy
" to the vanquiſhed is the brighteſt gem in the ſoldier's cha-
" racter, and he exhorts them all not to ſuffer their reſent-
" ment to lead them to any precipitate act of cruelty on
" their part, which may ſully the reputation they have ac-
" quired in the world. His Royal Highneſs believes ti
" will be difficult for brave men to conceive, that any ſet
" of men, who are themſelves exempted from ſharing in
" the dangers of war, ſhould be ſo baſe and cowardly as to
" ſeek to aggravate the calamities of it upon the unfortunate
" people who are ſubject to their orders. It was indeed
" reſerved for the preſent times, to produce to the world
" the poſſibility of the exiſtence of ſuch atrocity and infamy.
" The pretence for iſſuing this decree, even if founded in
" truth, could juſtify it only to minds ſimilar to thoſe of the
" members of the National Convention; but is, in fact, too
" abſurd to be noticed, and ſtill leſs to be refuted. The
" French muſt themſelves ſee through the flimſy artifice of
" a pretended aſſaſſination, by which Robeſpierre has ſuc-
" ceeded in procuring that military guard, which has at
" once eſtabliſhed him the ſucceſſor of the unfortunate
" Louis, by whatever name he may chooſe to dignify his fu-
" ture reign. In all the wars which, from the earlieſt times,
" have exiſted between the Britiſh and French nations, they
" have been accuſtomed to conſider each other in the light of
" generous as well as brave enemies; while the Hanove-
" rians, for a century, the allies of the former, have ſhared
" in this reciprocal eſteem. Humanity and kindneſs have
" at all times taken place when oppoſition has ceaſed, and
" the ſame clothes have been ſeen covering wounded ene-
" mies, while indiſcriminately conveying to the hoſpitals of

" the conqueror. The Britiſh and Hanoverian armies will " not believe, that the French nation, even under their pre- " ſent infatuation, can ſo far forget their characters as ſol- " diers, as to pay any attention to a decree as injurious to " themſelves, as it was diſgraceful to the perſons who paſſed " it. In this confidence, his Royal Highneſs truſts, that the " ſoldiers of both nations will confine their ſentiments of re- " ſentment and abhorrence to the National Convention " alone; perſuaded that they will be joined in them by every " Frenchman, who poſſeſſes one ſpark of honour, or one " principle of a ſoldier. His Royal Highneſs is confident " that it will only be on finding, contrary to every expecta- " tion, that the French army has relinquiſhed every title to " the fair character of ſoldiers and of men, by ſubmitting to " and obeying ſo atrocious an order, that the brave troops " under his command, will think themſelves juſtified, and " indeed under the neceſſity of adopting a ſpecies of war- " fare, for which they will then ſtand acquitted to their own " conſciences, to their country, and to the world. In ſuch " an event the French army alone will be anſwerable for the " ten-fold vengeance which will fall upon themſelves, their " wives, their children, and their unfortunate country, al- " ready groaning under every calamity which the accumu- " lated crimes of unprincipled ambition and avarice can " heap upon their devoted victims. His Royal Highneſs " deſires that theſe orders may be read and explained to " them at three ſucceſſive roll callings."

The next meeting of the convention opened with the announcing of victories. St. Juſt and Le Vaſſeur ſtated, by letter, that the republican general, having marched fifteen thouſand men before Mons, had obtained poſſeſſion of ſeveral poſts, killed two hundred, made as many priſoners, and ſpiked ſeveral guns. On the 26th, the Auſtrians had moved forward to attack Mortigny, but had been ſo ſeverely handled, that, on the following day, they were obliged to break up their encampment, on which occaſion they were purſued.—General Dugommier's letter, announcing the capture of Collieure, Port Vendre, and St. Elme, was followed by the articles of capitulation, ſigned by him and the Spaniſh general Navarro, being in ſubſtance as follow. "In the name of the French republic, one and indiviſible:—The general commanding the Spaniſh troops at Collieure, and the adjacent poſts, ſhall deliver them up to the French nation. The honours of war ſhall be granted to the Spaniſh troops, who ſhall march from the poſts they occupy, drums beating, and colours flying, and ſhall thus file off before the French army, laying down their arms. They ſhall return into Spain, after having

having ſworn not to ſerve during the preſent war againſt the French republic. An equal number of French priſoners, impriſoned in Spain, ſhall be ſent into France, after having taken a ſimilar oath. All French rebels, traitors, and other conſpirators, known under the name of emigrants, and now reſiding on that part of the territory of the republic ſtill occupied by general Navarro's troops ſhall be delivered up to the French general*. The Spaniſh general ſhall find ſix hoſtages, to ſecure the conditions of this treaty. All the artillery ſhall be preſerved, and delivered up to the republic, as well as all the warlike ſtores, proviſions, and military effects." The capitulation having been read, Barrere propoſed to call ſaint Elme, Durocher, and to erect at Bagnouls a monument, with theſe words:—" *Here ſeven thouſand Spaniards laid* " *down their arms before the Republicans.*" Theſe propoſitions were decreed, and the convention declared, that the army of the Eaſtern Pyrenees had not ceaſed to merit well of its country.

About this time, the emperor publiſhed the following addreſs to the inhabitants of the Netherlands. " Reverend fa- " thers in God, nobles, dear and liege vaſſals, dear and well " beloved; the maſs of the enemy, which has lately precipi- " tated itſelf on Belgium, rendering your danger very preſſ- " ing, it becomes neceſſary to employ all the means in your " power, to check the operation of that maſs by all the force " which it is poſſible to collect and combine. Our armies " have ſuffered, and ſtand in need of a large number of re- " cruits; and although we have ſeen, with as much ſatisfac- " tion as gratitude, the ſacrifices which you have evinced a " wiſh to make, in order to excite our ſubjects to enter into " voluntary engagements, we cannot conceal from you, that " as this reſource has hitherto been unproductive and una- " vailing, our army will, perhaps, be no longer in a condi- " tion to employ, againſt an enemy who makes ſuch efforts " to invade theſe provinces, that reſiſtance, and thoſe offen- " ſive meaſures, which have hitherto preſerved them. It would " be ſuperfluous to recal to your recollection, that hitherto our " hereditary ſtates have furniſhed the major part of thoſe " who have defended you; and undoubtedly our Belgic pro- " vinces, ſo flouriſhing, ſo populous, and ſo intereſted in the " ſucceſs of the war, which unhappily may be attended with " their annihilation and total ruin, will not be backward in " furniſhing men to aſſiſt in defence of thoſe provinces. We " demand for our army, therefore, from all the provinces,

* To this laſt article it was replied, that there were none of that deſcription.

" a levy of men, and we are perſuaded that, penetrated with " the neceſſity of ſatisfying ſo juſt a demand, you will only " pauſe on the mode of carrying it into execution. We do " not heſitate to propoſe to you that which is moſt conform- " able to reaſon, to juſtice, and to the general intereſts and " exigencies of the moment; viz, an equitable aſſeſſment on " all the diſtricts, each of which ſhall be directed to furniſh " one man in every hundred, as far as regards its general po- " pulation, and five men in every hundred capable of bearing " arms. It is to this demand that we immediately expect " your conſent, and your moſt efficacious concurrence, leav- " ing, however, to your choice, the beſt means of ſatisfying " it; at the ſame time informing you, that this extraordinary " levy is neceſſary and preſſing, that if in the execution of it " you ſhould ſtand in need of our ſovereign authority, we " are diſpoſed to grant it to you in the moſt extenſive man- " ner. You have, it is true, offered ſeveral times to raiſe " ſome new corps; but we have conſidered that it would " take too much time to organize them, and to train them " to the military exerciſe and evolutions; while, on the " other hand, men mingled among ſoldiers, will immediately " render us that ſervice which we expect from them. You " cannot diſſemble.—Your future exiſtence depends perhaps on " the ſpeedy execution of ſuch an increaſe of force.—You ſee " your enemies multiply at all points of your frontiers, while " our armies moulder away by our victories and by thoſe " glorious conteſts which they are forced ſo frequently to " maintain. Beſides, the efforts that you will make in this " reſpect, cannot be a grievous burthen on a country ſo po- " pulous, and on a nation formerly recognized as brave and " warlike."

Towards the end of May, ſeveral perſons were arreſted at Warſaw, among whom were M. Tengorborſky, ſecretary for the province of Livonia, and a few other gentlemen of diſtinction. It was ſuppoſed that all the parties concerned in ſigning the late treaty of partition at Grodno would ſuffer the ſame fate. Forty thouſand Ruſſians were, at this time, marching towards Poland from the Ukraine, and ſixteen thouſand from Livonia; whilſt the Poles prohibited the exportation of grain and all ſorts of proviſions. When an account of the immenſe preparations of her imperial majeſty was communicated to general Koſciuſko, that great man exclaimed—" My brave countrymen will ſoon " afford a convincing proof to Ruſſia and the whole world, " that men determined to be free cannot be conquered." The corps of general Koſciuſko conſiſted of 22,970 men; that of general Kochowſki of 18,900; that of Jaſſinſki of 6,000

6,000, ſtationed at Grodno; a corps of 12,000 at Wilna, and another at Warſaw conſiſted of 8,000. The peaſantry were not included in this calculation. The king had a body-guard of fourteen citizens ſet over him, of whom two were to be in conſtant attendance, and to accompany him every where.

By the command of general Koſciuſko, the proviſionary council at Warſaw was aboliſhed, and a national council inſtituted. This appointment gave ſome uneaſineſs to the citizens, who ſent a deputation to the general, complaining of the arbitrary complexion of this meaſure. The king, it is ſaid, joined in this repreſentation, but he received for anſwer, that the general would not ſhare the authority, which the nation had entruſted to him, with any other perſon. As for the reſt, the national council were to reſpect his majeſty's advice and direction. The king, pleaſed with this conceſſion, wrote a letter of thanks to the general, full of patriotic ſentiments, profeſſing his determination never to ſeparate his intereſts from thoſe of the nation. "Mr. Generaliſſimo," ſays he, "I have already aſſured "you that I never will remove from my country and my "nation, even at the greateſt perſonal riſque; that I do "not deſire authority or power any more, or longer, than "you and the nation find it uſeful to the country. Perſiſt-"ing invaribly in this determination, I have received with "ſenſibility, the information you have announced to me, "of having ordered the ſupreme council to make a report "to me of all their eſſential operations. Agreeably to your "expectations and deſires, I will faithfully communicate to "the council all my ideas relative to the welfare of the "country. I will moreover concur, conjointly with this "council, in all the means which may aſſure the welfare "of the country and the nation. Under the auſpices of "Providence, let us all hope for the common defence of the "intentions and works of all of us who are born Polen-"neze—fully and ſincerely united. I ſhall employ myſelf "to attain the propoſed end by co-operating, by my exam-"ple, and by encouraging others. My vows and wiſhes "accompany you every where, and it is from the bottom "of the moſt ſincere heart, that I give you the aſſurance "of the higheſt eſteem, and of the affection that I bear "you."

Count Potocki, as the new miniſter of the foreign department, informed all the reſident miniſters, of the appointment of the national council, by a circular note, in which he expreſſed, that, as the king had declared that he was inſeparably united with the nation and the ſupreme

council, they would be pleaſed to addreſs themſelves to him upon every occaſion which might concern the king and the republic. The ſupreme national council conſiſted of the following perſons, Count Potocki, as miniſter for foreign affairs; Chancellor Kolotàcz, as miniſter of Finance; M. Wielowowſki, as miniſter of war; M. Janckiewicz, as miniſter for national inſtruction; and Mr. Zakrezewſki, as miniſter of the home department. The council conſiſted in all of thirty-ſix members.

On the laſt day of the month, the national council of Poland iſſued the following proclamation. "The ſecret "enemies of the country having hitherto ſhewn an indefatigable activity to ſow jealouſly and diſſention among "the brave citizens, and having with this view ſpread a moſt "malicious and falſe report againſt the communities of "the proteſtant religion, as if theſe peaceful and worthy citizens were keeping up a treaſonable correſpondence with the enemies of our country, the ſupreme council, under the authority of the commander general Thaddeu Koſciuſko, therefore proclaim to the citizens of Poland.—Whereas it is the moſt ſacred duty of all magiſtrates, to keep a vigilant eye over the ſafety of the perſon of every citizen; and whereas ſeveral repreſentations have already been made by the proteſtant communities, inhabitants of Warſaw, that ſeveral members of their communion have been alarmed by the reports circulated, that they were guilty of a criminal correſpondence with the enemies of the country, and that they were concealing arms in their houſes: the council at firſt exerted every means in their power to inveſtigate the truth of ſuch a ſuſpicion; and happily theſe efforts tended to convince them of the malice, which was the only foundation of a calumny, that is entirely void of every ſhadow of proof. The ſupreme council being on the contrary convinced of the attachment of thoſe communities to their country and its government, and of the zeal with which they co-operated with the reſt of the citizens in the glorious effort which effectuated the reſtoration of the general independence of thé country, can look upon thoſe aſperſions only as being founded in calumny and the moſt inveterate malice, invented by the enemies of the country, who, envious and jealous of the recovered happineſs and liberty ſo long loſt by the nation, have had recourſe to ſuch means to diſturb the tranquillity and internal union which reign amongſt the patriots, and to make us return to that licentiouſneſs, which was the conſequence of deſpotic and arbitrary power, the yoke of which we ſo happily ſuc-

"ceeded

" ceeded in ſhaking off. It is therefore, that the ſupreme " council think it their duty to render juſtice to that eſtima- " ble part of the citizens, in declaring and enacting that ſuch " perſons, as ſhall in future ſpread ſuch calumnious ru- " mours, for the purpoſe of diſturbing the general tran- " quillity and union of the inhabitants, ſhall be tried as diſ- " turbers of the public peace, and as enemies to their coun- " try, and ſhall be condemned to exemplary puniſhment. " This proclamation ſhall be poſted up in all public places, " and read from the pulpits of all churches and religious " meetings, for three ſucceeding ſundays."

Great Britain, in all wars, has generally been moſt ſucceſsful on her natural element; where, perhaps, it would even have been the intereſt of the allies that all her ſtrength ſhould have been exerted, from the beginning of the preſent conteſt. On the firſt of June, lord Howe obtained a glorious victory over the French fleet, of which the following is a detail from his lordſhip himſelf. " Finding on my re- " turn off Breſt, on the 19th paſt, that the French fleet had, " a few days before put to ſea; and receiving, on the ſame " evening, advices from rear admiral Montagu, I deemed it " neceſſary to form a junction with the rear admiral as " ſoon as poſſible, and proceeded immediately for the ſta- " tion, on which he meant to wait for the return of the " Venus. But having gained very credible intelligence, on " the 21ſt of the ſame month, whereby I had reaſon to ſup- " poſe the French fleet was then but a few leagues farther " to the weſtward, the courſe before ſteered was altered ac- " cordingly. On the morning of the 28th, the enemy were " diſcovered by the advanced frigates, far diſtant on the " weather bow. The wind was then freſh from the S. by " W. with a very rough ſea. They came down, for " ſome time in a looſe order, ſeemingly unapprized that they " had the Britiſh fleet in view. After hauling to the wind " when they came nearer, they were ſome hours before " they could completely form in regular order of battle upon " the ſtarboard tack; the Britiſh fleet continuing as before " in the order of ſailing. The time required for the ene- " my to perfect their diſpoſition, had facilitated the nearer " approach of his majeſty's fleet to them, and for the ſepa- " rately appointed and detached part of it, commanded by " rear admiral Paſley, to be placed more advantageouſly " for making an impreſſion on their rear. The ſignals de- " noting that intention being made, the rear admiral, near " upon the cloſe of the day, led his diviſion on with pecu- " liar firmneſs, and attacked a three decked ſhip*, the

* The Revolutionaire.

" ſternmoſt in the enemy's line. Making known ſoon " after that he had a top-maſt diſabled, aſſiſtance was di- " rected to be given to him in that ſituation. The quick " approach of night only allowed me to obſerve, that lord " Hugh Seymour (Conway) in the Leviathan, with equal " good judgment and determined courage, puſhed up along " ſide of the three decked French ſhip, and was ſupported, as " it appeared, by captain Parker, of the Audacious, in the " moſt ſpirited manner. The darkneſs which now pre- " vailed, did not admit of my making any more accurate " obſervations on the conduct of thoſe ſhips, and others " concerned in the ſame ſervice; but I have ſince learnt, " that the Leviathan ſtretched on farther a-head, for bring- " ing the ſecond ſhip from the enemy's rear to action, as " ſoon as her former ſtation could be occupied by a ſuc- " ceeding Britiſh ſhip; alſo that the three-decked ſhip " in the enemy's rear, as aforeſaid, being unſuſtained by " their other ſhips, ſtruck to the Audacious, and that they " parted company together ſoon after. The two opponent " fleets continued on the ſtarboard tack, in a parallel di- " rection, the enemy ſtill to the windward the remainder of " the night. The Britiſh fleet appearing in the morning " of the 29th, when in order of battle, to be far enough " advanced for the ſhips in the van to make ſome farther " impreſſion on the enemy's rear, was tacked in ſucceſſion " with that intent. The enemy wore hereupon from van " to rear, and continued edging down a line a-head to en- " gage the van of the Britiſh fleet; when arrived at ſuch " diſtance as to be juſt able to reach our moſt advanced " ſhips, their headmoſt ſhips, as they came ſucceſſively in- " to the wake of their reſpective ſeconds a-head, opened " with that fire upon the headmoſt ſhips of the Britiſh van. " The ſignal for paſſing through their line, made when the " fleet tacked before, was then renewed. It could not be " for ſome time ſeen, through the fire from the two fleets in " the van, to what extent that ſignal was complied with. " But as the ſmoke at intervals diſperſed, it was obſerved " that the Cæſar, the leading ſhip of the Britiſh van, after " being about on the ſtarboard tack, and come a-breaſt of " the Queen Charlotte, had not kept to the wind; and that " the appointed movement would conſequently be liable to " fail of the propoſed effect. The queen Charlotte was " therefore immediately tacked; and followed by the Belle- " rophon, her ſecond a-ſtern (and ſoon after joined by the " Leviathan) paſſed through in action, between the fifth and " ſixth ſhips in the rear of the enemy's line. She was put about

" about again on the larboard tack forthwith, after the ene-
" my, in preparation for renewing the action with the ad-
" vantage of that weathermoſt ſituation. The reſt of the
" Britiſh fleet being at this time paſſing to leeward and with-
" out the ſternmoſt ſhips, moſtly of the French line, the
" enemy wore again to the Eaſtward, in ſucceſſion for ſuc-
" couring the diſabled ſhips of their rear; which intention,
" by reaſon of the then diſunited ſtate of the fleet, and hav-
" ing no more than the two crippled ſhips, the Bellerophon
" and Leviathan at that time near me, I was unable to ob-
" ſtruct. The enemy having ſucceeded in that operation,
" wore round again, after ſome diſtant cannonading of the
" neareſt Britiſh ſhips, occaſionally returned, and ſtood
" away in order of battle on the larboard tack, followed by
" the Britiſh fleet in the ſame order (but with the weather
" gage retained) as ſoon as the ſhips coming forward to
" cloſe with the Queen Charlotte, were ſuitably arranged.
" The fleets remained ſeparated ſome few miles, in view at
" times on the intermiſſion of a thick fog, which laſted moſt
" part of the two next days."

Lord Howe, ſatisfied with completely beating the French fleet, and announcing the event, left it to others to relate the particulars. There were circumſtances, however, which, in juſtice to his lordſhip, and the fleet under his command, ought to be made known to the public. The action of the 29th of May, on which his lordſhip but juſt touches in his letter, was long and well conteſted. The damage ſuſtained by the enemy on that day, accelerated their defeat on the 1ſt of June. Four of their ſhips were ſo completely beaten, that the French admiral ſent them away the next day, which a reinforcement of four ſhips enabled him to do, without leſſening his original number. The fact, therefore, is, that lord Howe, with twenty-ſix ſhips of the line, beat thirty-one of the enemy.

It was particularly requeſted by lord Howe, previous to his engagement with the French, that the ſailors belonging to the different ſhips ſhould be very ſparing in drinking ſpirituous liquors, and that they ſhould patiently wait until after the action, when all thoſe who eſcaped the perils of the fight, ſhould be rewarded in that, or any other way they might think proper to mention. The noble admiral himſelf declared in his own ſhip: " Wait, my lads, until the
" glorious buſineſs is finiſhed, and then we'll all get druuk
" together."

Never was news announced with greater *eclat* than the above. The managers of the theatres, with cheerful ala-

crity

crity and unaffected delight, imparted the glorious intelligence. At Covent Garden, the communication was peculiarly *apropos*, for it ſucceeded the technical narration of a ſea-fight, ſo animatedly told by Fawcett. The colours were brought on the ſtage, and the houſe, as if inſpired by one ſentiment, joined in thoſe nobleſt of all choruſes, "Rule Britannia,"—"Britons ſtrike home," and "God "ſave the King." At the Opera Houſe the band with a noble craſh, ſtruck up, "Rule Britannia." The ſublimeſt efforts of the moſt celebrated compoſers never excited more enthuſiaſtic admiration than this popular air did from the Amateurs of Old England. "God ſave the "King," ſucceeded. Banti, Morichelli, Morelli, and Rovedino, with all the energies of *heart*, as well as voice, joined the loyal ſtrain. But the triumph of a happy people did not end with the night; the ſucceeding day bore witneſs to their loyal exultation; the bells pealed merrily during the whole of the morning; conſtant diſcharges of ſhip guns were heard, and every flag was hoiſted in compliment to Lord Howe. The illuminations of Wedneſday, Thurſday, and Friday, were ſplendid and univerſal, without the exception of the moſt obſcure lane or alley. In every part of London and Weſtminſter, the joy of the inhabitants played in uniſon. In ſhort, there was a general blaze, in teſtimony of our victory on the *native element* of Engliſhmen, and every countenance indicated the triumph peculiar only to the inhabitants of Great Britain.

When the conquering fleet, with their prizes, appeared in the Offing, crowds of people were ſoon collected on the ramparts; and when the Queen Charlotte dropped anchor at Spithead, the guns on the batteries were fired. When Earl Howe landed at the new Sally port, a ſecond diſcharge of artillery took place. His lordſhip was received with the reiterated ſhouts of the people, collected together in aſtoniſhing numbers. A captain's guard of the Glouceſter militia, was drawn up on the lower end of the grand parade, with the band of the regiment playing, till his lordſhip came up to them, "The conquering Hero comes!" The ſtreets, tops of houſes, balconies, windows, grand parades, and the ramparts from the queen's battery, to the main guard, were entirely crouded beyond all example, and their ſhouts rent the air.

On the 3d of June, the combined army under the command of the hereditary prince of Orange, attacked the French who were poſted at Fontaine l'Eveque, in order to cover a part of their forces, which were beſieging Charle-

roi*, and compelled them to raiſe the ſiege, and return acroſs the Sambre.

About this time great diviſions aroſe in the convention, on the ſubject of giving a new form and new powers to the revolutionary tribunal. When the report of this meaſure was made by Couthon, in the name of the committee of public ſafety, of which he was now one of the moſt active members, Bourdon, repreſentative for the department de l'Oiſe, and la Cointre, repreſentative for Verſailles, who had, for ſome time paſt, conceived great jealouſy of the ambitious projects of Robeſpierre and his party, demanded an adjournment of the buſineſs. They had ſufficient penetration to ſee, that even the members of the convention were expoſed to accuſations before the tribunal, where little mercy was likely to be ſhewn to thoſe who were the objects of Robeſpierre's reſentment. Theſe obſtructions, however, were warmly oppoſed by Robeſpierre. "I obſerve," ſays he, "that the enemies of the public good, are particularly active to deprive us of the fruits of our labours. We conſent to die, but we wiſh that the country and the convention may be ſaved."

As ſoon as the convention met the next day, Couthon roſe and ſaid, "It has been pretended, that the committeeof public ſafety were aiming to attack the national repreſentation, and to arrogate the right of ſending its members before the revolutionary tribunal. An attempt has been made to accuſe us of motives of ambition. Some have dared to calumniate the committee, and the far greater part of the members who compoſe this convention, becauſe they know that they are actuated by principles of the pureſt patriotiſm, and are anxious for the happineſs of the people. One member of this deſcription is Bourdon de l'Oiſe. I am not afraid to name him. He ſhewed his bad intention yeſterday, in his diſpoſition to circumſcribe the power of the committee of public ſafety. He ſeems to coincide in opinion with Pitt, who gives out, in his ſpeech in the Britiſh parliament, that the committee of public ſafety arrogates to itſelf the ſovereign power." Bourdon de l'Oiſe upon this roſe, and ſaid he would never ſilently allow ſuch a ſcandalous reflection to be thrown upon him, as that he had ever ſpoken like Pitt. He

* Charleroi is a fortified city of the Pays-Bas, in the earldom of Namur, upon the frontiers of Hainault. It is ſituated upon a high hill, which is watered by the Sambre, and is about five leagues from Namur, and ſix from Mons. Before it was fortified by the Spaniards, in 1666, it was only a market town known by the name of Charnoi. It received its preſent name from Charles II. king of Spain.

and

and the Mountain maintained that they were as good patriots as the committee of public ſafety.

Robeſpierre now roſe, and pronounced a long diſcourſe, in the courſe of which he obſerved, " That after the over-" throw of Briſſot, other conſpiracies had been ſecretly " formed; by means of which, ſuſpicion had been attempt-" ed to be ſown, relative to the *intentions* of the committee " of public ſafety. Wherefore," exclaimed he, " would " Bourdon divide the Mountain from the committee of " public ſafety? Citizens, the Mountain, the Convention, " and the committee of public ſafety, are one and the ſame. " *(Loud Plaudits)* Behold then a project of intrigue in " theſe diſtinctions; therefore there are intrigues." " Name " them," cries Bourdon. " I will not name any perſon, " for the intriguers diſcover themſelves. (Great applauſes " were here manifeſted by the galleries, which Robeſpierre " took care ſhould be always filled with his friends). One " fact will tend to prove, that there are people who wiſh " to divide us, and bereave us of the people's confidence. " They endeavoured yeſterday to ſlander us, after paſſing " the decree: they accoſted two meſſengers belonging to " the committee with, ' What do you do here? What do ' you mean? You are two of the 20,000 ſpies belonging to ' the committee of public ſafety?' cried they. ' *Citizens*,' re-" plied the meſſengers, ' *we are good citizens, and wiſh not* " *to act as ſpies on any one.*' This fact is exactly as I ſtate it. " Behold a new ſyſtem of overturning liberty, by attack-" ing me and my friends; we conſent to die, but during " our lives, we will not permit the republic to fall before a " few intriguers. I ſhall ſtate another circumſtance. The " following expreſſions were heard in the hall: ' The ' commitee of public ſafety wiſhes to guillotine us; but we ' will bring others to the guillotine.' Citizens, theſe ideas " are the ſame with thoſe of Lacroix; of that conſpirator " whoſe remorſe and terror induced him to exclaim inſtant-" ly, ' They wiſh to guillotine us.' In ſhort, all this " proves the exiſtence of intriguers who wiſh to divide us. " Do not ſuffer yourſelves to be governed by intrigue and " cabal; come to our aſſiſtance, and take not away your " confidence from thoſe who deſerved it." Tallien endeavoured to clear up the circumſtance relative to the couriers; he obſerved, " That five perſons came and endeavour-" ed to join in the converſation between him and two of his " colleagues, during their walk on the terrace, but there " was not a ſingle word," he ſaid, " relative to any offi-" cers being kept by the committee." Robeſpierre aſſerted, " that 300 perſons were witneſſes of the fact, and that it

" was

" was odious to add untruth to crime!" Barrere, in ſup-
" port of what had been ſaid by Robeſpierre, obſerved,
" That England was continually inventing calumnies and
" ſcenes atrociouſly meditated, in order to miſrepreſent the
" committees of public ſafety, and general ſurety; that
" *Priur* of Marne now at Breſt, had found newſpapers on
" ſome of the Engliſh priſoners, in which an account was
" given of the maſquerades at London. At one of theſe
" there was a maſk repreſenting Charlotte Cordé, who
" ſhook a poinard over the head of Robeſpierre; and a
" ſleep-walker, who ſaid, *that the French would one day ſpeak*
" *their minds of him as the Engliſh did.*"

Upon this occaſion Bourdon de l'Oiſe obſerved, " That
" the convention had entruſted to the committees of public
" and general ſafety, the right of carrying before the revo-
" lutionary tribunal ſuch as they ſhall deem to have incur-
" red the ſeverity of national juſtice. Does this right,"
ſaid he, " extend to members of the convention, whom alſo
" they can order to the tribunal?" Upon hearing *murmurs*,
he thus expreſſed himſelf. " I love thoſe conſolatory mur-
" murs, by which I am ſatisfied that liberty can never pe-
" riſh, and that you did not mean to confer on the two
" committees the right of carrying the members before the
" revolutionary tribunal. I move that you formally pro-
" nounce, that the committees ſhall ſtill preſerve the ſalu-
" tary right of apprehending, whenever it may be neceſ-
" ſary, the repreſentatives of the people, but they ſhall not
" bring them before the revolutionary tribunal, without a
" previous decree of accuſation, framed by the aſſembly.
A diviſion on this queſtion being called for, a member ob-
ſerved, " that ſuch an idea could not poſſibly be conceived,
" as that of giving ſuch a power as the above, to the two
" committees. But," added he, " as the decree in queſtion
" abrogates all the preceding laws, I demand that the one
" which regards the *inviolability* of the national repreſentation
" may be again in force." *Merlin* of Douay propoſed to de-
cree, that the national repreſentation had an excluſive right
to paſs decrees of accuſation againſt its own members, and
to have them tried before the criminal tribunals. This he
thought was an unalienable right.

The convention after decreeing the propoſition proceed-
ed to the organization of the revolutionary tribunal, in the
following manner. 1. The revolutionary tribunal ſhall
conſiſt of a preſident, three vice preſidents, a public ac-
cuſer, four deputies, twelve judges, and fifty jurors. 2.
It ſhall be divided into ſmaller tribunals, of twelve mem-
bers each, ſeven of whom at leaſt ſhall be preſent at any
trial

rial. 3. The traitors, whom the tribunal ſhall try, conſiſt of thoſe who have armed at the re-eſtabliſhment of royalty, and have endeavoured to degrade the convention, and diſſolve the revolutionary government;—of thoſe having military employments, who have thrown impediments in the way of the army ſupplies, as well at Paris as elſewhere;—of thoſe who ſhall have connived at the flight of the conſpirators and ariſtocrats, and ſhall have ſheltered them from puniſhment, abuſing the principles of the revolution by falſe and perfidious applications;—of thoſe who ſhall have attempted to induce the repreſentatives of the people to adopt plans detrimental to the intereſt of liberty;—of thoſe who ſhall have diſcouraged the people to favour the attempts of tyrants;—and laſtly, of thoſe who either directly or indirectly, ſhall have endeavoured to miſguide their fellow citizens, to corrupt the public mind and conſcience, and to ſtop the progreſs of revolutionary principles by corrupting them. 4. In pronouncing ſentence of death the neceſſary proofs conſiſt of every deſcription of document, whether material, moral, verbal, or written, which carries with it a ſelf-evidence. 5. The rule of the ſentences is the conſcience of the jurors; their aim is the ſecurity of the triumph of liberty, and the proceſs the means which good ſenſe ſhall indicate to eſtabliſh the vaildity of the facts. 6. Every citizen is bound to denounce to a magiſtrate any traitor, but not to carry him or her before the revolutionary tribunal; the convention, the committees of public ſafety and general ſecurity, the repreſentatives of the people employed in miſſions, and the public accuſer, alone excepted. 7. Secret interrogatories are ſuppreſſed. 8. If there are material or moral proofs, independently teſtimonial ones, the witneſſes ſhall not be heard, unleſs it be to come at accomplices. 9. The law allows, to patriots under accuſation, patriotic jurors for their officious defenders, but denies theſe to conſpirators.

On the 9th of June, the following letter from Rochefort, written by a French officer, was read in the national convention. " We are here between two arms of the river " Loire. We mount guard on the banks of the river, " where we have intrenchments in its whole extent. At half " a league from the other ſide of the river, are the banditti. " We are every day upon guard; we have not a ſingle day " of reſt. We ſometimes go out to reconnoitre; paſſing the " river in a barge. I was preſent at three expeditions, and " took, for my own part, oxen, cows, and effects, from the " banditti, for which I received three aſſignats for one hun- " dred livres. Four companies are in the iſle of Rochefort, and

" four

"four others in the iſle of Chalonne. We are always ready "to cannonade thoſe banditti who may be diſpoſed to croſs "the arm of the river. At the diſtance of three leagues "from Nantz, our troops made a ſortié where they gave a "proper drubbing to the remains of Charett's army. One "of his aids-du-camp has been taken priſoner. By his de- "claration, ſeveral ſubterraneans have been diſcovered, in "which the rebels had concealed proviſions and military "ſtores."

After the report from the committee of Finance was read, the convention decreed. 1. That for the preſent year alone, an extraordinary *war contribution* ſhall be eſtabliſhed. That this contribution ſhall conſiſt of the tenths of the ſums carried to the liſts of the forced loan eſtabliſhed by the law of the 3d of September laſt, old ſtile. 2. That this extraordinary contribution ſhall attach upon all thoſe, whoſe names are contained in ſuch liſts, in the proportion fixed by the firſt article, and according to the ſum at which they have been aſſeſſed. 3. That for this purpoſe there ſhall be made out in each municipality, in the decade after the publication of the preſent decree, a particular liſt of all perſons aſſeſſed, in the liſts of the forced loan. 4. The liſts of the extraordinary war contribution ſhall be cloſed and examined by the municipality, and remitted to the receiver in the next decade. 5. Theſe new liſts ſhall contain four columns. In the firſt ſhall be inſcribed the names of perſons aſſeſſed; in the ſecond, the ſum aſſeſſed; in the third, the half of the ſum forming the quota of the perſon aſſeſſed; and the fourth ſhall be reſerved for the account of payments made. 6. This contribution ſhall be paid by one-third at a time, from month to month, beginning from the day of the publication of the liſts. The aſſeſſed perſons, who ſhall neglect paying, ſhall be proceeded againſt in ſuch a manner as the law preſcribes in matters of contribution. 7. The produce ſhall be paid monthly by the receiver into the hands of the receiver of the diſtrict. The produce collected at Paris ſhall be paid directly into the national treaſury within the decade, after the expiration of the time appointed for the payment of the ſums aſſeſſed. 8. The national agents in the diſtricts and communes ſhall take care, as far as relates to them, that the preſent decree is carried into execution. They ſhall be made reſponſible.

The following proclamation of Koſciuſko, commander in chief of the armed force of Poland, was iſſued at this period. "As the troops of the king of Pruſſia are now "in open alliance with the Ruſſians againſt this nation; as

"they

" they have already paſſed thoſe frontiers, which even the " uſurpers had aſſigned to us; and as they rob us of the coun- " try inconteſtibly our own; in fine, as our country finds " itſelf expoſed to the inhuman violence of the enemy in this " war, undertaken by us in defence of our liberty, our in- " tegrity and independence,—it becomes us ſo much the " more to give another direction to the armed force of our " nation. In conſequence, I give orders by the preſent " writing, to all commanders of the regular troops, to pe- " netrate immediately beyond the frontiers arrogated by " Pruſſia and Ruſſia, to publiſh there the inſurrection of the " Poles, and to animate the people, abaſed by the yoke of " ſlavery, to ally themſelves with us, and to riſe againſt " their oppreſſors. As I have already ordered a requiſition " of a general levy in Poland and Lithuania, by the preſent, " I order all the commanders to penetrate immediately, with " the volunteers under their command, or with thoſe peaſants " whocan find means to eſcape from the tyranny of their lords, " into the countries taken from Poland, and to advance " even into thoſe which have been more anciently poſſeſſed " by Pruſſia and Ruſſia, and to aſſiſt the inhabitants who " are deſirous of regaining the liberty of their country. I " recommended it to all thoſe commanders to conduct them- " ſelves as brothers with all thoſe who are willing to ſecond " our efforts, having no other end but their happineſs. " Nothing is to be regarded as a legitimate booty but what " belongs either to Ruſſia or Pruſſia. I declare, in the " name of the nation, which now riſes againſt uſurping " and tyrannic force, which puniſhes the traitors to their " country, and which will recompenſe all faithful citizens, " and courageous defenders of their country, that ſhe aſ- " ſures to every chief, to every commander of the national " force, and of the general levy, in recompenſe of their " future ſervices, the national property and poſſeſſions " which the nation will confiſcate upon all traitors to their " country. As, in fine, the happy ſucceſs of this enter- " prize depends particularly upon its prompt execution, I " charge all the commanders to transfer the war, as ſoon " as poſſible, into the above mentioned countries. This " may the more eaſily be effected, as by the enemy's force " having entered our country, the greateſt part of their own " neighbouring territories remain without defence, info- " much, that in ſome places there are but few troops re- " maining; and in others none at all."

A rumour now prevailed that there were great diviſions, on the ſubject of the war in Spain, and that a negociation had been entered on for peace; when the French demand-

ed the four following conceſſions as preliminaries: 1. That the Spaniſh court ſhould acknowledge the French republic. 2. That they ſhould conſent to receive as miniſter plenipotentiary from France, their late agent at Madrid. 3. That they ſhould reſtore all places taken from the French during the war. 4. That they ſhould renounce all connection with the French branches of the houſe of Bourbon.—As it is not in the power of Spain to do much more, if any more, than protect herſelf, the confederacy would not ſuffer much by her defection, provided ſhe were to remain perfectly neutral: but it ſeems to be in the nature of men, that powers thus falling off from general confederacies become armed mediators for general peace.

On the 14th, of June, lieutenant colonel Pitcairn with the eighth regiment of light dragoons, and the 38th and 55th regiments of foot, joined the garriſon of Oſtend. Major-general de Hammerſtein, under whoſe command they were, had failed in an attack he made the day before on a very ſuperior force of the enemy at Ghiſts. After the action he retreated to Thourout, and in the night, falling back himſelf with the Hanoverians to Bruges, he ordered the Britiſh troops to Oſtend.

A few days after, an officer arrived at the duke of York's camp, from the hereditary prince of Orange, with an account that he had attacked and defeated the French army, which had again paſſed the Sambre, and taken up a poſition near Joſſelies, in order to cover the ſiege of Charleroi, before which they had already begun to open trenches. The enemy's loſs was computed at above ſeven thouſand men *, as well as twenty-two pieces of cannon, thirty-five amunition waggons, and a conſiderable number of horſes and baggage. They retreated in the greateſt confuſion acroſs the Sambre.

On the 16th, the municipality of Chapelle Franciade preſented an ear of corn at the bar of the convention the produce of the preſent harveſt. Barrere then ſpoke as follows:—"The valuable preſent that has juſt been offered "you, ſeems to be the forerunner of the happy news I am "about to communicate. The convoy of *one hundred and "ſixteen* veſſels coming from America, has entered our ports, "and brings us *ſuſtenance of all kinds*. Our news on the "Alps, and towards the North, is equally good. Our troops "have retaken poſſeſſion of the Palatinate. Pirmaſens is our "own again; and the army of the Rhine is every where "victorious. But an object ſtill more important is, the *pro-"viſioning* of the republic. Here, then, is an end of that

* London Gazette.

"compact of ſtarvation between England and Spain, which "was to deſolate France with famine. The ſolicitude of the "committee was great. The Engliſh had united all their "forces on the ocean to capture this rich convoy. The "ſafety of the country depended on its arrival. What have "your committee done? It has been ſecret in its meaſures. It "has united all its maritime ſtrength. Jean Bon St. André "was on board the Montagne; and as our fleet was inferior to "the Engliſh in the number of *Fourteen ſhips of the line*, the "committee ordered the French fleet to ſtation itſelf between "the enemy and the convoy; and not to fight unleſs it was "to ſave this valuable fleet. The courage of republicans "triumphed over every obſtacle. A battle became inevita-"ble, and it has been one of the moſt glorious and bloody "that ever occured in the annals of naval hiſtory. Our fleet, "though fourteen ſhips inferior in number, and to leeward of "the Engliſh, made them feel our vengeance, and obliged "them to abandon to us the ſcene of action. Seven of our "veſſels were diſmaſted. Ten belonging to the Engliſh ſuf-"fered the ſame fate, and there is reaſon to preſume, that one "of their three-deckers went to the bottom. Our ſeven diſ-"maſted veſſels are not yet arrived in port, and there is rea-"ſon to apprehend they are loſt. Let Pitt then boaſt of "his victory to his nation of ſhopkeepers *. When the "details of this victory reach us, we will recommend the re-"ward due to our brave ſailors. Our applauſes ſhall "reach from one end of the republic to the other. Now "that the proviſioning of the republic is ſecured, we will "unite our forces, attack our enemies, and England ſhall "be the ſpot to which our republican cannons ſhall be "pointed."

When this report was concluded, Barrere read the letter from Jean Bon St. André and Prieur de Marne, announcing theſe happy tidings. "The Engliſh," ſays he, "directed "their principal attack towards the Montagne: they fired "130 ſhot into her. She was attacked by ſix ſhips at "one time. Her equipage is covered with glory; near "three hundred of her men were killed or wounded. Jean "Bon St. André was wounded by a block falling upon "his arm. The brave Bazil, captain of the Montagne, "was killed. Had it not been for the cowardice of ſome, "we ſhould have taken *the ten diſmaſted Engliſh veſſels.* "We hope our ſeven veſſels will arrive. In the mean time "we have ordered theſe cowards to Paris to be tried. At "length our object is fulfilled. The American colony

* Nation boutiquiere.

" has anchored at St. Mathieu, and is coming to Breſt. " Our fleet is preparing to go to ſea."—The loudeſt applauſes were heard during the reading of theſe ſeveral communications.

About this time Ypres capitulated, after the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance. The garriſon ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, and were ſent into France. The town preſented the moſt ruinous appearance. The town-houſe was almoſt levelled with the ground. The cathedral, as well as ſeveral other churches and convents, ſhared the ſame fate. After the French had taken poſſeſſion of the town, they aſſembled the inhabitants in the ſquare, and the French general addreſſing them in a ſpeech, promiſed that their perſons and property ſhould receive protection, if they forbore all attempts to diſturb the republican form of government, which the French had adopted. He then invited them to a civic fete, and required them to chooſe municipal officers. The garriſon, forced to lay down their arms in the grand ſquare, were conducted partly to Liſle and partly to Bergen, and Dunkirk. The republicans left ſix battalions in the town, and ſent the remaining troops of their army before Ypres againſt General Clairfait. The principal attacks of the French were from the ſmall height of St. Sans Capelle, on the north ſide of the town, where they had eſtabliſhed a ſtrong battery and breaſt-work ſince the fourth day of the ſiege. After obtaining poſſeſſion of the ſluice at Boeſinghe, they drew off the water which inundated the town on the ſide of Meſſines, and thus facilitated their attacks on that ſide which unfortunately was the weakeſt. Three batteries of ten or twelve guns each were placed on the Chauſſee out of the port de Bailieul, and played inceſſantly on the town. The ſhot being twenty-four pounders did great execution, and diſmounted ſeveral of their guns. Several ſorties were made, and with great ſucceſs. The loyal emigrants fought with incredible valour: knowing their doom, ſhould they fall into the hands of their ſanguinary countrymen, they performed prodigies. But a want of ammunition obliged the garriſon, only a handful of men, at length to ſurrender. No alternative was left. They ſeveral times attempted to cut their way through the hordes that ſurrounded them, but, overpowered by numbers, were always obliged to retire, after the moſt deſperate efforts, in which they loſt ſeveral brave men. The volunteers ſuffered much. Theſe mingled with the regular troops, and, poſſeſſing the advantages of a local knowledge of the country, were eminently uſeful. The garriſon was compoſed of four battalions of Auſtrian infantry (ſome of the fineſt

troops in the emperor's ſervice) ſix battaſions of Heſſian foot, two battalions of Baden in the pay of Great Britain, two hundred horſe chaſſeurs, and one hundred and fifty Auſtrian cannoneers. The artillery of the place conſiſted of about one hundred and forty pieces of cannon.

Early in the morning of the 18th, the French again croſſed the Sambre, in ſeveral columns. The allies made little oppoſition, and the French, under cover of the important poſts which they occupied on this ſide of the river, accompliſhed their object without any difficulty. They advanced to Joſſelies, when, after a warm cannonade, they took poſſeſſion of the very ground from which they had been driven on the 16th. The allies did not retreat, but in conſequence of ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, in which they found themſelves obliged to yield to a great ſuperiority of numbers. General Beaulieu immediately moved to a port between Gembloux and Mazy, in order to cover Namur. General Latour, with another column, took poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſition between Jemappe and Chapelle Herlemont, while general Alvenzy took a poſition to cover Nivelles, Binch, and Mons. Orders were given to form an abbatis, and to raiſe redoubts in the foreſt of Saignies, to prevent the French from penetrating to Bruſſels by a coup de main. Every day was now marked by ſkirmiſhes fought with all the bitterneſs, which characteriſes this unfortunate war. On the 20th, the French attacked the poſt of Chapelle Herlemont, which they carried after a vigorous defence by the Auſtrians. On the morning of the 21ſt, after a long and bloody action, the French penetrated to Jemappe. The ſame day general Latour, aware of the importance of this poſt, retook it after a very warm action. The French, fearing that they might be cut off, when they found themſelves unable to maintain the poſt, made a precipitate retreat.

In the mean time columns of the enemy threatened Mons and Namur, while a third was bombarding Charleroy. The prince of Saxe Cobourg quitted his poſition on the Scheldt, in order to ſuccour the army on the Sambre. On the 20th, his head-quarters were at Ath, and the day after he was expected at Halle, a little town only three leagues from Bruſſels. The Duke of York, with the Britiſh and the Heſſians, deſigned to cover Tournay, into which a ſtrong garriſon was thrown, as

well as into the fortreſſes conquered from France, where the heavy artillery was left.

The only probable defence, at this period, againſt the enemy in Weſt-Flanders, was the grand inundation, which was every hour expected to be ordered—a meaſure to which the inhabitants had not recourſe ſince the 13th century, and of which the incredible loſſes have preſerved the memory. Whenever it is reſorted to, ten years will hardly reſtore the country to its former ſituation.

In Bruſſels the approach of the enemy occaſioned an alarm, which it is impoſſible to deſcribe. The government ordered all the archives to be packed up. The court and the miniſter put their effects on board of boats, and the treaſury was ſent to Malines. The magazines were emptied with the utmoſt precipitation. One fourth of the inhabitants at leaſt went away, with all the property they could carry with them. All the roads were covered with carriages, in ſuch confuſion as nothing could ſurpaſs. The greater part of the French emigrants filed; the remainder offered to take up arms, and were divided into ſix companies under the command of the Count de Caraman.

On the morning of the 24th, the duke of York's army, who were encamped near Tournay, ſtruck their tents, and after a ſhort march, arrived at Renaix, where they lay for ſome time in the open air, the troops being too much fatigued to pitch their tents. On their march, the light horſe took thirty of the French in a ſmall village, juſt as they were going to ſit down to their dinner, without the loſs of a man on either ſide. Colonel Craig, who had ſet out for England the day before, was the firſt who diſcovered the neceſſity of decamping. Upon his arrival at Oudenarde, he found that the enemy had obliged General Clairfayt to retire in ſome confuſion to Ghent; and that the communication between that place and Oudenarde, unleſs by a great detour, was entirely cut off. Thinking it was neceſſary the duke of York ſhould have this information as ſoon as poſſible, he returned in the night. This movement of the enemy, by bringing them nearer to the banks of the Scheldt, rendered the poſition before Tournay, which ſince the departure of the prince of Cobourg, had always been hazardous, no longer tenable; and therefore the duke quitted it, leaving only a garriſon in the town, and

marched, with all the Britiſh and part of the Heſſian troops, to Renaix, in order to be in readineſs to ſupport Oudenarde, which was now menaced, and actually ſummoned. "Our leaving Tournay," ſays one of the officers in a letter to his friend, "was one of the moſt "affecting ſcenes I ever witneſſed. As we went through "the town, the few inhabitants who remained there were "ſtanding in groupes, with melancholy countenances, "the female part crying, and ſome wringing their hands, "lamenting the departure of the Britiſh army, as the "forerunner of their approaching deſtruction by the "Carmagnols."

The retreat of Gen. Clairfayt now rendered it impoſſible for general Walmoden to ſupport himſelf with ſo ſmall a body of troops as he had under his command at Bruges. He therefore found it neceſſary to abandon that place, and to fall back to Landmarck and join general Clairfayt's right flank. The conſequences of theſe movements, though neceſſary, were exceedingly unpleaſant, as thereby all communication with Oſtend was cut off.

Next day a party of the French, conſiſting of between four and five hundred, entered Bruges by the gate of Menin. The following ſubmiſſion, printed in large characters, both in French and Dutch, was immediately poſted up in different parts of the town. "The Bur-"gomaſters, elders, and council of the city of Bruges, "in Flanders, for and in the name of all the inhabitants "of the ſaid city, declare to have ſubmitted, as they do "ſubmit, by theſe preſents, the city of Bruges, the "works, and its territory, to the armies and the ſove-"reignty of the French Republic, without any previ-"ous condition or reſtriction whatever. Meanwhile "French generoſity and loyalty are too generally known "for the magiſtracy of Bruges not to flatter themſelves "with obtaining of the high and puiſſant Republic, the "following terms and articles. 1. The maintenance of "the individual ſafety of the inhabitants and their pro-"perty. 2. The full and entire liberty of the exerciſe "of the religion to which every one is attached. 3. "That none of the inhabitants be troubled or marked "out for his opinions, or his political conduct anterior "to this preſent ſubmiſſion. 4. That thoſe of the inha-"bitants whom the terror of the circumſtances made quit "their home, be allowed to return, without being con-"ſidered as having emigrated, or any ways moleſted or

"made

" made accountable on this ſubject. Done in the camp " before Bruges, June 25, 1794, in the ſecond year of " the French Republic."

On the 27th, the French made another attempt upon Oudenarde, which they cannonaded the whole day, and even carried in the afternoon the Fauxbourg, but were driven out again in the night, when they retreated to a ſmall diſtance.

In the evening of the ſame day, the duke of York received the diſagreeable intelligence of the prince of Cobourg's having failed in his attack upon the French army at Joſſelies and Fleurus, as well as of the ſurrender of Charleroi; of which the following is a tranſlation. " Although there was great reaſon to ſuſpect that " Charleroi was already in the hands of the enemy, yet " as no certain intelligence could poſſibly be procured, " the attack, which had been determined upon for its re- " lief, became neceſſary to prevent ſo important a place " from being left to chance. In conſequence, the army " marched on the 25th in five columns, and early on the " morning of the 26th attacked the enemy's entrenched " poſition, Lambuſart, Eſpinies, and Joſſelies. The at- " tack, which was executed with great reſolution, was " every where ſucceſsful, and the enemy's advanced " corps, although protected by ſtrong redoubts, were " driven back. In the evening, the left wing arrived at " the principal heights on this ſide of the Sambre. The " ground here forms a gentle declivity, which the ene- " my had fortified by a very extenſive line of redoubts, on " which they had brought an immenſe number of cannon. " Notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, the left wing at- " tempted to force the enemy's poſition with fixed bay- " onets. But the ſurrender of Charleroi, which took " place on the evening of the 25th, having enabled the " enemy to reinforce themſelves with the beſieging " army, and thus to bring the greateſt part of their force " againſt our left wing, this advantage, added to thoſe " of their ſituation, and of the quantity of heavy artillery, " enabled them to repulſe our attack. The troops, ne- " vertheleſs, formed again under the fire of the enemy's " guns, and would have renewed the attack with " the ſame reſolution, had not the certainty of the " fall of Charleroi, now confirmed by the report of pri- " ſoners, and by ſeveral other circumſtances, determined " our general officers not to expoſe our brave troops any

"farther. They halted to remove the wounded, and to "give the infantry time to reſt; and then began the re- "treat, which was effected with the greateſt order, as far "as Marbais, where the army paſſes the night, and will "march to Nivelles to-morrow, in order to cover the "country as far as is poſſible, and to protect Namur. Our "loſs is not very conſiderable, and may perhaps amount "to 1500 men."

On the 28th, a republican adjutant-general and a volunteer appeared at the bar of the convention with ſome trophies of war, when Barrere, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, ſpoke as follows:

"We now preſent you thirty-eight ſtandards of deſpo- "tiſm, which fell into our hands at the capture of Ypres. "An adjutant has brought them to the bar, in order that "they may be ſuſpended from the roof, a monument of the "inſolence and cowardice of the enemies of the republic." Barrere then proceeded to recite a number of inſtances of heroiſm which had been diſplayed by the republican ſoldiers in the late actions; after which he proceeded:—"Paris will "henceforth be the city with 100 gates, and every gate will "ſignalize ſome triumph or ſome revolutionary epoch. "Thus at the ſcite of the *barrier d'Enfer*, we will inſcribe "on both ſides—*On ſuch a day 7,000 Spaniards laid down "their arms to the republic; on the ſame day Collioure and "port Vendre, ſold by treaſon, were retaken by courage.* The "citizens of the ſouthern part of the republic will be re- "minded of our triumph, when they approach the place of "meeting of the legiſlators: for example, for the name of "of *Barriere Blanche* we will ſubſtitute *Barriere d'Ypres*; "for *St. Martin* the name of the victory of *Fleurus*;— "the capture of Charleroi will extinguiſh the name of the "the marvellous St. Denis; and, at paſſing, theſe words "will appear on a triumphal arch—*On ſuch a day the gar- "riſon of Charleroi ſurrendered at diſcretion, and recom- "mended itſelf to the generoſity of republicans.* The "heroic enterpriſe of the recapture of Toulon, will be in- "ſcribed on the columns diſhonoured by the name of *Bar- "riere du Trone.*"

Barrere proceeded in this ſtyle to recapitulate the recent victories of the republic. He announced that the volunteer who brought the colours, though taken by the Auſtrians, reſcued himſelf at the approach of his fellow-citizens, and forcibly wreſted the colours from an Auſtrian enſign; and concluded with propoſing a decree, that the

colours

colours taken at Ypres ſhould be ſuſpended from the roof of the hall; which was unanimouſly adopted.

The remainder of this ſitting was chiefly occupied by Thebandeau, who read the fifth number of a collection of the annals of the republic, containing an account of the heroic conduct of individuals in different ſituations, ſuch as a captain, who, expiring in conſequence of wounds which he had received, exclaimed,—"I die! but the republic will "live! I willingly devote to it the ſacrifice of my life: "would to God that I had a thouſand to beſtow in ſuch a "cauſe!" And of another, who having his leg carried off by a cannon-ſhot, exclaimed, "Long live the Republic! "Comrades, revenge it, and I am well."

The repreſentatives of the French people at the northern army, Richard and Choudieu, about this time publiſhed a proclamation in all the places of Flanders of which they had taken poſſeſſion; in which they ſtated it to be neceſſary, for the ſafety of the "conquered countries," to put them under the regulations contained in the twelve articles of the above proclamation; the ſubſtance of which is, that the inhabitants of the "conquered countries," being under the ſpecial protection of the French Republic, are forbidden to hold any intercourſe with the coaleſced powers, on pain of being delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal. All military commanders are ordered to prevent any exceſſes being committed againſt the ſaid countries. All magiſtrates and others, convicted of cauſing diſturbances againſt the Republic in any ſhape whatever, ſhall be delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal. The magiſtrates of the "con-"quered countries," are ordered ſtrictly to obey the requiſitions made for the Republic. The police of the "con-"quered countries," is to be exerciſed by the military commanders, till otherwiſe ordered; and all aſſemblies of the people are ſtrictly forbidden, and the military force ordered to be employed to diſperſe ſuch meetings. The inhabitants of the "conquered countries" are to give up their arms to the military commanders, in twenty-four hours after the publication of the preſent; and all thoſe who do not are to be puniſhed with death. Aſſignats are to be received in all public and commercial tranſactions; and all thoſe convicted of counterfeiting, or circulating counterfeits, are to be puniſhed according to law. To prevent the riſe of the price of proviſions, which might be otherwiſe occaſioned by the introduction of aſſignats, the maximum fixed upon in the city of Liſle is to be followed in all the "conquered countries" of Weſt Flanders. All taxes of whatever kind muſt continue to be paid to the profit of the re-

republic. The ſoldiers of the republic are ordered to obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline in the "conquered countries;" and all convicted of being concerned in, or favouring any foreign plot, are to be brought before the revolutionary tribunal.

The following addreſs of the national convention to the citizens and the communes of the republic was alſo publiſhed:

"Citizens, when the country was declared in danger, upon "its call you ſent your youth to the frontiers to defend it: "for five years you have ſhewn yourſelves worthy of li- "berty, by the ſacrifices you have made in its cauſe. The "convention do not require of you new ſacrifices on the "preſent occaſion; they have only to congratulate you "upon the abundance which ſurrounds you, and which "Nature ſeems to have beſtowed, in order to crown your "generous efforts. Never was your territory, at any pe- "riod, the ſeat of ſuch riches. You have in your fields "ſubſiſtence for yourſelves, and for your brothers, who "fight for you on the frontiers, and for thoſe who watch "over liberty in all the republic. The law now calls you "to the preſervation of ſo precious a depoſit. When "you were ſurrounded by perfidy and malevolence, ſevere "laws were neceſſary to over-awe the traitors, who "ſought to diſtract and miſlead the people, in order to "deprive them of ſubſiſtence. At preſent, when the law "has removed and puniſhed the conſpirators and their "accomplices, the repreſentatives of the people addreſs "themſelves to their republican virtues. They intruſt to "pure hands the moſt *luxuriant harveſt* which a *free land* "has produced. It becomes us, when our daſtardly foes, "deſpairing to ſubdue us by valour, have already at- "tempted to ſubjugate us by famine, to reduce them again "to deſpair, and fruſtrate their perfidious efforts, by ſe- "curing to ourſelves all the advantages of abundance, "Citizens, in order to attain this object, we muſt diſconcert "thoſe manœuvres to which malevolence may ſtill have "recourſe; in order to ſtrengthen our confidence, the con- "vention wiſh the reſources of the republic to be com- "pletely aſcertained. A decree has juſt been paſſed for this "purpoſe, while it requires every citizen to give an ac- "count of the produce of his harveſt, it ſuggeſts how that "object may be attained by the moſt ſimple means. While "his brothers ſhed their blood in his defence, who will "refuſe to ſubmit to a cenſus, which tends to ſecure their "ſubſiſtence? Who is he whoſe heart does not deſire a "meaſure ſo ſalutary, and who will not be eager to con- "cur in it, as ſoon as the intention of the law ſhall be

"made

" made known to him? If there ſhall remain among you " any ſelfiſh perſon ſo inſenſible to the wants of his country, " as not to comply with the ſpirit of the law, or endea- " vour to elude it, let him be declared; let the law that " moment puniſh his infidelity, and let his name, unwor- " thy to be placed among thoſe of the republicans, be in- " ſcribed on the ſhameful liſt of ſuſpected citizens. But " the law, it is to be hoped, will not find among you any " individuals ſo baſe. It belongs to ſlaves, who have no " country, to think only of their own petty intereſts. Here " all republicans are brothers; the means and the wants of " the ſame family are common to all its members. This " ſacred maxim is now recognized in all quarters of the " republic. It exiſted in the hearts of thoſe worthy citi- " zens, of thoſe reſpectable communes, who without be- " ing required have ſhared, and ſtill ſhare, their means " of ſubſiſtence with their brothers in the neighbouring " departments. Such are the inſtances which hiſtory will " collect with enthuſiaſm; ſuch is the heroiſm of repub- " licans, which ought to make deſpots tremble. Citizens, " be tranquil; rely on your means of ſubſiſtence: in or- " der to direct their deſtination, and aſcertain their extent, " the convention has paſſed this precautionary decree. " The harveſt is about to commence; your fields are co- " vered with abundance. Turn your eyes towards the " country where your brothers fight againſt tyrants, and " ſwear that theſe brave ſoldiers, their parents and their " children, whom ye have amongſt you, ſhall not want " the means of ſubſiſtence. Haſten, amidſt the labours of " the harveſt, to prepare this ſubſiſtence, that it may ſpeedi- " ly be ſent to the armies, to thoſe markets where any " ſcarcity is felt, and to the ſoldiers who are in want. Let " each of you be an intrepid ſuperintendant, and a faithful " executor of the law. Have always the republic in your " heart; on your patriotiſm it repoſes its moſt tender ſoli- " citudes."

Towards the beginning of this month, an expreſs arrived at St. Chriſtopher's, from Guadaloupe, with intelligence that ſeveral ſail of French line of battle ſhips, with frigates, tranſports, and 2000 land forces on board, had appeared off Point a Petre, Grande Terre. Though the Engliſh fleet made immediate ſail for Guadaloupe, yet, before their arrival, the enemy were in poſſeſſion of Fort Fleur d'Epee, Fort Louis, Fort Government, and the town of Point a Petre; whilſt the ſhips were anchored in the harbour.

" On

"On the morning of the 5th," ſays lieutenant-colonel Drummond, "the enemy landed thirteen boats "crouded with ſailors; and from the information of a "priſoner brought into the fort, I learnt it was their in-"tention to attack us that night, and that their num-"bers amounted to from twelve to fifteen hundred men. "As I ſaw, from the conduct of the royaliſts on the pre-"ceding night, that I had very little to hope from their "ſteadineſs and reſolution, I took the precaution to "defend the gate, and line the weakeſt part of the work "with the ſoldiers of the 43d regiment, keeping a ſmall "body as a corps de reſerve, to act on the approach of "the enemy. At eleven o'clock a party of horſe, "which had been ſent out to reconnoitre, returned, and "informed me the enemy were on their march, and in "the poſſeſſion of the village of Gozier. At one "o'clock on Friday morning the advanced picquet came "into the fort, and we then diſtinctly heard the ap-"proach of the enemy along the road leading from the "village. We inſtantly commenced a fire of grape ſhot "from one 24 pounder and two field-pieces, which "threw them into great confuſion, and muſt have been "attended with conſiderable effect. The enemy halted "for two or three minutes, and then, at the perſuaſion "of the officers, marched on to the foot of the hill, "and began to ſtorm the work. We kept up a very "heavy fire of muſquetry for about fifteen minutes. "The enemy were evidently repulſed, and I am per-"ſuaded, that had the royaliſts acted with reſolution at "the moment, we might have maintained our ground; "but, when the firing ceaſed, numbers of them con-"cluded that the place was loſt, and, abandoning their "poſts, ran in crowds towards the gate. It was in vain "for the ſoldiers of the 43d regiment to oppoſe their "progreſs; the gates were laid open, and nearly one "half of the whole body deſerted to the town. The "gates were again cloſed as ſoon as poſſible; and the "ſmall body of the 43d regiment, which I had kept in "reſerve, moved on to the attack. They oppoſed the "entrance of the enemy for ſome time; but one ſide of "the work having been abandoned and left entirely de-"fenceleſs, we found ourſelves nearly ſurrounded, and I "then ordered the ſoldiers I had with me to charge "their bayonets, and retire a few paces, to a ſpot where "we might be better able to defend ourſelves. Here

"we

" we halted, and received a volley of muſquetry from a " number of the enemy that had formed themſelves in a " body in our front.

" The crowd of people which now came ruſhing from " every quarter towards the gate, rendered every effort of " the ſoldiers ineffectual. Overpowered as they were, " they found themſelves diſperſed, and obliged to retire. I " conſulted with two or three officers who continued at my " ſide, upon the poſſibility of rallying once more, and ſtill " defending the place; but it was their general opinion, " that the fort was no longer tenable, and that we ought to " retire. I therefore permitted the gate to be opened, and or- " dered a retreat to Fort Louis. On my arrival at Fort " Louis, I aſſembled the ſoldiers, with a reſolution to de- " fend the poſt; but finding that I had not quite forty men, " and that it would be impoſſible to hold out againſt the ene- " my, I thought it more prudent to retire, and ſave the remains " of the regiment, than to ſurrender them priſoners of war. " I conſequently ordered the men to march; and collecting " the detachment at Fort Government, with the ſoldiers that " had eſcaped ſingly from Fleur d'Epee, I proceeded to " Petit Canal, and, having embarked in two boats, ſet ſail " for Baſſe Terre. It is not in my power to determine the " number of our killed and wounded; neither can I form " any opinion of the loſs ſuſtained by the royaliſts at Fleur " d'Epee; but I am apprehenſive it muſt have been very " conſiderable."

About the middle of the month, the ſupreme national council iſſued the following proclamation to the inhabitants of Great Poland: "The court of Berlin having now thrown " off the maſk as if no longer aſhamed to act publicly con- " trary to all principles of juſtice or right, having by an " edict iſſued from the court, had the audacity to preach " up to you, and impoſe upon you fictitious, vague, and falſe " obligations; the ſupreme national council, therefore, think " it neceſſary on their part, to recal to your minds, your real, " ſacred, and irrevocable duties, which you in common " owe to your country. It will hardly be neceſſary to ob- " ſerve to you, that the cauſe of the preſent war, and the " ſource of all the misfortunes nearly related to it, did not " originate with the Poliſh nation, but in the inſatiable de- " ſire of Pruſſia for aggrandizing its power, which has become " the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of the cabinet of Berlin. " The conduct of our brave brethren, in flocking to the " ſtandard of their country, not invading foreign territories, " violating no foreign property, but coming forward in the

" heart

" heart of their native country, which has been violently " uſurped by Frederic William, requires neither juſtifica- " tion nor apology. Would it be neceſſary to prove that " there is no civil war amongſt us? Need we convince the " world that we know of no other enemy, than thoſe vio- " lent plunderers, who, without any pretext or claim, nay, " contrary to all treaties and conventions, diſmember our " country, violate our liberties, deſtroy and lay waſte our " habitations and corn-fields. No more does the calumny, " *that the better part of the nation groans under the misfortune* " *of the inſurrection*, need any anſwer; ſince the whole na- " tion has riſen in arms againſt its oppreſſors, and Frederic " William undoubtedly, is not the moſt competent judge to " decide which is the better part of the nation, or of its go- " vernment. He who conſiders only thoſe to be the better " part of the nation, who were the leaders of the rebellion " of Targowitcz, and who were mean and corrupt enough " to ſign and ratify his uſurpations at the aſſembly of Grod- " no,—has he a right to judge of the conſtitutional govern- " ment of Poland, who wiſhes the ſame government to be " directed by the arbitrary commands of a Ruſſian ambaſſa- " dor at Warſaw? Did not his language always change ac- " cording to the different circumſtances, and according to his " private intereſts? In his declaration of October the 12th, " 1788; and in his diſpatches of May the 17th, 1791, he " laviſhed praiſes upon the authors of the conſtitution of the " 3d of May, calling them true patriots and good citizens; " but ſoon after in his declaration of January the 16th, " 1793, the ſame worthy men are ſtigmatized with the vile " appellation of intriguing Poles. This duplicity of conduct " will be a ſufficient argument to exclude Frederic William " from the capacity of judging which is the better part of " the Poliſh nation.

" Honourable fellow citizens, and brethren, Frederic " William ſpeaks to you, as if you were his ſubjects. He " ſays, that to your happineſs and tranquillity he has ſacri- " ficed his own; but *what patriotic, what true Pole, aſked him* " *for that protection? What right had he to that conſiderable* " *part of Poland, which was ours by the moſt ſacred and moſt an-* " *cient of birth-rights, a part which he afterwards baptized* " *with the name of South Pruſſia?* Without even taking the " trouble of publiſhing a manifeſto of appearances of pre- " tenſions he marched an army into the ſtates of the repub- " lic, and ſoon after a delaration of the 19th of April, " 1793, appeared, in which he ſaid, that he was taking " poſſeſſion of the Poliſh provinces, for the purpoſe of " *protecting them againſt Jacobiniſm.* But, fellow-citizens,

" at

" at this moment, however, you ſee, that inſtead of *finding*
" *you Jacobins, he, on the contrary, ſays, that you eagerly, and*
" *voluntarily have ſubmitted to his uſurped government.*

" It would indeed appear degrading on our part, " who are convinced of the juſtice of our cauſe, to " offer even the ſlighteſt anſwer to the calumnious " declarations of the cabinet of Berlin, in which every " Pole, who loves his country, is called a Jacobin. This, " our proclamation, fellow-citizens and brethren, is on- " ly addreſſed to you. Your own feelings will always " teach you what you owe to your country. You well " know, that the object of the preſent war is no other " than to render us all free. We have riſen in arms in " order to re-conquer the provinces which have been " wrenched from us by violent and unjuſt means, to lay " a ſolid foundation for the independence of our nation, " and to bring us all back to the happy lap of liberty. " Riſe, therefore, and join your own energy to ours; " union alone will make us obtain the object of our " wiſhes. In conſequence of this, the ſupreme national " council thinks it further neceſſary to preſcribe to you " a few rules by which you are to regulate your conduct. " The council declares the act of Pruſſia, of having " taken poſſeſſion of our territories, an act of violent " uſurpation. It annihilates the reſolutions taken by " the late treaſonous aſſembly of Grodno, conſiders the " woywodrecks and diſtricts of the province of great Po- " land, as inſeparable parts of the republic, and its inha- " bitants as Poles and fellow citizens. The council fur- " ther declares, that as inhabitants of Poland, you are " obliged to acknowledge no other government than " that of Poland, and that you owe no obedience to the " command of Pruſſia. The council, therefore, orders " eſpecially all the inhabitants, under pain of confiſcation " of their property, not to quit the places of their reſi- " dence, and to fulfil the duties preſcribed to them by " the republic, their mother country; and declares thoſe " who preach up obedience to an oppreſſing and uſurping " power, traitors to their country."

Some time prior to this, General Paoli thus addreſſed the Corſicans. " Moſt dearly beloved countrymen, the " unabated confidence with which you have honoured " me, and the ſolicitude I have ever had to promote " your intereſts, and to ſecure your liberty, preſcribe to " me the obligation of ſtating to you the preſent ſitua- " tion of public affairs. Rouſed by the endleſs ſucceſ-

" ſion

" ſion of deſtruction and ruin, which characteriſes the
" the conduct of thoſe perſons who exerciſe the powers
" of government in France, and by the deſtruction of
" all religion, and of every form of worſhip, enforced
" and proclaimed among the people with unexampled
" impiety, every Corſican muſt feel the neceſſity of ſepa-
" rating from the French, and of guarding againſt the
" poiſonous influence of their errors. The acts of hoſtili-
" ty committed by the French and thoſe Corſican trai-
" tors, who had taken refuge in the garriſons of Calvi,
" St. Fiorenzo, and Baſtia, compelled us to repel them
" by force of arms. I have ſeen with infinite ſatisfaction,
" during the courſe of a whole year, that of your anci-
" ent bravery and attachment to your country were not
" in the leaſt diminiſhed. In various encounters the
" enemy have been defeated, although numerous, and ſup-
" ported by artillery. You have treated the priſoners
" taken in the heat of battle, with generoſity, whilſt the
" enemy have in cold blood, maſſacred our priſoners,
" who were ſo unfortunate as to fall into their hands.
" In all theſe agitations we have kept ourſelves united
" and exempt from the horrors of licentiouſneſs and
" anarchy; a happy preſage of your future fate, and an
" irrefragable proof, that you are deſerving of true li-
" berty, and that you will know how to preſerve it un-
" ſullied by licentiouſneſs and diſſentions. In ſuch a ſtate
" of things, a becoming diffidence made me, nevertheleſs,
" apprehend that the enemy would encreaſe in force, and
" attempt to carry into execution the deſtructive plans
" they had formed againſt you: under theſe circumſtan-
" ces, I felt the neceſſity of foreign aſſiſtance, and, in
" conformity to your general wiſhes, and to the public
" opinion, and univerſal expectation, I had recourſe to
" the king, and to the generous and powerful nation,
" which had, on other occaſions, protected the remains
" of our liberty: a meaſure dictated by the public ſafety,
" and which I took only when every concilatory offer
" had been obſtinately rejected, and every hope of ob-
" taining moderation or juſtice from the French conven-
" tion was extinct."

" His Britannic majeſty's arms have made their ap-
" pearance in your ſupport: his ſhips and troops are em-
" ployed with you to drive from our country the com-
" mon enemy, and the blood of Britons and Corſicans
" is conjointly ſhed for the liberty of this iſland. Our
" enter-

" enterprize has already been crowned with happy
" events, and draws near to a happy completion. This
" pleaſing aſpect of affairs has determined me to turn
" my thoughts to the moſt efficacious means of eſtabliſh-
" ing a permanent freedom, and of ſecuring our iſland
" from various events, which, till this moment, have
" kept us in agitation, the protection of the king of
" Great Britain, and a political union with the Britiſh
" nation, of which the proſperity and power, uninter-
" rupted for ages, are to the univerſe proofs of the ex-
" lency of its government, have appeared to me to ac-
" cord with the happineſs and ſafety of Corſica. The
" univerſal opinion on this head, evinced by the unre-
" ſerved inclination you have already ſhown, and
" ſtrengthened by your gratitude for benefits received,
" appear fortunately to concur with mine. I have there-
" fore made the proper overtures to his majeſty the king
" of Great Britain, with a view to eſtabliſh this deſi-
" rable union. With a ſatisfaction never to be eraſed
" from my mind, I now behold our wiſhes anticipated,
" and our hopes realized: the memorial which has been
" tranſmitted to me by their excellencies the admiral com-
" manding the fleet, and miniſter plenipotentiary of his
" majeſty, affords us the opportunity of eſtabliſhing this
" union in the manner beſt adapted to the benefit of both
" nations, and to the honour of his majeſty. I cannot
" better make known to you their excellencies ſenti-
" ments, than by a faithful tranſlation of their memorial.
" The nature of the preſent addreſs, does not permit
" me to enlarge upon the benefits of this union, which
" tends to conciliate the moſt extenſive political and ci-
" vil liberty, with perſonal ſecurity. You are convinc-
" ed of theſe truths, and will regulate your conduct ac-
" cordingly. I nevertheleſs avail myſelf of this oppor-
" tunity to declare, that in taking the Engliſh conſtitu-
" tion for your model, you will proceed upon the moſt
" ſolid principles that philoſophy, policy, and experi-
" ence, have ever been known to combine for the hap-
" pineſs of a great people, reſerving to yourſelves the
" power of adapting them to your own peculiar ſitua-
" tion, cuſtoms, and religion, without being expoſed
" hereafter, to the venality of a traitor, or to the ambi-
" tion of a powerful uſurper. A matter of ſuch import-
" ance ought, nevertheleſs, to be diſcuſſed and agreed to
" by you, in a general aſſembly, at which I entreat

" you to aſſiſt by your deputies, on Sunday the 8th of " the enſuing month of June, in the city of Corté. " The proviſional government will then ſuggeſt to you " the form and mode of the elections. With reſpect to my- " ſelf, and my dearly beloved countrymen, after having " devoted every moment of my life to your happineſs, " I ſhall eſteem myſelf the happieſt of mankind, if, " through the means I have derived from your confi- " dence, I can obtain for our country, the opportunity " of forming a free and laſting government, and of pre- " ſerving to Corſica its name, its unity, and its independ- " ence, whilſt the names of the heroes who have ſpilt " their blood in its ſupport and defence, will be, for fu- " ture generations, objects of noble emulation and grate- " ful remembrance."

The general aſſembly of the Corſicans having preſcribed the form of government they choſe to adopt, and the principles on which it was to be eſtabliſhed, and all the members having individually ſigned the conſtitutional act, it was propoſed to preſent it to his excellency ſir Gilbert Elliot, in his Britannic majeſty's name. The aſſembly having adopted this propoſition, decreed, " That " the ſaid propoſition ſhall be made by a deputation of " twelve members, who were choſen and commiſſioned " for this purpoſe." After which the deputation having executed the commiſſion aſſigned to them, re-entered the hall, together with ſir Gilbert Elliot. The members of the aſſembly ſtood up, during which he approached the preſident, and pronounced the following acceptation: " I, the underſigned baronet, member of the " parliament of Great Britain, member of the privy " council, and commiſſary plenipotentiary of his Bri- " tannic majeſty, having full power, and being ſpecially " authoriſed for this purpoſe, do accept in name of " his majeſty George the Third, king of Great Bri- " tain, the crown and ſovereignty of Corſica, according " to the conſtitution and fundamental laws, contained in " the act of a general aſſembly, held at Corté, and de- " finitively ſettled this ſame day, the 19th of June, and " as ſuch offered to his majeſty; and, in his majeſty's " name I ſwear to maintain the liberty of the Corſican " nation, according to the conſtitution, and to the laws.

" GILBERT ELLIOT."

This acceptation and oath being read, Sir Gilbert Elliot propoſed to the preſident and to the aſſembly the conſtitutional oath, and this was taken in the following words;

words: " I ſwear for myſelf, and in the name of the " Corſican nation, which I repreſent, to acknowledge " for my ſovereign and king, his majeſty George the " Third, the king of Great Britain, to yield him faithful " obedience, according to the conſtitution and the laws of " Corſica; and to maintain the ſaid conſtitution and " laws."

Sir Gilbert Elliot then roſe, and made the following ſpeech: " Gentlemen, in availing myſelf, for the firſt " time, in the midſt of the Corſican nation, of the pri- " vilege of calling you brothers and fellow-citizens, a re- " flection which will naturally occur to every one, ex- " cites in me the moſt heart-felt ſatisfaction, indepen- " dent of the reciprocal political advantages which we " may derive from ſo cloſe a connection; I ſee, on the " preſent occaſion, every thing that can render it more " precious and more eſtimable by the ſentiments of con- " fidence and of affection, the firſt and pure principles " of our union, which they will forever continue to cement " and conſolidate. This remarkable truth, which it is " impoſſible to overlook, cannot be mentioned without " a ſtrong emotion of ſenſibility and joy. Our two na- " tions have, for a long period, been diſtinguiſhed by a " reciprocal and remarkable eſteem. Without antici- " pating the happy end to which this inſtinctive partia- " lity, this ſympathetic attraction, may ſome day lead " us, we have given to each other inſtances of confidence " on every occaſion, yet no relation has ſubſiſted be- " tween us, except thoſe of reciprocal and voluntary " good offices. Our minds have been prepared by pro- " vidence for the fate which awaited us, and the divine " goodneſs, intending our union, has ordained that it " ſhould be anticipated and brought about (if I may ſo " expreſs myſelf) by a ſimilarity of character, and by a " conformity of views and principle, and, above all, by " a pleaſing exchange of friendly ſervices. This ſacred " compact, which I received from your hands, is not a " cold and intereſted agreement between two parties " who meet by accident, and form a contract founded " on the impulſe of the moment, or on a ſelfiſh and tem- " porary policy. No, the event of this happy day, is " only the completion of wiſhes we previouſly formed; " to-day our hands are joined, but our hearts have long " been united. However ſeducing this proſpect of our " happineſs may appear, I truſt (and it is important for

" us to know it, as we aſſuredly do) that it does not de-
" pend on ſentiment alone; but that it reſts on the ſolid
" baſis of the true intereſts, and permanent felicity of
" the two nations.

" I will not mention the intereſts of Great Britain
" on this occaſion; not that they are of little conſe-
" quence, but being of a nature purely political, the
" ſubject would be too cold, too dry, for this import-
" ant day; beſides, it is not neceſſary on this occaſion
" to appreciate them in detail. I ſhall confine myſelf to
" this remark, that every poſſible advantage which Great
" Britain could have in view from her union with Cor-
" ſica, is eſſentially attached to your political and abſo-
" lute independence of every European power, and that
" theſe advantages are not only compatible with your in-
" tereſts, but cannot for the moſt part exiſt, and ſtill
" leſs flouriſh, but in proportion to your proſperity. On
" your part, what is neceſſary to render you a happy
" people? I will tell you in two words,—*Liberty at home,*
" *and Security abroad.*

" Your liberty will not be expoſed to any encroach-
" ments from a monarch, who, by his own experience,
" and the example of his anceſtors, for ſeveral genera-
" tions, is perſuaded that the liberty and the proſperity
" of his people, is the only foundation of the power,
" the glory, and the ſplendor of the throne:—A king
" who has ever governed according to the laws, and
" whoſe ſceptre is at once ſtrengthened by the privi-
" leges, and embelliſhed by the happineſs of his ſubjects.
" I here might expatiate on the auguſt virtues of that
" monarch whom you have choſen for your own; but
" they are known to all his ſubjects; you will there-
" fore become acquainted with them by a happy and
" certain experience, and this teſtimony will be far more
" faithful than my weak voice. It would not, however,
" be right that your liberty ſhould depend ſolely on the
" perſonal virtues of the monarch. You have, there-
" fore, been careful to enſure it by the wiſe conſtitu-
" tion, and fundamental laws of our union, which, in
" my opinion, conſtitute ſo eſſential a part of the act
" you preſent to me this day, that I could not (without
" violating the confidence repoſed in me by my ſove-
" reign) agree to a ſyſtem which might have degenerat-
" ed into tyranny; a condition equally unfavourable to

" the

" the happineſs of him who exerciſes it, and of thoſe " who endure it.

" If his majeſty therefore accepts the crown which you " have a greed to offer him, it is becauſe he is determined to " protect, and never to enſlave thoſe from whom he re- " ceives it; and, above all, becauſe it is given, and not " ſeized upon by violence. For external ſecurity, you " wanted nothing but the conſtant and active alliance of " a maritime power: this act enſures it to you; and " whilſt you enjoy at home peace and tranquillity, which " the enemy will no longer be able to interrupt, you " will ſhare with us the treaſures of trade, and the ſove- " reignty of the ſeas. From this day, therefore, you " are quiet and free. To preſerve theſe bleſſings, you " have only to preſerve your ancient virtues, courage, " and the ſacred love of your country. Theſe are the " native virtues of your ſoil; they will be enriched " by thoſe which accompany our union, and which you " will derive from our induſtry, from our long experi- " ence (that true ſource of political wiſdom) and from " our love of liberty, at once enthuſiaſtic and enlighten- " ed. I ſpeak of that liberty which has for its object to " maintain your civil rights, and the happineſs of the " people; not to ſerve ambition and vice: that liberty, " which is inſeparable from religion, order, reſpect for " the laws, and a ſacred regard for property, the firſt " principles of every human ſociety; that liberty, which " abhors every kind of deſpotiſm, and eſpecially that " moſt terrible of all deſpotiſm, which ariſes from the " unreſtrained violence of the human paſſions.

" Such are the virtues which belong both to you and to " us; on their happy mixture and influence on each " other depends the proſperity of Corſica; immediate " liberty, and a progreſſive and encreaſing proſperity. " Such is the text; to which I hope and venture to pre- " dict, that our behaviour to each other, and our " common deſtinies will always prove a faithful and ſa- " tisfactory illuſtration."

CHAP. XXV.

State of Europe at this Period.

PHILOSOPHERS predicted that the progreſs of reaſon would finally baniſh war from the face of the earth; and they expreſſed the fond opinion, that never more would war be attended with ſuch barbarities as had diſgraced former periods. The amiable Doctor Price and other men of ſpeculation, made no ſcruple to affirm that the *Millennium* was juſt on the eve of commencement, if, indeed, it had not already commenced *. Never was there ſo bloody a war as the preſent. In ancient times, and in the middle age, a few battles, and ſometimes one, decided the conteſt. In later periods, when the operations of the war, by the progreſs of wealth and of knowledge, became more complicated, the leaders of oppoſite armies avoided action when they could not fight with advantage, protracted the war by various ſtratagems, and throughout the whole, mixed, and, in ſome meaſure, dignified hoſtilities by that gallantry which was conſidered as the greateſt glory of a ſoldier. In the character of the preſent war all this is reverſed. The Netherlands, ſince the very impolitic diſmantlements of the emperor Joſeph, are unprovided with ſtrong places, either by nature or art. Hence the operations of the war, in this quarter, conſiſt chiefly, nay almoſt entirely, in battles; not as in countries ſtrong by nature, or defended by works of art, which leave room for contrivance, and conſequently delay. The Sambre, eaſily croſſed, and recroſſed, is tinged almoſt daily with the blood of the ſlain.

The plan of the preſent campaign, laid down, as it is ſaid, by that accompliſhed officer, the Auſtrian Colonel Mack, was, to divide the confederate force into three parts: with one to beſiege Maubeuge, with another Liſle; and with a third to puſh on to Paris. The neceſſity of defending Flanders completely ſubverted this plan of operation; ſo that the Allies were at a loſs how to act. While the French even maintain their ground, they

* It was in alluſion to this that the Doctor, in one of the laſt diſcourſes, if not the laſt that he preached, ſaid, "Lord, now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in peace, for mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation."

clearly

clearly gain advantage. For, while the ſeeds of diſunion grow up among the allies *, the very lapſe of time confirms the authority of the French government.

It may, perhaps, be aſſumed as a maxim in politics, that there are ſome empires ſo powerful as not to be ſubverted by any combination againſt them. If it were poſſible, indeed, to unite againſt one, all other governments on the face of the earth, and to give a firm, ſteady, and conſtant direction to their combined force, it would be altogether irreſiſtible. But we are to take into our eſtimate the inconſtancy of confederacies, which contain in their nature a principle of diſſolution. Mutual jealouſies ariſe from diverſities of intereſts; different objects are purſued; the movements of the allies become not only deſultory, but one movement counteracts another. Diſguſt ſucceeds, and deſpair of ſucceſs; while the diſgrace of diſappointment and defeat is divided, and, in ſome meaſure, evaded, by mutual complaint and recrimination. Dumouriez, than whom (whatever may be thought of his moral character and political ſincerity) there never was a better judge of human affairs, declares it as his opinion, that if any one of the great powers now confederated againſt the French republic had cordially and opportunely ſuccoured the royal cauſe alone, and without dependence on any other, the affair would long ſince have been determined †. Taking into account, therefore, the advantages of a compact, through extenſive dominion, defended by natural and artificial barriers, and peopled by a numerous and warlike nation, generally united, and ardent in the common cauſe, on the one hand; and the difficulty and delay of tranſporting troops and ſtores from great diſtances, with the natural inconſtancy of confederacies on the other;—we may conclude that there are nations conquerable, and nations unconquerable. All Europe found it impoſſible to conquer the Saracens, and regain the Holy Land, for any conſiderable time. It is queſtionable, at this period, whether the project of ſubduing the French, be not equally hopeleſs. At the commencement of hoſtilities,

* Not to ſpecify all the cauſes of diſunion, we may obſerve, in general, that among the confederates ſome are military, and think it their intereſt to indulge in feudal ambition, and that others are commercial. A ſimilar diſtinction takes place among individuals of the ſame nation.

† Dumourier's Memoirs.

indeed, it was not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that a large majority of men of property, and the moſt reſpectable perſons in France, were ready to join the royal ſtandard; and ſo they probably would, could that ſtandard have been advanced by the allies into the interior of the country, and at the ſame time been accompanied by a manifeſto favourable to the happineſs of the people.

But whatever the iſſue of the war was to be, or likely to be, war, on the part of Great Britain, it is contended, was unavoidable. The French threatened to blow up our conſtitution by trains of metaphyſical politics, ſet fire to by political emiſſaries. They declared open war againſt us, they burſt the barrier, and attacked our allies. The French again, in oppoſition to all this contend, that we refuſed to liſten to earneſt overtures for peace, propoſed by the war miniſter Le Brun, and conveyed by Chauvelin and Maret, who after the death of Louis, were haughtily diſmiſſed from London; and they add, that the Engliſh violated the treaty of commerce. The truth is, both parties were the aggreſſors. It would not be eaſy to determine who firſt ſhewed ſymptoms of hoſtility. Hoſtile preparation was neceſſary on both ſides. But why did not Britain, with arms in her hands, attempt to ſecure the independence of Holland and the Netherlands by negociation? For this there was a fit criſis when the Duke of Brunſwick was on his march to Paris.—But with whom were we to negociate? With thoſe who at the moment had the power to make war. The mind and heart of man, it is true, revolted againſt negociation with ſuch ſanguinary characters; yet, notwithſtanding this natural abhorrence, negociation might have been political wiſdom. Vice and horror are permitted in this probationary ſtate, by Divine Providence. It is within the circle of their own dominion alone, that it is the duty of kings and rulers of all kinds to act. The formation of governments, and the control of all the different governments upon earth, is the work of God. And this is a doctrine that ought not to be controverted even by thoſe, who maintain royal rights to be hereditary and indefeaſible. The powers that be are ordained of God; but the powers thus ordained are not indefinite. Who without horror can think of the inhumanities practiſed every day by the Deys of Barbary, the Beys of Egypt, the Princes of Africa, and the Chiefs

that

that now diſtract Perſia? Yet, who thinks of reforming thoſe wretches by fire and ſword?

In the middle of the fourteenth century, Italy, having no ſteady government, was waſted by bands of robbers. It was particularly ravaged by a military leader of the name of Warner, who wore on a tunic embroidered with ſilver, words defying the Deity, and inſpiring horror *. The French, like general Warner, are enemies of God, of religion, and of humanity: they ſeem, indeed, fairly to have thrown down the gauntlet to the Almighty. Atheiſts may triumph in the temporary triumphs of this crew; but ſound philoſophy looks to the natural iſſue of things, and ſound theology to the judicial. Though hand ſhould join in hand, yet ſhall not vice paſs unpuniſhed.

The ſovereign of Pruſſia was the firſt to take alarm at French principles, and the firſt to ſecede from the war. The war was commenced, on his part, under a perſuaſion, that the conqueſt of France might be accompliſhed, without difficulty. All thoſe princes, nobles, prieſts, and others, who fled from France, as well previous, as ſubſequent to the abolition of royalty, gave the moſt ſolemn aſſurances to the king of Pruſſia, that upon the appearance of a Pruſſian army on the frontiers of France, all the French towns would open their gates to them; and, that all the inhabitants would inſtantly join the Pruſſians againſt the inſurgents of France.

There is nothing which an impartial perſon ſhould more guard againſt than the repreſentations of political fugitives. It was by theſe, that England was duped and deceived, in the beginning, and during the progreſs of the American war. England found, when it was too late, that ſhe had no friends in America. And every day's experience ſeems to convince us, that royalty has not ſo many friends in France, as might at firſt have been reaſonably preſumed. After the experience of two campaigns, the king of Pruſſia found that he had been deceived by the French emigrants; and therefore, at the end of laſt campaign, he withdrew from the confederacy with 600,000l. that Great Britain had remitted for the ſervice of the war. He had the juſtice, however, to carry it to an old account of thirty years ſtanding between Frederic the Great and George II. of England.

* Engliſh Review, for July 1794.

He

He ſaw that his intereſt was engaged more in the affairs of Poland, than in thoſe of France. From Poland he had obtained a conſiderable territory with the revenues of the cities of Thorn and Dantzic, and therefore he had a capital intereſt in preſerving to himſelf theſe important advantages. Having diſcovered that in the French war he had been moſt egregiouſly duped, and had expended large ſums of money, he looked out for an indemnification. From the emperor he could expect no aſſiſtance of a pecuniary nature, becauſe that prince he knew was too much diſtreſſed to afford him any. From Holland it was no leſs impracticable, and from Spain and Sardinia it was totally impoſſible. The coffers of England alone furniſhed him with the hope of obtaining any thing. The moment he threatened to abandon the alliance againſt France, that is the moment he diſtinctly ſaw this alliance, and real war in conſequence of it could yield him no ſolid advantage whatever, he gave notice of his intended ſeceſſion. This breach of faith alarmed the court of England ſo exceedingly, that a negociation was immediately entered into, in order to induce him to continue the war againſt France. Notwithſtanding the terms of the treaty are highly advantageous to him, he does not appear to be hearty in the cauſe. He is more attentive to the affairs of Poland, than to the affairs of France, becauſe he has a more immediate, and, as he conceives a more permanent, intereſt in them.

The Auſtrians, perhaps, have truſted two much to the Pruſſians, and the Pruſſians to the Auſtrians, and both to Great Britain. As ſoon as the king of Pruſſia had concluded the treaty of ſubſidy he was to receive from Great Britain, he went to Poland. And as ſoon as the emperor had obtained permiſſion to negociate a loan in London, he left his army in the Netherlands, and returned to Vienna. The union of the houſes of Brandenburgh and Auſtria, ſeems not only unnatural but unprincipled. It is not the intereſt of either, to permit the other to increaſe her wealth and ſtrength; therefore we may ſay, that this is an union which can never laſt. Auſtria is naturally jealous of Pruſſia. And the preſent king of Pruſſia has ſhewn, that he has as much ambition to increaſe his dominions, as the late king had: conſequently, Auſtria will find it neceſſary to keep a watchful eye over him, leſt he ſhould become too powerful.

The

The imperior is ſaid to have already diſcovered ſome ſymptoms of a jealouſly of this kind.

Of all the electors of the German-empire, the elector of Hanover ſeems to have been the moſt forward in taking up the royal cauſe againſt France, with zeal and conſiſtency. He indeed ſeems to have ſpared no pains, nor expence, nor applications, to increaſe the number and vigour of the enemies againſt the governors of that kingdom. Of the reſt of the empire it is not neceſſary to ſay any thing. The electors of Brandenburg and Bohemia are included under the titles of Pruſſia and Auſtria. And as to the others they ſeem to be very lukewarm in the buſineſs. Perhaps it is not clear to them, that they have any intereſt in the government of France.

The Stadtholder of Holland is accuſed by ſome of ſacrificing the intereſts of the republic to his own views, or rather the views of other powers with whom his family is connected; whilſt others contend that his power is not ſufficient to execute all the good purpoſes he wiſhes to obtain. The former were friends to the revolution of America, and are now to that of France. The latter are the contrary. Thus the conſtitution of this republic now preponderates between two parties, and ultimately depends upon one alone. The inhabitants of the United Provinces have been engaged in the war, more by the politics and influence of the courts of London and Berlin, than by the conviction of any intereſt or advantage being to be obtained by the meaſure. One party ſees nothing but a waſte of blood and treaſure. The other party ſees the danger of the Houſe of Orange, if French principles prevail. The firſt are not convinced of the ſtate neceſſity of dictating to France, the kind and form of government which ſhall be eſtabliſhed in that country. The latter, being devoted to the commands of the two royal courts in alliance with the Stadtholder, are anxious to preſerve the power of the Stadtholder. This diviſion has undoubtedly been the cauſe that ſuch ſmall exertions have been made by the Dutch in ſupport of the war.

The empreſs of Ruſſia, although a member of the league of ſovereigns formed againſt France, has not hitherto ſent a regiment or a ſhip to that ſervice. Catherine has been ſolely occupied in ſeizing upon a large part of Poland, and is now wholly attentive upon maintaining that ſeizure. For this, the occupation of the other ſovereigns in the

French

French war, furniſhes her with an opportunity; otherwiſe it would never be believed that all Europe could be indifferent to the aggrandiſement of a power, already ſufficiently dangerous and alarming to the independency of them all. The Empreſs doubtleſs feels the neceſſity of co-operation from Pruſſia and Auſtria on the ſide of Poland. To make ſure of her ſpoil there is her firſt object. And the pretext of forming a ſtronger barrier againſt the French in the Scheldt and the Rhine, than could be oppoſed to them on the frontiers of France, or French Flanders, is certainly not unplauſible. Perhaps too, ſhe has it farther in view, by a ceſſion of the Low Countries to France, to raiſe up ſo extenſive, yet compacted an empire in the weſt of Europe, as ſhall overawe all its neighbours, particularly the Britiſh; while ſhe does what ſhe pleaſes in the Eaſt. Auſtria, too, and Pruſſia, nearer to France than Ruſſia, would be more affected and conſtrained by its preponderating greatneſs. That the French empire ſhould be bounded only by the Rhine on the eaſt, as by the ocean, the Alps, and the Pyrenees on other ſides, according to the ambitious policy inſtilled into Lewis XIV. by Cardinal Mazarine, may ſuit the views of the Empreſs, though ſhe would, no doubt, be alarmed, ſhould they paſs the Rhine, and advance farther eaſtward.

"The Regent of Sweden has preſerved a ſtrict neutrality, and as it would appear, is reſolved to do ſo. I will not," ſays he, "betray a minor king into meaſures, which will infallibly reduce the finances, and diminiſh the ſtrength of his finances. I hold the country in truſt, and I will diſcharge my duty with fidelity." The prince of Denmark, who, during the life of his father, may be ſaid to be regent, in imitation of the regent of Sweden, has declined engaging in a war, which even if ſucceſsful, could not yield any advantage to Denmark; but, on the contrary, might poſſibly increaſe the inſolence of ſome inſolent neighbour *. Theſe two neutral powers are at preſent united; which is their beſt and trueſt intereſt. The court of Peterſburgh is hoſtile to this union, becauſe ſhe ſees in it the probability of a check to her ambitious views. They have indeed juſt cauſe to become alarmed by her gigantic ſtrides of military proweſs, and increaſe of power. If the other

* Political ſtate of Europe.

ſtates

ſtates of Europe could ſee any thing beſides the condition of France, they muſt, like Sweden and Denmark, feel as deep an intereſt in the conduct and politics of Peterſburgh, as in thoſe of Paris.

Notwithſtanding the immenſe riches of the Spaniſh monarch, his power in Europe is but weak; and though he joined heartily in the confederacy againſt France, he has been of very little ſervice to the royal cauſe. The French have penetrated through the Pyrenees in ſeveral places, and Spain lies open to their incurſions. Thus, ſo far from the king of Spain's affording any aſſiſtance to the confederacy, he will be fully employed in taking care of himſelf.—The king of Sardinia, though ſubſidized by England, has made a very poor figure in the war. He ſeems either to have no inclination, or to be incapable of making any exertions. Part of his dominions have for ſome time been defended by Auſtrian troops; and more than one conſpiracy againſt him has already been diſcovered at Turin.

Poland is ſtill fated to be the ſcene of war, without one ſingle ally to compaſſionate her expiring liberties, or perhaps her exiſtence. The potentates of the weſt and ſouth of Europe, are ſo deeply engaged in the cruſade againſt France, that they totally diſregard the equilibrium of power, which was once thought ſo eſſential, that rivers of blood have flowed to maintain it; and Poland may be ſeized with impunity, and divided at pleaſure, by the Pruſſians and Ruſſians. The Poles are endeavouring to prevent this; but the armies of their enemies are ſo numerous, that ultimate ſucceſs is ſcarcely to be expected. There ſeems to be a probability that the Emperor will not be an indifferent ſpectator of this war; but whether he means to ſeize upon the remainder of Poland, Pruſſia and Ruſſia have not taken; or whether he will aſſiſt the Poles againſt thoſe powers, time has not yet ſufficiently developed. If ever there was a people worthy of liberty, it is the poles; if ever a prince fitted to take the lead in eſtabliſhing a government "regularly free *," it is the preſent king of Poland. It is doubtleſs unfortunate for the cauſe of ſovereigns, that the ſame powers which are hoſtile to France, are alſo hoſtile to Poland. It is confidently aſſerted that emiſſaries, certain Italians, have been ſent from the court of Berlin, to form Jacobin clubs in Poland, that the proceedings of thoſe fanatics, might

* Thomſon's Seaſons.

fur-

furniſh pretexts for the introduction of new armies, and for farther oppreſſions. The ſame arts from the ſame quarter, were practiſed, it has been ſaid, in Holland.

What the Turkiſh ambaſſador is now doing in London, has often been matter of conjecture. Has the court of Conſtantinople, political invention and intrigue enough to attempt the excitement of a league of the Perſians, Poles, Danes, Swedes, and Britons, againſt the power and artifices of the Czarina? Of ſuch a confederation, in the opinion of many, ſhe would not be an unnatural object. The Turkiſh empire might make ample compenſation to Great Britain for her protection by ſea, againſt the Ruſſians, without injury, nay, with advantage to itſelf. The poſſeſſion of the iſland of Candia or Cyprus by the Engliſh, a paſſage over land, and a fortreſs or two at the Iſthmus of Suez, all of them forming, together, a chain of communication between Britain and her Aſiatic ſettlements, would redound equally to the ſecurity and to the advantage of both the Turkiſh and the Britiſh empires. There was a juncture when Great Britain might have effectually protected and gained the friendſhip of both the Poles and the Turks. But a Ruſſian war, it was foreſeen, or rather felt, would be unpopular. The ultimate object of the great military force, which the Empreſs of Ruſſia is raiſing, as politicians generally ſuppoſe, is the reduction of Conſtantinople. The preſent conjuncture of affairs, encourages this enterprize. To the French Catharine may ſay, "If ye ſtir in behalf of "the Turks, I will join the confederates:" to the confederates, "If ye move I will join the French." Thus ſhe holds the balance of power; and having contributed by her fair promiſes to embroil the weſt of Europe, ſhe does in the eaſt what ſhe pleaſes.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Embaſſy to China—Evacuation of Oſtend—The Duke of York's army march to Gramont—Oudenarde and Mons taken by the French—Earl of Moira's army—Tournay and Ghent evacuated—Engagement at Waterloo—Sluys ſummoned by the French—Britiſh army—New regulations propoſed by Barrere—Succeſſes of the French announced.

DURING the month of June, the following intelligence was received reſpecting the Chineſe embaſſy.

After paſſing the banks of Sunda, they made ſome unſucceſsful attempts to explore the iſlands of Banka, and the ſtraits of Malacca. They ſtopped at Pulo Condore, and from thence proceeded to Turon Bay, in Cochin-China, where they found a young prince eſtabliſhed upon the throne, after a civil war of twenty years continuance, which ended in a revolution; for ſuch events it would appear, are not peculiar to the weſtern world. A conſiderable number of miſſionaries had once been in Cochin-China, but they were all gone, having followed the fates of the royal line expelled by this revolution, and which ſtill retained poſſeſſion of a ſmall corner of the kingdom. In their voyage they viſited Macao and Chuſan, the eaſter-moſt extremity of China; and at laſt reached the mouth of the river Tienſin, in the bottom of Ptcheli Gulph, on the 26th of July 1793, where they found the water ſo ſhallow, though they had no ſight of land, that they caſt anchor in ſix fathoms water. From hence they diſpatched a brig to announce their arrival, to requeſt that veſſels might be ſent to receive the preſents intended for the emperor, as the Engliſh veſſels could proceed no farther for want of water; and alſo to ſolicit a ſupply of freſh proviſions. On the firſt of Auguſt, a number of ſmall veſſels arrived from the ſhore, having on board ſome principal mandarines, with a moſt magnificent ſupply of every kind of proviſions. Twenty bullocks, upwards of one hundred ſheep, as many hogs, a great number of fowls of various kinds, an immenſe quantity of the richeſt and fineſt fruits of the country; ſeveral cheſts of tea, ſugar, china, &c. &c. and a large ſupply of flour, millet, bread, rice, and other articles in great profuſion.

The

The different preſents being put on board the Chineſe junks, Lord M'Cartney on the 5th, went in the Clarence Brig to Tacao, a few miles up the river, where the goods were obliged to be transferred to ſtill ſmaller veſſels, to convey them to Tong-Chu, about ten miles from Pekin.

The embaſſy left Tacao, where every accommodation was afforded them, on the 8th of Auguſt, and arrived at Tienſin on the 11th, where they were ſplendidly entertained on ſhore amidſt thouſands of people. After the entertainment, they got a preſent of victuals in name of a dinner, ſufficient to laſt the whole of them for a week. Each officer got, beſides, two pieces of ſilk; and even the ſoldiers, mechanics, &c. had a piece of ſilk and cotton.

Tienſin is ſituated at the confluence of three large rivers, and is a place of large and extenſive commerce. Its population is not to be counted by thouſands but by *millions*. The burying ground only, an immenſe plain, extends farther than the eye can reach, and appears only bounded by the horizon.

They next went to Tong-chu, to which place they were conveyed by water, in veſſels dragged by men. They reached it on the 16th. Here the preſents and baggage were landed, and depoſited in houſes erected to receive them.

On the 21ſt, the ambaſſador and his ſuite ſet out for Pekin. Lord M'Cartney, and Sir George Staunton, were conveyed in ſedan chairs, the officers and other gentlemen, in two-wheeled carriages, and the reſt in a kind of covered waggons. They reached Pekin about nine o'clock that morning. The ſtreets are not paved, The longeſt are about *ſix miles*, croſſing each other at right angles, as in Philadelphia, from 90, to 130 feet in breadth. The houſes are only one ſtory high. The walls of the city are of an immenſe height, and the principal ſtreets terminate at the gates, which are very magnificent. Sumptuous apartments were provided for the ſuite, and every neceſſary of life was furniſhed to them without purchaſe.

They remained here till the beginning of September, when Lord M'Cartney and ſuite ſet out for Gehol, the country reſidence of the Emperor. His Lordſhip went in an Engliſh coach, the other gentlemen on horſeback, and the ſoldiers and others in waggons; ſo that with

the baggage train, the whole cavalcade was of very great length.

Gehol is about 150 Engliſh miles from Pekin. They were a week in going thither. On the fourth day of their journey, they reached the famous wall which forms one of the barriers of this empire, their way lying through a gate called Canpe-Rieu. There are only four ſuch paſſes in China. This wall was built upwards of 200 years before Chriſt, from which time, for 1400, or 1500 years, it ſerved as a complete defence againſt every enemy; but at the end of that period, Gengis Khan invaded the empire, and got poſſeſſion of the throne. It is about 26 feet high, and about 15 thick at the top, which is well paved, and has a parapet on each ſide: the baſe is about twenty feet thick. At every diſtance of about 90 or 100 yards, there is a tower upon it, above 15 feet each in height, and forty-five in length. In ſeveral places, there are other walls within the main one, which take in a ſweep of ſeveral miles, and then connect again with it, ſo that ſhould the outer one be forced, the inner remains as a defence; and theſe again are covered by other walls within them; but this is only at the four principal paſſes; the ground over which this immenſe fabric is carried, is in ſome places very rugged and uneven, more ſo than the moſt mountainous parts of Cumberland. This wall is more than 2000 miles in length, without allowing for the bendings over mountains and through valleys. The towers are about 45,000 in number.

When they reached Gehol, ſome miſunderſtanding reſpecting the mode of preſentation, prevented the ceremony from taking place, till the 14th. Lord M'Cartney inſiſted, that the ceremonies required to be performed by him before the Emperor, ſhould be performed by a Chineſe of equal rank, before the picture of his majeſty. One of the prime miniſters, of whom there are five in China, ſtiled Caldos, having committed ſome miſtake in reporting that Lord M'Cartney had agreed to comply with ceremonies to which he had not aſſented, was degraded ſome ſteps in his rank, and forced to wear in his headdreſs, a crow's tail, inſtead of a peacock's, which it ſeems anſwers to our ſtars, garters, ribbands, and other inſignia of nobility. Chinta-gin, one of theſe miniſters, on finding what hindered the buſineſs from going on, very

ſhrewdly remarked, that he thought it ſtrange that an ambaſſador, who had come ſuch a great diſtance profeſſedly to compliment the Emperor, ſhould commence his buſineſs, by contending about formalities. It was at laſt, however, ſettled that his lordſhip ſhould pay the ſame reſpect to the Emperor that he paid on approaching the king of England.

The ſuite were received in a large tent. The Emperor was carried thither in an open chair, borne by ſixteen men; as he paſſed to the tent, the Engliſh kneeled on one knee: every one of the Chineſe proſtrated themſelves on the ground. Being all arranged in, and round the tent, they had a ſumptuous repaſt, which was followed by muſic, tumbling, wreſtling, and other exerciſes. The Emperor paid great attention to Lord M'Cartney, and he and all the gentlemen had preſents of ſilk purſes, fans, &c. The entertainment being ended, the Emperor deſcended from the throne, and walked to his chair, and was carried away in the ſame manner in which he came. The crowd of mandarines, princes, and other people of rank, which attended this ceremony, was almoſt innumerable.

Next day the Emperor again ſaw Lord M'Cartney. He came in the ſame manner as on the preceding day. He told his lordſhip that he was going to a pagoda at ſome diſtance, but that he had given orders to his miniſters to attend upon his lordſhip, and ſhew him the palaces and gardens. When the Emperor was gone, the ſuite were conveyed to an iſland, in an extenſive ſheet of water, where they found a large building, in almoſt every apartment of which there was a kind of throne, and alſo a number of curioſities of Engliſh manufacture. On the left of each throne, was a large agate, of a batten form, depoſited there as an emblem of peace in the empire. From this they were conveyed by water, and afterwards ſhewn a number of other buildings, where they were entertained with fruits and ſweatmeats.

On the 17th, which was the Emperor's birth-day *, they viſited the palace before the morning dawn. They waited till day-light in a large apartment, after which Lord M'Cartney, and the high mandarines were admitted to an inner court; the officers of the ſuite were in the ſecond court, and the mandarines of inferior rank, in

* He is 83 years of age.

a third

a third court, on the outſide of the other two. The ſight of flags, banners, and embroidered ſilk floating in the air, was grand, beyond the power of language to deſcribe. The Emperor was not preſent. All the people kneeled, and *bowed nine times*, with as much ſolemnity as if they had been worſhiping a deity. This ceremony over, they were conveyed through other parks and lodges, with gardens laid out in much the ſame manner as thoſe in England. They were ſumptuouſly entertained, in one of theſe buildings, and afterwards carried through ſome magnificent pagodas or temples: one of them was larger than the buildings of Somerſet Houſe, but higher, and in the ſame ſquare form, open within the ſquare, in the centre of which was a building of conſiderable height, covered with ſolid gold. The inſide part of the ſquare is in the form of galleries, one over the other, in four rows, moſt ſplendidly decorated, and ſupported with pillars of gold. In ſome of the apartments, hundreds of prieſts were employed in ſinging. The images of deities in theſe buildings, are almoſt innumerable, and many of them of gigantic ſize, larger than Gog and Magog in Guildhall. They are, however, of the ſame materials, wood, richly gilt and ornamented, and numbers of them ſymbolical repreſentations. In many of the religious ceremonies there is a reſemblance of the Jewiſh rites; others are ſimilar to thoſe of the Romaniſts.

On the 18th, they were admitted to the Emperor's theatre. It is a ſquare, open at top. The ſtage extends along one ſide of the ſquare, and thoſe who are honoured with admiſſion to ſee the performances are placed under piazzas, on the other three ſides. In front of the ſtage, about fifty feet diſtant, is the throne from which the Emperor views the performance. The reſt of the area is ornamented with beautiful flower-pots. Lord M Cartney was led to the throne, and received from the Emperor's hand, a copy of verſes made by himſelf, for his Britannic majeſty, in a box of great value and antiquity, made of black wood, carved very neatly. The ambaſſador had alſo the honour to receive a copy of verſes for himſelf. Here the ſuite was heartily tired for ſeveral hours with a performance one word of which they could not underſtand, and which was accompanied with a confuſed noiſe of gongs and bells; after which, as was uſual every day, they received preſents of ſilks, fans, and china.

The two next days were employed in preparations for

their return to Pekin, where they arrived on the 26th. On their journey they were much ſurpriſed to find a very great number of men employed in levelling the road, for the accommodation of the Emperor, on his return from Gehol, which he was to quit in a few days, the whole road, a ſpace of 150 miles, was covered with men, about 60 feet aſunder, and a ciſtern of water for each man, for watering the road on the Emperor's approach, ſo that the number of men and of ciſterns exceeded 13,000. The road for the Emperor, is as ſmooth and level, as any walk in the *gardens at Kew*; no perſon is allowed to ride or travel upon it, and it is guarded night and day.

On the 30th the embaſſy ſet out for the palace of Yen-Ming-Yuen, whither all the preſents had been ſent, that the Emperor might ſee them together. They reſted that night at Hing-Min-Yuen, and ſet out next morning to a houſe about four miles diſtant, from whence they walked a little way and met the Emperor; who, learning from the principal mandarine, who attended the embaſſy, that Lord M'Cartney was indiſpoſed, deſired that his lordſhip might return to Pekin, for the ſake of better accommodation. They returned the ſame day, and indeed it would appear that the Chineſe by this time wiſhed their departure altogether; for Lord M'Cartney had an interview with the miniſters the ſame day, in the courſe of which they recommended to him, "to take the benefit of the good weather for his departure, as he would not travel comfortably, if he allowed the winter to overtake him: the more eſpecially as he was but poorly in health."

From this time none of the miſſionaries, of whom there was a number in the country, were allowed to go near our countrymen; and the attendant mandarines, under pretence of friendſhip, ſtrongly urged them to propoſe departing, as a change of treatment might not be found quite pleaſant. It ſhould be remarked, that by this time all the preſents had been delivered.

On the 3d of September, Lord M'Cartney preſented to the miniſters a number of propoſals and requiſitions, reſpecting the object of his miſſion. His lordſhip had intended ſtaying till March; but it was now thought adviſeable to take the hint that had been given. On the 4th, he requeſted permiſſion to depart: the Emperor's permiſſion was with him by next morning, and the ſecond day after was appointed for his departure. The

Chi-

Chineſe, however, were very conſiderate in one thing: the warning was ſhort; they therefore gave them a great number of men to aſſiſt in packing up; and they were ſo induſtrious, that every thing was in complete readineſs, by the time fixed. On the day of departure, the ambaſſador had an interview with the miniſter, and received an anſwer to the propoſitions he had made. *They were all refuſed*; and the embaſſy left Pekin, very much mortified at their want of ſucceſs; after which Lord M'Cartney and his ſuite returned to Canton, where they ſpent their Chriſtmas.

The failure in this buſineſs cannot be eaſily accounted for. Perhaps the mandarines who attended the embaſſy, were not addreſſed in the feeling manner they expected. Pretty things for the Emperor, were only ſhows to them, and they might wiſh for ſomething ſubſtantial for themſelves. It is, however, ſuppoſed that the want of ſucceſs, is chiefly to be attributed to ſome evil impreſſion made upon the Chineſe court, by ſome of the native princes of India, telling them to beware how they allowed the Engliſh to obtain a footing among them; and ſtrengthening their admonition by *falſely* ſtating, that the ſame people had firſt as friends, obtained a ſmall ſettlement in India, which they afterwards increaſed by repeated wars, driving many of the original owners from their dominions, and eſtabliſhing upon their ruin an immenſe empire for themſelves.

On the 29th of June, Colonel Vyſe embarked the 8th, 33d, and 44th regiments, and the reſt of the troops, artillery and ſtores, in order to evacuate Oſtend. As the laſt detachment of the 33d regiment was embarking, the French entered the town. Three columns of infantry, with two pieces of cannon, came in at the weſt gate, and immediately began to fire at the Britiſh tranſports, which the frigates, gun-boats, and cutters returned. General Van Damme took poſſeſſion of a houſe in the town, and, having collected the principal inhabitants who remained in it, deſired them to chooſe their repreſentatives. The people in other reſpects were allowed to remain unmoleſted.

The evacuation of Oſtend occaſioned great diſtreſs to many individuals, whilſt the public loſs was conſiderable. The Gatton Eaſt Indiaman ran aground in coming out, and unfortunately wind and tide were againſt getting her off. She had once been got off, but ground-

ed again: and there was no reſource left, but ſetting fire to her, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy. She was full of ordnance ſtores.

An attempt was made to inundate Oſtend; but it was fruſtrated from two cauſes: the firſt, becauſe the tide roſe not five feet, but only three in that part of the canal; the ſecond, becauſe the engineers now perceived, that this ſide of Oſtend, is a ground riſing a little *above the level of the marſhes* which ſurround it.

Barrere's report on the capture of Oſtend, is as follows: "Citizens, the Committee of Public Welfare can "hardly follow the rapid march of our triumphant ar- "mies. Victory has aſſumed the boldeſt flight of fame. "Our gallant troops, with whom triumphs are perma- "nent, have encreaſed the maritime force of the repub- "lic. Whilſt the armies of the Sambre and the Meuſe "were reconquering the department of Jemappe, the "left wing of the northern army took a great port. "Oſtend is in the poſſeſſion of the French. The port, "the greateſt part of the ſhipping, the artillery, ammu- "nition, and magazines, are in the hands of the repub- "licans. The French armies can ſcarcely overtake the "*Imperial eagle in his flight*; and all Belgium has neither "extent nor ſtrong holds enough to protect, or ra- "ther to hide the retreat of the allies. Citizens, "you know that Oſtend is no common conqueſt; *it is a "ſtrong place, and a famous port; it is an important point, "which cements the ſea with the land, increaſes the reſources "of our navy*, and ſtrengthens the defence of the conti- "nent. Oſtend is the covered way through which the "Engliſh conveyed their poiſons into France, their men "and horſes to the combined armies, and where they "heaped up proviſions and ammunition for their troops. "But all ſhall be expiated by its capture, and its maga- "zines and cannon, ſhall make good a part of the miſchief "they have done to France. *The ſea*, monopolized by "the Engliſh, will feel itſelf more free, ſince Oſtend is "in the hands of the French; and the firing of ſome of "their veſſels, and the taking of others detained in the "port by contrary winds, ſhall revenge us for the hor- "rors perpetrated at Toulon."

On the 3d of July, the Duke of York's army, ſtruck their tents, and marched from Renaix for Gramont, where they arrived at five in the evening. The ſick

were

were immediately ſent to Antwerp, which diffuſed a general joy through the army, as it was thence inferred, that they were all ſoon to follow; and that the only object in view was to cover Holland.

Oudenarde and Mons, about this time were taken by the French. The prince of Cobourg was encamped with his army, in front of Bruſſels, near the foreſt of Soignies, where he determined to remain, till the Duke's army made good their retreat, and then to fall back, and leave Bruſſels to the enemy. The Emperor, it was thought, would ſoon abandon the whole of Flanders, in conformity with the plan which he had formed ſome time ago.

Early in the morning of the 4th, the Duke of York's artillery began to retreat from Gramont. The line moved off about ſeven, with the four battalions of guards and infantry in front, the cavalry bringing up the rear. They arrived at the heights of Lombeke St. Catharine, about four o'clock. Lord Cornwallis accompanied them on horſeback, all the day, a circumſtance that gave much pleaſure to the army, who conſidered his preſence as being in itſelf a *tower of ſtrength!*

The Earl of Moira's army was now at Aloſt; but the two armies, it was believed, would not form a junction, unleſs in caſe of abſolute neceſſity, as many young officers in his army had high brevet rank on the continent of Europe, which would occaſion great jealouſy and animoſity, were the armies to do duty together.

After the capture of Mons, the republicans immediately repaired to Tournay, which they entered without firing a ſhot, the troops having evacuated that place on their approach. The republicans immediately after filed off to different quarters in Belgium. Meanwhile General Clairfayt left his poſition of Petteghem, to fall back to Ghent, which he evacuated on the 4th at ten o'clock in the morning. The French did not enter that place till twelve hours after, in which interval the populace committed the moſt ſcandalous exceſſes, and plundered and inſulted all thoſe peaceable citizens, who did not reliſh their principles and opinions.

With regard to the four above-mentioned fortreſſes, they were now inveſted with troops of the convention, in ſuch a manner as to cut off all communication with the allies. The allied armies made every where an en-

tire retreat. A camp was marked out near Louvain, at Montagne de Fer, to receive the grand Auſtrian army, and it was generally believed, that the army, in caſe of neceſſity, would fall back beyond the river Meuſe. The centre of the Auſtrian army, preſſed cloſe by the enemy, left its poſition of Jemappe, to retreat to the wood of Soignies.

On the morning of the 6th, the republicans attacked the allied troops in their new poſition at Waterloo; of which engagement the Prince of Orange tranſmitted the following account to the States General. "I haſten to communicate to your High Mightineſſes, that in conſequence "of an arrangement with the prince of Cobourg, and the "Duke of York, I marched early in the morning with "the combined army from Tubiſe, towards Waterloo, "in order to take the poſition hitherto occupied by the "prince of Cobourg, with a view to cover the city of "Bruſſels againſt an attack; the prince of Cobourg "having taken poſt at Chamont. After arriving at "Waterloo, we heard, on the ſide of Jemappe and "Witterſee, where ſome Imperial troops were ſtationed, "a ſtrong cannonading, which induced me immediately to proceed thither. I found that the enemy, with "a very ſuperior force, and provided with an immenſe "artillery, had repulſed the advanced poſts, by a movement, which ſhewed their intention to attack at the "ſame time both our right and left. However, after "having taken a good poſition with our troops, who "were already much fatigued with the march, and having mounted ſome batteries, the enemy were obliged to "abandon their deſign. The cannonade laſted on both "ſides till late in the evening, after which the enemy "retreated. I cannot yet aſcertain our loſs, though inconſiderable; I muſt, however, regret, that in conſequence of the dragoons of Byland being engaged "with the enemy, their brave colonel commandant, the "prince of Heſſe Philipſthal, after having received ſeveral wounds, was apparently killed, or fell into the "hands of the enemy. Major de Grancy, Captain "Marcly, and the Aide major, are likewiſe ſlightly "wounded."

The ſame morning the French made an attack upon the out-poſts at Aloſt; the piquets being driven in, they penetrated into the town, but, as ſoon as the Earl of Moira

Moira advanced with a reinforcement, they retreated in confuſion. Lord Moira highly applauded the conduct and ſpirit of the officers and men who were engaged upon this occaſion, and particularly of lieutenant-colonels Doyle and Vandeleur, who were both wounded. Adjutant Graham, of the 8th regiment of light-dragoons, was unfortunately killed.

On the 9th, his royal highneſs the Duke of York, encamped his army near the village of Contique, about five miles from Antwerp, on the great road to Bruſſels. The French did not in the leaſt attempt to interrupt or haraſs him on his march. Lord Moira now joined him with his army, which formed a ſecond line to that commanded by the Duke. This junction rendered his force very reſpectable. The ſame day the troops from Oſtend, under the command of colonel Vyſe, arrived at Antwerp, and with the artillery, were landed with the greateſt expedition. Intelligence was alſo received at the camp, that the French had poſſeſſed themſelves of Louvain.

Two days after, the French general, M. Almain, ſent the following ſummons to the governor of Sluys: "Sir, the diviſion of the French army under your walls "informs you of the intention of the republic, with re- "gard to the town under your command. I think it my "duty, acting on the principles of humanity and loyalty, "the guide of republicans, to lay before you the ex- "ample of Ypres, Charleroi, and Oſtend, Nieuport in "flames; the defeat of the Imperial troops; the victory "of Fleurus, the capture of Mons, Ghent, Tournay, "Bruges, &c. ought to determine you, for the good of "your country, to deliver up the place you command, "and to ſend me hoſtages to treat with, on terms which "will prevent misfortunes unavoidable from the ardour "and courage of the republicans I have the honour to "command. I wait for your anſwer, and hope you "will not heſitate to take the courſe which alone can "prevent the violent meaſures in my power, and which "I ſhall not delay employing."—The governor's reply was ſpirited and laconic. "Sir, the honour of de- "fending a place like Sluys, that of commanding a "brave garriſon, and the confidence they repoſe in me "are my anſwer."

Early in the morning of the 15th, the French made an attempt to paſs the canal that runs in front of Malines, but they were at laſt repulſed, after a very heavy firing, both

both of cannon and ſmall arms. In the afternoon, however, after ſucceeding in their attempt to croſs the canal, they took Malines, and then advanced two miles farther, cloſe to the bridge o W..elhem, within four miles of the Britiſh camp, near Kontigh. Lord Moira's army in the mean time, was drawn up on the banks of the river Neethe, to oppoſe any attempts of the enemy to croſs it, and the bridge was covered with combuſtibles, ready to be ſet on fire, the moment the enemy ſhould approach.

During the night, the Britiſh troops retreated from the town of Waelhem, croſſed the bridge over the river, and ſet fire to it, by which means, the enemy were prevented from following them. Next day, about noon, the enemy having advanced with their artillery into the village of Waelhem, attempted to force a paſſage acroſs the river, in order to drive the troops on the oppoſite ſide, from their poſition. A very heavy cannonade was kept up by general Stewart's brigade, commanded by Captain Robertſon of the artillery, who was ſlightly wounded on the occaſion; the Auſtrian artillery having been early withdrawn from the field. The enemy made uſe of every effort without effect, and though their rifle-men picked off ſeveral of the artillery from the guns, and continued to annoy the troops, from the windows of the village, they were finally compelled to abandon their enterpriſe, about ſeven o'clock in the evening. The troops at this poſt were under the command of lieutenant-general ſir William Erſkine; and the loſs in killed and wounded amounted to about eighty men, including thoſe of the 12th, 38th, and 55th regiments. The artillery had nine killed and wounded.

The French advanced with one column, much at the ſame period, on the road from Malines to Duffel; But Lord Moira having detached two field-pieces, a battalion of infantry, with the remains of the 8th, as alſo the 15th and 16th regiments of light-dragoons, they compelled the enemy to retire, after the advanced guard of the cavalry had been twice repulſed. The infantry had not an opportunity of coming into action, but on the main body of cavalry joining their advanced one, they fell on the enemy with the utmoſt impetuoſity, calling out remember Emſdorff. This was the day on which that famous action had taken place, and in which the 15th regiment of light-dragoons had ſo nobly diſtinguiſhed themſelves

ſelves, as to have *Emſdorf* written ever after on their helmets.

The ſcene was afterwards ſomewhat curious. The French and Engliſh who, not many hours before, had been firing at each other with the greateſt animoſity, were ſitting on the oppoſite banks of the river, trying who could beat each other at ſinging—the one party in a high tone ſinging *la Carmagnol*, &c. while the other was vociferouſly endeavouring to drown their voices, by ſinging, *Rule Britannia*, and *Hearts of Oak*.

Some days prior to this, the following decree, propoſed by Barrere, was adopted by the convention: "The "Committee of Public ſafety having taken into conſider- "ation, the preſent mode of communication with the "armies, find it defective and inadequate to the pur- "poſe. A coincidence of circumſtances renders it eſ- "ſentially neceſſary that the conveyance of proviſion, "ammunition, and forage, ſhould be more frequent and "expeditious. The rapid progreſs, the judicious move- "ments, and the brilliant events atchieved by the valour "and diſcipline of the republican armies, demand an "equal degree of celerity on our part to furniſh them "with the means of retaining their acquiſitions, and of "proſecuting their ſucceſſes. The committee is aware "of the inconvenience that muſt ariſe from the plan in "contemplation, but the urgency of the meaſure, will "be a ſufficient juſtification. They propoſe, that all "the horſes and vehicles fit for public ſervice, ſhall be "put in a ſtate of requiſition, for the purpoſe of convey- "ing to the armies of the North, ſuch ſupplies of war- "like ſtores, proviſions, and forage, as will enable "them to defend and retain the conquered countries. "It is to our revolutionary operations, to our happy "union, and grand diſplay of talents, to the unanimity "of our councils, and energy of execution, and to the "multiplicity of our reſources, that the ſucceſs which "has attended the republican arms ought to be attri- "buted.

"It is by theſe means that France has acquired the "glory of diſconcerting the projects, and repelling the "attacks of tyranny and oppreſſion; and by theſe are "we enabled to carry the ſeat of war into nations la- "bouring under the yoke of deſpotiſm. The commit- "tee of public ſafety, relying on the zeal and alacrity "of the Commune of Paris, and thoſe contiguous, to

"pro-

" proſecute the ſucceſs of the republican arms, to ſupply the " defenders of their country, with the means of proſecut- " ing their victories, and of continuing in purſuit of the " flying enemy, decrees, that carriages and horſes, fit for " baggage waggons, or any other public ſervice whatever, " ſhall be put in a ſtate of requiſition, for the purpoſe of " conveying to the armies of the North, proviſions of " all kinds, forage, arms, and ammunition, cloathing, " tents, and camp equipage of every denomination. Dur- " ing this ſhort interval, all horſes and carriages ſhall be " at the diſpoſal of the commiſſioners of conveyance, who " ſhall appoint the time of their departure, and their deſti- " nation, in conformity to the directions which will be " given them. The drivers ſhall in like manner be in a " ſtate of requiſition. Every owner ſhall drive his ve- " chicle, unleſs he be too infirm through age, or otherwiſe " not in a condition to perform that ſervice. In ſuch caſes " a ſubſtitue of known civiſm, ſhall be choſen by the revo- " lutionary committee. The municipality of Paris ſhall " convene the aſſembly of the ſections, to proclaim the nu- " merous victories gained by the armies of the republic, " and the neceſſity of furniſhing them with the means of " deſtroying the tyrants and their ſatellites. Each ſection " ſhall take an account of the horſes and carriages fit for " ſervice, and of the men who are to drive them. Orders " ſhall be given to the drivers to have their machines in " readineſs, and to attend every two hours at the office in " their reſpective diſtricts, where they ſhall receive direc- " tions relative to their loading, and places of deſtination. " Each ſection ſhall encloſe a duplicate of the ſtatement giv- " en in to the municipality, who ſhall forward a copy of " it to the committee of public ſafety, and to the commiſſion- " ers of conveyance. The commiſſioners ſhall notify to " the revolutionary committee of each ſection, the order " to be obſerved in meeting, loading, and departing; and " from this committee the men ſhall receive their final di- " rections. The municipality of the adjoining communes, " in which the citizens who conſtitute the police, and per- " form public ſervices in Paris are domiciliated, ſhall act in " conformity to the regulations preſcribed to the ſections of " Paris by the fifth article, and ſhall take an account of " the men, horſes, and vehicles, that are fit for public " ſervice; the report ſhall be made to the department, and a " copy of it ſent to the committee of public ſafety, and to " the commiſſioners of conveyance. All proprietors of " horſes and carriages ſhall be enjoined to give in imme-

" mediately

" diately an account of their ſtock. In caſe of wilful ne-
" glect or delay, they ſhall forfeit both horſes and carriages,
" and be liable to impriſonment till the peace."

At their next ſitting, Barrere addreſſed himſelf to the convention in the following manner, reſpecting the victories obtained by the French armies: " Since our laſt intel-
" ligence from the armies, ſeveral ſucceſſes have taken
" place, which I am now to recount to you. From the
" ſouth to the north, and from the Sambre to the Rhine,
" the troops of the republic are ſtill victorious. A few
" days ago, the pride of the houſe of Auſtria paſſed under
" the yoke; at preſent the vanity of the Spaniſh houſe of
" Capet, is doomed to ſhare the ſame fate. The army of
" the Eaſtern Pyrenees continue their march into Spaniſh
" Cerdagne. Rich magazines, military ſtores, ammuni-
" tion and cartridges, the muſkets depoſited in their armor-
" ies, have fallen into our hands. Their magazines have
" been deſtroyed and laid in ruins, in order that the Spani-
" ards may not employ them in future againſt the cauſe of
" freedom. The poſt of l'Etoile, has been taken, with
" three hundred tents, mules loaded with ammunition,
" and ſome priſoners. Several ſtandards, and ſome ſilver
" ſaints, the treaſure of monkiſh avarice, have been brought
" to the French camp. New victories are ſtill gained over
" the proud Caſtilians; the army commanded by Dugom-
" mier has given a fatal blow to theſe ſlaves; ſix hundred
" of them have fallen, four hundred are taken priſoners
" Amidſt theſe ſucceſſes, the volunteers have given freſh
" proofs of their courage and warlike activity; you can-
" not hear the recital without decreeing honourable men-
" tion to be made of them in the Proces-Verbal. If from
" the Pyrenees we paſs to the Rhine, you will ſee that the
" army there have attacked the Pruſſians in all points, and
" every where the enemy have been defeated and purſued.
" The advanced poſts of the enemy have been cut to pieces,
" and all the villages, as well as poſts, have been carried with
" the greateſt valour, and ſeveral Pruſſians have fallen in
" the engagement. From the army of the Sambre and
" Meuſe, we learn, that they are advancing towards Bruſ-
" ſels. Nivelle, Jemappe, Marbrais, Sombref, are oc-
" cupied by the republicans, and the famous troops of Co-
" bourg have been repulſed all the way to the entrance of
" the foreſt of Soignies. Thus all Auſtria will paſs under
" the yoke; for the ſucceſs of the army of the republic
" can no longer meet with any check. In Oudenarde, we
" have taken twenty-four pieces of cannon, and likewiſe
" twenty

" twenty at Tournay, ten thouſand bullets, and three hun-
" red rations of forage and hay, with fourteen boats laden
" with ammunition, and a great quantity of other articles,
" which will reimburſe the republic a part of the expence
" of the revolutionary ſchool, which it has inſtituted to
" promote the cauſe of liberty."

About this time intelligence was received from Barcelona, that about the middle of June, the French had attacked the advanced poſts of Llers, which form the van-guard of the camp of Figueras. Their attack was made with ſuch promptitude and ſpirit, that they penetrated into the camp of Walloons, and the cavalry of Alcantara: but general Courten having rallied his men, and being reinforced by two battalions and ſome companies of grenadiers, repulſed them with conſiderable loſs, and purſued them beyond el Palan, where he remained formed in order of battle, the greater part of the morning. The enemy in this affair had a column of about 4000 thouſand men; at the ſame time a numerous body of their troops drew towards Hermitage del Boura, Pont de Molins, and Vilarnadal, in different columns, covering the ſummit of the adjacent heights. They attacked the Hermitage firſt, which, after it had ſuſtained a heavy fire of muſquetry for a conſiderable time, they made themſelves maſters of: but the fire of cannon which was made upon them there by the batteries, and at the advanced poſts of Pont de Molins, kept them in check; and the battalions of Hibernia and Malaga, with ſome other troops that could be collected at the moment, advancing under that fire, diſlodged the enemy again with the bayonet: a ſmart fire of cannon and howitzers was then begun from the Pont de Molins and Vilarnadal, upon the main body of the French, which had advanced and eſtabliſhed ſeveral flying batteries againſt thoſe poſts. During this fire, many evolutions and formations were executed in the plain, by the cavalry on both ſides, in order to be able to attack with advantage, till at length the royal carabineers, fell upon the French Huſſars, who waited formed in battle, till they had fired their piſtols, and then fled in complete diſorder, each taking his own way; upon which the reſt of the cavalry alſo charged, and the French infantry followed the horſes with ſuch precipitation, that only one battalion could be overtaken, and the greateſt part of it put to the ſword, by the regiments del Principe and Bourbon: the action laſted from about ſix in the morning till one. The return of killed and wounded on the ſide of the Spaniards, was computed at about 150 men, including 12 officers; that

that of the French could not be eaſily aſcertained, but was very conſiderable. Their general of cavalry, La Bare, was found among the dead, and on him ſeveral letters and papers from Dugommier.

CHAP. XXVII.

Defeat of the Pruſſians—Namur entered by the French—Clairfayt defeated—Addreſs of the Stadtholder to the United States—Revolution in Geneva—Maſſacre at Barcelona.

TOWARDS the middle of July, the campaign became very hot in the neighbourhood of the Rhine. On the 12th, at two in the morning, the French attacked the Pruſſians towards Edickhoffen; and to favour their operations in this quarter, advanced at the ſame time upon the Auſtrians before Spire. The battle was long and bloody in all points, but the French were at length repulſed.

Next day they renewed the attack upon the Pruſſians, with more fury and perſeverance than before. The battle laſted from two in the morning, till nine at night. The principal object of the enemy was to carry a redoubt on a height near Edeſheim. Seven times they attacked it with freſh troops. Each of their columns was repulſed, but ſucceſſively replaced by another, till, towards nine at night, the Pruſſians being overpowered by fatigue, after *fighting nineteen hours*, in a very warm day, during which they had not even time to eat, loſt the poſt they had defended with ſo much courage. The French alſo took advantage of the approach of night to attack it on two ſides at once. The *ditches* were filled with their *dead*: the Pruſſians retreated at eleven towards Edickhoffen: this was the corps under the command of the hereditary prince of Hohenloe.

On the morning of the 14th, the French again attacked both the Pruſſians and the Auſtrians; but the cannonade did not laſt long. It is ſaid that the Pruſſians having retaken the poſt of Tripſtadt, after a very briſk action, this exent ſuſpended the retreat towads the Rhine, which the allied armies before ſeemed to intend. The Pruſſian general Pfau was killed in the action of the 13th, and two other generals were wounded. Among the priſoners taken by the

Pruſſians on the 12th, was Laboiſſere, a French General.

The French armies of the Rhine and Moſelle, at this time received a reinforcement of 15,000 from the army of the Alps, and another of 12, or 15,000 from the army of the Ardennes, beſides the new levies of the third requiſition from Alſace and Lorraine. Their forces between the Moſelle and the Rhine, were eſtimated at 100,000; but the German troops oppoſed to them were not inferior in number. The probability, however, of the French penetrating once more into theſe countries, and committing ſuch ravages as they did laſt winter, ſpread general terror and flight.

In the afternoon of the 15th, the French repeated their attack on the whole chain of troops from Neuſtadt to the Rhine, along the Rehback. The battle was obſtinate, and extremely bloody. The report of the cannon was heard without intermiſſion, from two till eight o'clock. The French ſucceeded at laſt in puſhing forward from the mountains, and in the night all the German troops retreated with the greateſt precipitation. The Imperial army paſſed the Rhine, and the Pruſſians under the hereditary prince Hohenloe, retired towards Gunterſblum, by way of Durkheim, and Waohenheim. The reſt of the Pruſſian troops, poſted near Lantern, quitted that neighbourhood, and took the road of Winweiller towards Mentz, after the French, by their ſuperiority, and their furious and inceſſant attacks, had penetrated to the environs of Tripſtadt. On theſe two poſts the French are ſuppoſed to have loſt upwards of 4000 men. The loſs of the Pruſſians was very conſiderable. Among the many wounded officers were the lieutenant-generals Kleiſt and Kunitſky.

The French began to bombard Namur on the 12th, when they ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender. This being refuſed, they redoubled their fire, and damaged ſeveral houſes. The garriſon returned their fire with great briſkneſs, and diſmounted a battery, which they had erected near a place called Beauvallon. On the 15th the cannonade ceaſed, and a muſket-fire was only kept up. On the 17th the French took poſſeſſion of Namur, and the garriſon which had been reinforced to 5000 men, quitted that place, leaving only 400 men in the caſtle.

About this time the prince of Cobourg removed his head-quarters to Landen; and the army occupied the excellent poſition of Neerwinde, celebrated for two bloody battles. General Clairfayt commanded the left wing of the army, and Beaulieu took the command of the right.

It

It was the reſolution of the combined army to defend Namur, to form a junction with the other allies in the adjacent countries, and, after collecting the whole ſtrength of this part of the army in Louvain, to co-operate with the Britiſh in the neighbourhood of Antwerp. For this purpoſe, general Melas, with ſixteen or ſeventeen thouſand men, had been ordered to maintain a ſtrong poſition on the right bank of the Meuſe. But the rapid progreſs and uncommon ſucceſs of the enemy defeated all theſe plans; and Melas was obliged to preſerve his little army againſt the incurſions of the triumphant French, by an immediate junction with Prince Cobourg, in the neighbourhood of Tirlemont.

The important paſs of the Lier now fell into the hands of the enemy. General Walmoden was poſted there with the Hanoverians. The brave Clairfayt experienced misfortune upon misfortune. He ſuſtained a ſevere and irrecoverable loſs at Montagne de Fer. Haraſſed on all quarters by the French troops, he was obliged to hazard an engagement, in which he was defeated. Many of the enemy fell. The carnage was dreadful; and Clairfayt accompliſhed his retreat, after loſing, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, upwards of ſix thouſand men. Thus one half of his little army became inevitable ſacrifices to preſerve the lives of the other.

Valenciennes, Condé, Queſnoy, and Landrecy, were now all ſurrounded by the enemy.

During theſe warlike operations, the Stadtholder thus addreſſed the United States. "High and Mighty Lords, "when, in the beginning of the laſt year, this ſtate was "unexpectedly attacked by the French, and the enemy "had, in a ſhort ſpace of time, nearly approached the "laſt frontier of the Province of Holland, I thought it "incumbent on me, in conſequence of the reſpective "poſts truſted to my care, to lay my views before your "High Mightineſſes, as alſo the grounds of my confi-"dence in the ſalvation of our country.—This I pro-"poſed in the aſſembly of your High Mightineſſes, on "the 28th of February 1793, and I had, in that mo-"ment of danger, the inexpreſſible happineſs of ſeeing "the ſpirit of the nation rouſed, of ſeeing how the in-"habitants joined heart and hand, and how effectually "our allies co-operated: it has ſince pleaſed the Supreme "Being to grant us a ſucceſsful iſſue, by driving the "enemy from our territory, and by the conquering

" arms of the ſtates, with our friends and allies, remov-
" ing the ſeat of war into the enemy's own country.
" We now ſee, however, High and Mighty Lords, a
" wonderful revolution in the ſtate of affairs, attended
" with the loſs of the greater part of our advantages,
" the enemy having penetrated and advanced near our
" frontiers; and inſtead of our carrying on the war of-
" fenſively, they have forced us to act in our own de-
" fence. It is under ſuch circumſtances, that it behoves
" all thoſe who more or leſs bear a ſhare in conducting
" public affairs, to ſtep forward with their undiſguiſed
" ſentiments, and cordially take the lead of the good
" inhabitants, and by ſuch means cement a mutual con-
" fidence, without which the country cannot be ſaved.

" With this view I once more appear before you in
" this Aſſembly, to declare to your High Mightineſſes,
" from the bottom of my heart, that I am ready and
" firmly determined, ſupported by the wiſe and vigorous
" meaſures of your High Mightineſſes, and the lords of
" the reſpective provinces, to ſacrifice my life in defence
" of our country; and alſo to aſſure you, that I do by
" no means deſpair of ſaving the ſtate, if we, with ad-
" ditional courage and fortitude, under the goodneſs
" of Providence, employ the ready and effectual means
" in our power; and finally to declare to your High
" Mightineſſes, that I hold the leaſt neglect of ſuch ne-
" ceſſary exertions, and every indication of deſpondency
" and fear, as inevitably tending towards the irretriev-
" able loſs of our country. I will, no more than laſt
" year, conceal the real danger: the true knowledge of
" this danger being requiſite to call in aid every poſſible
" means of reſiſtance. Still, were we to conſult the
" hiſtory of our republic, we ſhould find circumſtances
" of peril, compared to which, the preſent appears to
" vaniſh.

" Our brave anceſtors fought and obtained their liber-
" ty and independence in the midſt of ſuch difficulties, as
" human foreſight could not reaſonably hope to ſurmount;
" notwithſtanding which, did they conſtantly ſpurn at all
" the inſidious overtures offered them; they thought
" themſelves more ſecure in manfully facing the dangers
" of war, than ſuffering themſelves to be deceived by a
" treacherous peace. While king Philip and his adherents
" continued to be conſidered as enemies, our forefathers
" had to defend themſelves only againſt open hoſtilities;

" but had the enemy in appearance become friends and
" brothers, the weapons of deceit, ſeduction, and corrup-
" tion, would have proved far more alarming than a ſtate
" of open warfare. Are we to ſuppoſe the preſent ſitua-
" tion worſe than that in 1672, when not only ſingle
" towns, but three provinces of the Union were in poſſeſ-
" ſion of the enemy? Or that of 1747, when all
" Dutch Flanders and the ſtrong frontier of Bergen-op-
" Zoom were loſt? Or, laſtly, than that of 1793, the
" recent events of which are too well known? If nei-
" ther our anceſtors nor ourſelves, during thoſe periods,
" ſhewed ſymptoms of deſpondency, how diſgraceful
" would it be in us, under our preſent circumſtances, did
" we enter on the defence of the State without energy
" and determined courage? Were we to compare the
" means of defence actually in the power of the repub-
" lic with thoſe in former wars, we are moſt aſſuredly
" no leſs in a ſtate prepared to repel the attacks of the
" enemy, than we were in the abovementioned periods.
" The greater part of our frontiers is covered, and con-
" tinues to be improved: we have an army on foot, who
" have ſignalized themſelves by their bravery during
" the two laſt campaigns, and who will act if poſſible
" more ſo, when fighting for their all. The cheerful-
" neſs, joined to the courage of our ſeamen, hath ſhewn
" itſelf in the year 1793. Neither is the republic with-
" out allies, who, as far as their own ſituation may ad-
" mit, will ſtrengthen her: but it is of infinitely more
" weight than to depend on human efforts, to conſider
" that the God of Heaven and Earth, having ſo often
" brought about our deliverance, when the proſpect
" ſeemed moſt dreary, we have at this time good grounds
" to hope, under him, for the atchievement of honour-
" able and glorious deeds.

" If there are in the republic ſuch unnatural and de-
" generate Dutchmen, who wiſh for the approach of the
" enemy, becauſe they may imagine it will procure
" them the means of gratifying their private vindictive
" ſpirit; who with ſuch views endeavour to do miſchief,
" by intimidating their fellow-citizens againſt their taking
" up arms in the common cauſe; let us conſider them as
" internal foes, and watch their criminal intentions with
" no leſs vigilance than we do thoſe of our foreign enemy.
" The pacific ſyſtem which this republic, as a Commercial
" State, hath ever adopted, I hold to be moſt to her advan-

" tage; but God forbid we ſhould wiſh for peace at the " expence of our ſecurity and independence: if we muſt " loſe theſe ineſtimable bleſſings, through the ſuperior " force of an enemy, it will be an event ſincerely to be " lamented; but ſhould we make a voluntary ſurrender " of the ſame, then ſhould we become an object of con- " tempt ot all nations.

" That this ſtate hath given France no cauſe for war, " is notorious to all the world. That people might " among themſelves perſecute the Chriſtian worſhip, " overthrow the ancient throne of their kings, arbitrari- " ly diſpoſe of the freedom, the lives and property of " their fellow-countrymen. Our ſtate ſaw all this with " inexpreſſible grief, it is true, but never had the moſt " diſtant wiſh of declaring war againſt the opinions of " this deluded people. In ſpite of our moderation, have " we been ſuddenly and moſt unjuſtly attacked; this at- " tack having been preceded by a decree of the Nation- " al Convention, whereby it appears, that the reaſon of " this deſtructive war is to put all countries and nations " on a footing of equality with the miſeries of France, " namely, to deſtroy the religious worſhip of our fore- " fathers, the fundamenal laws of the ſtate, and to work " a total ſubverſion of our true freedom. Theſe, High and " Mighty Lords, are the objects for which we ſhould " enter into a treaty of capitulation, in caſe the war is to " terminate agreeable to the enemy's views; however, " theſe very objects muſt never be made the ſubject of " treaties, but for their better ſecurity and preſervation. " With regard to myſelf, I know no medium between " a vigorous reſiſtance and puſillanimous ſubmiſſion; " and I doubt not for a ſingle moment about the cohice " of your High Mightineſſes, that of the ſtates of the " Provinces, and of the well-diſpoſed in the country. " Let every individual, whatever he his religious or civil " principles (provided he is no enemy to his country " and to his own intereſt) rally round the ſtandard in " favour of the common cauſe of his country: let every " one within his circle contribute towards her protec- " tion to the utmoſt of his power: let the neceſſary " ſupplies be furniſhed; and I have hopes, I might ſay " I truſt with confidence, that we ſhall be able to defend " ourſelves, and under Providence, Protect the honour, " and promote the proſperity of the Netherlands."

" Behold, High and Mighty Lords, what in duty I

" owe

"owe to the whole nation, to a people among whom I "was born and educated, for whose independence a great "number of my anceſtors ſacrificed their lives, for "whoſe welfare I am ready to ſpill my laſt drop of "blood, and for which both my ſons have given proofs "of their not being unworthy the name they bear.—I "wiſh then for nothing more than the co-operation of "my fellow-citizens, and the reward of my houſe will be "their liberty, independence, and permanent happi-"neſs."

The deputies of the ſeveral Provinces, having deliberated upon the addreſs of his Highneſs the Prince Stadtholder, fully accorded with him in the noble ſentiments therein manifeſted, declaring, at the ſame time, that they had no doubt of the co-operation of the different Provinces at ſo critical a period as the preſent; and of their determination to uſe all their efforts, in aid and ſupport of his Highneſs, by the ſacrifice of their lives and properties in the defence and ſupport of their country.

Their High Mightineſſes further aſſured M. Von Schuylenberg, their Preſident, that they would take the more eſſential points recommended by his Highneſs into immediate conſideration, in order to rid the ſtate of the difficulties it now laboured under, flattering themſelves, that the means of defence adopted would prevent the enemy from penetrating any further; and that, under the divine bleſſing, their efforts would be crowned with a happy iſſue, and the honour and proſperity of the Netherlands be finally ſupported; all vain and premature apprehenſions be ſuppreſſed, which can only tend to prejudice the country; and that ſuch as wiſhed for the arrival of the enemy, with their adherents, might be diſarmed;—it being particularly neceſſary, that the moſt obſervant attention ſhould be paid to theſe *internal enemies* of their country, much more dangerous than *thoſe without*, open and declared.

As the revolution in Geneva, which happened at this period, is one of thoſe remarkable viciſſitudes, which have lately diſtinguiſhed the politics of Europe, the cauſes which produced it, and the means purſued for its accompliſhment, merit our attention. On Friday, the 18th of July, M. Soulavie and Merle, commiſſioners from the French Convention, reſident at Geneva, gave a grand dinner to the principal members of a ſociety,

intitled, The Club of the Mountain, alias *The Marſeilleſe Club*, conſiſting of the moſt violent patriots of that city, On breaking up, which did not happen till an early hour in the morning, the members of the club had recourſe to arms, and arming the populace at the ſame time, took poſſeſſion of the gates and arſenals. They next proceeded to ſelect a revolutionary committee, or a committee of *public ſafety*, compoſed of ſeven members, by whom every perſon, inimical to their intereſts, was inſtantly apprehended. As it was impoſſible for the priſons to contain the whole of them, they were conveyed to watch towers of the Baſtion, intitled, *The Baſtion of Holland*, and to the different public magazines. The number of perſons thus apprehended, amounted to nearly a thouſand. Two hundred, who were in a ſtate of proſcription, contrived to make their eſcape.

It is worthy of remark, that no one *female was impriſoned*, notwithſtanding ſeveral were ordered before the committee, interrogated, and inſulted. Whether in ſeizing on the perſons of individuals, or in making domiciliary viſits, to come at thoſe they wiſhed to apprehend, the revolutioniſts paid but little reſpect to property. In *arreſting M. Necker*, late prime miniſter of France under the monarchy, at his country ſeat, they took poſſeſſion of his plate and a conſiderable ſum of ſpecie. The houſe of M. Saladin de Craus was plundered, as well as ſeveral others; but, on thoſe occaſions, no perſonal violence was offered.

On Sunday the 20th, the Revolutionary Committee, named by the clubs, publiſhed the following proclamation.

"EQUALITY, LIBERTY, and INDEPENDENCE.

"Revolutionary citizens, the revolution of the 28th of December, 1792, was more ſerviceable to the ariſtocrats, than to the revolutioniſts. The former, always incorrigible, and invariably the enemies of liberty, have ſuffered no abatement of their criminal hopes and liberticidal pretenſions. The moment is now arrived, when the revolutioniſts, wearied of living among men, who have not ceaſed for a moment to be inimical both to them and the French Republic, have been forced to riſe for the completion of the work which had nearly been entered on, and to inſure the everlaſting triumph of the principles of equality, in our country.

"Revolutionary citizens, your moderation has hitherto merely ſerved to enſnare you, and to embolden the ariſtocrats, and give conſiſtency to their culpable views. It is time that the people ſhould have juſtice done; and

"with

"with this intention the revolutionary committee lays "before you the following plan: 1. A revolutionary tri- "bunal, conſiſting of twenty-one members, ſhall be form- "ed. 2. The revolutioniſts, aſſembled in a body at the "national Lyceum, ſhall elect this tribunal by a ſingle pro- "ceſs, and according to the relative majorities. 3. The "electors ſhall not return more than twenty-one citizens, "and not leſs than eleven. 4. No one ſhall refuſe his "vote, on penalty of being conſidered as a ſuſpected per- "ſon, and treated as ſuch. 5. Each revolutionary citi- "zen, without any exception, ſhall be enjoined to repair "armed to-morrow, the 21ſt of July, at eight in the "morning, to the national Lyceum, and there to vote, on "pain of being conſidered as a ſuſpected perſon, and treat- "ed as ſuch. 6. The revolutionary tribunal ſhall try "thoſe who are impriſoned, as well as thoſe who have "eſcaped for the preſent, and have fled ſince the revolu- "tion. 7. It may pronounce ſentence of death, pecuniary "fines, baniſhment, &c. 8. Every ſentence of death "ſhall be ſubject to the approval of the whole body of the "revolutionary citizens. 9. The revolutionary tribunal "ſhall complete its functions within the ſpace of ſix days, "reckoning from the moment of its election. 10. A mi- "litary committee ſhall be created, to conſiſt of ſeven "members, who are to watch over the public ſafety, and "to execute the ſentences of the revolutionary tribunal. "It ſhall ſucceed the revolutionary committee at the ex- "piration of its powers. The members of each circle "are enjoined to give their ſuffrages in the moſt public "manner, as all true revolutioniſts ought to do."

This plan was approved, and the revolutionary tribunal elected, on the 21ſt, by about three thouſand voices. A circumſtance which characterized this event was, that among the priſoners, all the eccleſiaſtics, not one excepted, are comprehended: the revolutioniſts even went ſo far as to apprehend one of them in the pulpit in the midſt of his ſermon.

The cauſe of this event, according to ſome, has been owing to the deſire of pillage and robbery, and to favour the efficiency of the revolutionary government, entirely unconnected with French politics, the Geneveſe revolutioniſts aiming at a thorough independence. Others, on the contrary, conſider Soulavie, the Frenchman, as being the chief mover, and as having brought about the inſurrection, with a view to put the city in the poſſeſſion of his countrymen. For our part we think both cauſes have

contributed to the event. It is certain that the folly and depredations of the former revolutionary government having exhauſted the treaſury, it became neceſſary to fill it again, for which purpoſe the moſt burthenſome impoſts were adopted. In the club, it was propoſed, on Friday the 18th, that theſe impoſts ſhould be aboliſhed, and that the rich ſhould be compelled to furniſh money for the expences of the republic. This propoſition was adopted, and they had recourſe to arms on the 19th to enforce the reſolution, and the rich actually carried their effect to the treaſury.

Soulavie was at the head of every thing; his confidents took on themſelves the whole of the management; and ſo fully was he prepared for what was to happen, that, early on Saturday morning, he tranſmitted to the club a liſt of thoſe who were to be apprehended, with orders to ſeize them wherever they could be found.

At this time, there were no French troops, in the environs of Geneva, which by ſome was attributed to the policy of Soulavie, that it might not be ſaid that the French had ſeized on Geneva.

The revolutionary tribunal was no ſooner elected, than it proceeded to exciſe its functions. On the 22d it ſentenced to death fourteen perſons. Seven of theſe ſentences were confirmed by the revolutionary maſs. The others were changed into baniſhment, or impriſonment, with confiſcation of property.

Whilſt Geneva was in ſuch a ferment, a riot and maſſacre took place at Barcelona. The corps, compoſed of French deſerters and priſoners, called Royal Rouſillon, which had been ſent back from the frontiers, and indeed diſbanded by diſmiſſion, or incorporation of the officers into other regiments, had continued here in a ſtate of great diſorder, on account of the irreconcileable enmity that reigned between the two parties. All the deſerters had been ſome days ago returned to the citadel, and were moſt of them entering into la Legion de la Reyna. The reſt of the corps, about three hundred, conſiſted entirely of enliſted priſoners, but differing ſtill in their politics, continued in a ſtate of ſtrife and diſorder, ſhut up in the quarter called St. Auguſtin, upon the Eſplanada, until the Sunday afternoon, when the majority having pourtrayed ſome wretched figures of the Tree of Liberty, of a King, of a Guillotine, &c. forced the reſt to dance, and ſing republican ſongs. The government ordered a detachment of the other French corps, called la Legion de la Reyna, to go

and

and ſuppreſs the riot, and ſeize the ringleaders, which was accordingly done, and twenty-eight of the moſt turbulent were taken out and carried to the quarters at Barcelona. This, however, unfortunately taking place juſt at the time when the ſtreets were crowded by the populace following a proceſſion, a mob was immediately gathered upon the Eſplanada; and the incredible inſolence of theſe wretches, who had dared thus openly to inſult the king and the nation, fermenting, with falſe and exaggerated circumſtances in the minds of the people, they inſiſted that the delinquents ſhould immediately be put to death upon the ſpot on which they had been guilty. By this time, the captain general, the governor of the town, and the principal magiſtrates of the Royal Audencia, were aſſembled before the quarters, and uſed every means to appeaſe the tumult that ſtill continued within, and where a member of the French were ſuppoſed to have been wounded, and even killed by their commanders. All endeavours, however, proving ineffectual, and the people continuing clamorous and refuſing to be ſatisfied, until all the real delinquents ſhould be executed in the morning, about ten o'clock, the troops which had ſurrounded the quarters, that is, detachments from the regiment del Rey cavalry, from that of Murica infantry, ſome Valencian recruits, the thief-takers, the Mazos de la Eſquadra, and with them as many of the town's people as choſe it, were allowed to enter and quell the riot by force. The conſequence of this raſh meaſure was, that every perſon found in the quarters was immediately killed, or dangerouſly wounded. One hundred and twenty three of the dead were publicly buried; between ſeventy and eighty of the wounded were ſent to the hoſpital, and about forty who had been ſo lucky as to eſcape, by different ways, were afterwards collected at the deſerters' depot. After the maſſacre was over in the quarters, one or two accidents took place without. Two of the French deſerters, who were at work in the covered way of the citadel, were killed; it is not known by whom; and an Italian, quite unconcerned in the fray, being taken for a Frenchman, was murdered in the market-place del Borne, by a dragoon.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The French in poſſeſſion of all the Netherlands.—Lord Moira's addreſs to his army.—Britiſh army encamped near Breda.—Death and Character of Robeſpierre.—An American Ambaſſador is ſent to the French Republic.—A Dreadful fire, and Riots in London.

THE French, on the 23rd of July, ſent a trumpeter into Antwerp, to inform the inhabitants that they intended viſiting them the next day, which they accordingly did at eleven o'clock in the morning, and took quiet poſſeſſion of the place which had been entirely abandoned by the allies. On their retreat, however, the allies ſet fire to conſiderable magazines of forage at Antwerp, which they could not poſſibly carry off. In the courſe of a few weeks, they had deſtroyed different kinds of forage to the value of *half a million ſterling*, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The military cheſt, ſtores, and all things valuable, were now removed to Williamſtadt; the Auſtrian Netherlands being in the complete and uncontrouled poſſeſſion of the French.

From Antwerp the earl of Moira ſet out for England; but before he left the army he made to them the following addreſs. "Particular circumſtances calling Lord Moira "immediately to England, he is to be ſucceeded by lieu- "tenant-general Abercrombie. Lord Moira, however, "cannot ſurrender his command, without intreating the "officers, and men of the corps which accompanied him "from Oſtend, to accept his warmeſt and moſt grateful "thanks for the kind and cheerful acquieſcence he has ex- "perienced from them, in the ſevere fatigues to which "he was obliged to ſubject them. He has the aſſurance, "that he is ſtill to have their ſupport, in the ſervice to "which they were originally deſtined; and that hope "leſſens his reluctance at ceaſing, for the preſent, to ſhare "the honourable dangers of ſervice. He truſts they will "believe, that no light conſideration would have obliged "him to quit them; as he perſuades himſelf that they are "ſenſible of his having endeavoured to repay the generous "attachment they have ſhewn to him, by the moſt lively "intereſt for their welfare. For the preſent he bids them "farewel, with the moſt fervent prayers for their honour

"an

" and proſperity."—Lord Moira, on joining the Duke of York's army, found himſelf one of the youngeſt major-generals in the line; and that inſtead of commanding his army, he would ſcarcely be intitled to command a brigade. On that account he choſe to reſign his command.

On the 30th of July, between five and ſix o'clock in the morning, four ſquadrons of Britiſh Light Dragoons, four of Heſſians, with the brigade of guards, and two Heſſian battalions, with their field pieces, under the command of general Abercrombie, marched from Rooſendael, about two miles beyond the village of Niſpen, and there, on the common, formed the line. The infantry remained in this poſition, ready to ſupport general Hamerſtein, who advanced with the cavalry to reconnoitre. He proceeded to the diſtance of five miles beyond the infantry, without ſeeing a Frenchman; and was informed by ſome of the peaſants, that the French had no poſts within four miles of Antwerp.

The army ſoon after marched to the ground, at Ooſenhout, about four miles diſtant from Breda, where it was intended they ſhould act for the defence of Holland. The right column paſſed through Breda, amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants, whilſt the left column went round it. The right of the line extended towards the river Merk, and the left towards the river de Donge. The head quarters of the Duke of York were at the town of Ouſterhoot, about two miles in the rear of the line. The Prince of Orange was now employed in putting Breda in a ſtate of defence. Guns, howitzers, and ammunition, together with every other deſcription of military ſtores, were entering the place. The garriſon was to conſiſt only of ſix thouſand men, which was thought very inadequate to defend the numerous and very extenſive works of this celebrated fortreſs.

Whilſt ſuch uncommon ſucceſs attended the arms of France, ſome members of the convention were contriving the ruin of Robeſpierre. *The meaſure of the Dictator's iniquity was now full,* and *the voice of the blood of thouſands called for vengeance on his head.*

——— " He had ventur'd,
" Like little wanton boys that ſwim on bladders,
" For ſeveral ſummers in a ſea of glory:
" But far beyond his depth; his high blown pride
" At length broke under him, and left him to his fate.
" And when he thought, preſumptuous man, full ſurely
" His greatneſs was a ripening, his root was nipt;
" And when he fell, he fell like *Lucifer,*
" Never to hope again *."

* Shakſpeare.

Many

Many ſpeeches were made on the 25th of July, both in the Jacobin club and in the convention, reſpecting the neceſſity of reſtoring the freedom of the national repreſentation, preventing the overthrow of the convention, and of counteracting the bloody projects which intriguers were plotting. On the 26th Robeſpierre made a long ſpeech, in which he attempted to juſtify the purity of his views, whilſt he replied to the reproaches made againſt him of aſpiring to the Dictatorſhip. He ſaid, that ſince the period of his having proclaimed the exiſtence of a Supreme Being, the ſucceſſors of Hebert and Danton had become more inveterate againſt him. He then endeavoured to ſhew the falſehood of the reports circulated in the convention and in Paris, of his having propoſed to cauſe thirty members to be arreſted. He next touched on the ſituation of the republic. "The committes of public ſafety and general "ſurety," ſaid he, "contain the pillars of liberty, but "the greater number are cruſhed. The decree againſt "the Engliſh is not carried into execution. The ſyſtem "of Dumourier continues to be purſued in Belgium. "They, are replanting in that country the trees of liberty, "they are driving to a diſtance the cannoneers of Paris. "They are wiſhng to produce a change in the ſituation "of the republic. It is neceſſary that the committees "ſhould act, but it is likewiſe neceſſary to ſuperintend theſe "operations. It is incumbent on the convenion to aſ-"ſume the dignity which belongs to its character."

"The moment when liberty is to be revived, ſaid Fre-"ron, "is that when the freedom of opinions is re-eſta-"bliſhed. I demand that the convention reſcind the de-"cree which grants to the committees the power of ap-"prehending the *members of the convention.* Where is the "man who can dare to ſpeak with freedom, when he "dreads an arreſt? and he who is prevented, by dread, "from ſpeaking his ſentiments, is not worthy of the title "of a repreſentative of the people." Freron's propoſition was ſupported by another member, who maintained that *liberty could not exiſt*, if it were not adopted, which it accordingly was, after a debate of conſiderable length.

In the ſitting of the 27th St. Juſt appeared at the tribune. "I am of no faction, ſaid he, I will contend againſt "them all. Your committees of general ſurety, and "of public ſafety, have charged me to make a report on "the cauſes of the evident perverſion of opinion; but I "mean to addreſs myſelf to you, and only in my own "name." St. Juſt, who had come prepared to ſupport the

ſentiments which had been delivered from the tribune, the day before, by Robeſpierre, was here interrupted by ſhouts of diſapprobation from all quarters of the convention.

After a conſiderable degree of tumult, Tallien at leaſt ſpoke to order. "The orator, ſaid he, has ſet out with "telling you that he is of no party. I likewiſe eſpouſe "only the ſide of truth. Yeſterday a member of the go- "vernment*, preſented to you a report upon his own "authority. To-day, another member comes to ſpeak "to you in his own name. No good citizens can refrain "from lamenting, with tears, the abject and calamitous "ſtate to which the republic is reduced, when individuals "pretend thus to *dictate to you it their own name, and upon "their own authority.*"

Billaud de Varennes now got up and accuſed Robeſpierre pointedly of being a tyrant. "You will ſhudder with "horror," ſaid he, "when you are apprized that the arm- "ed force of Paris is intruſted to parricidal hands. Hen- "riot was denounced by the revolutionary tribunal as an "accomplice of Hebert. What was the conſequence. "One man alone had the audacity to ſupport him. Need "I name who that individual was!—Robeſpierre. I "might quote many more proofs of the ſame audacity on "the part of Robeſpierre, and of his infamous deſigns againſt "liberty—among others, I need only mention that he has "been the author of the impriſonment of the members of "the revolutionary committee of the ſection of indiviſibi- "lity, men of the moſt unſullied intregrity, and of the moſt "diſtinguiſhed patriotiſm. I accuſe him of having with- "drawn himſelf from the committee for theſe four laſt "decades, ſince the decree with reſpect to the revolution- "ary tribunal paſſed, which he alone deviſed—and which "was badly received. Thus he intended to drive from "the convention every impure man; that is to ſay, every "perſon who did not pleaſe him, or whom he might ſuſ- "pect to be poſſeſſed of ſufficient diſcernment to detect, "and intregrity to oppoſe, his ambitious views; and as a "preparatory ſtep to the eſtabliſhing himſelf in that dicta- "torſhip which has ſo long been the object of his wiſhes, "he would have left none in the convention but his crea- "tures and dependents, men as vile as himſelf, and ready "to forward all his deteſtable views. But his deſigns "were diſcovered by the very means which he took to "carry them into execution. From the facts which I

* Robeſpierre.

"briefly

" briefly ſtated, his intentions to corrupt the military, to " enſlave and to degrade the repreſentation, appear plain and " incontrovertible. Are more facts ſtill neceſſary in order " to ſubſtantiate the charges againſt him? I accuſe him of " having ſcreened from juſtice a ſecretary who had robbed " the public of forty thouſand livres.—Such is the founda- " tion on which ſtands his pretenſions to diſintereſted- " neſs, which were only aſſumed in order to conceal the " deep-laid projects of his ambition, and to deceive thoſe " whom he afterwards meant to enſlave. I accuſe him " with being ſurrounded by a band of ruffians, among " whom it is only neceſſary to mention the infamous name " of Daubigny. With all his affectation of probity, ſuch " were the aſſociates whom alone he could admit into his " confidence, or truſt for the completion of his deſigns. " I proclaim,—I proclaim the tyranny of Robeſpierre."

Robeſpierre attempted to ſpeak; but after different efforts found himſelf obliged to deſiſt, in conſequence of the moſt vociferous exclamations, from every quarter, of " *Down* " *with the Tyrant! Down with the Tyrant!*"

" In the houſe of that guilty individual," ſaid Tallien, " who now ſtands humbled with the conſciouſneſs of de- " tected guilt, and overwhelmed with that diſapprobation, " which his infamous deſigns againſt liberty have ſo juſtly " merited, were formed thoſe liſts of proſcription, which " have ſtained with ſo much blood the altars of riſing li- " berty. Imitating the example of the deteſtable Sylla, " his proſcriptions were intended only to pave the way for " his own power, and the eſtabliſhment of a perpetual dic- " tatorſhip: happily however his deſigns have been diſ- " covered before he had time to execute them, or to add " to that ſtream of blood which has already deluged " France. His long ſucceſs in villiany made him at laſt lay " aſide his wanted caution. He had advanced with ſuch " rapidity in the career of lawleſs ambition that he alrea- " dy conceived himſelf arrived at the accompliſhment of " his wiſhes; and that, like Cæſar, the name of *King* was " only wanting to him, for the full eſtabliſhment of his " power. Was it to ſubject ourſelves to ſo degrading, " to abject a tyranny, and to acknowledge ſo petty a de- " ſpot, that we ſwore to eſtabliſh liberty at the price of " life? No. The ſpirit of freedom has not ſunk ſo low. " The ſenſe of that duty, which virtuous men owe to " their country, is not yet extinguiſhed. I invoke the " ſhade of the virtuous Brutus*. Like him, I have a po-

* Tallien fixed his eyes on the buſt.

" niard

" niard to rid my country of the tyrant, if the convention " do not deliver him to the ſword of juſtice. The French " people, always juſt, are attached neither to Robeſpierre " nor to any other individual, liberty is alone the object of " their affections, and whoever forms any deſigns againſt it, " becomes that moment their enemy. That liberty they " will ever purſue amidſt the intrigues of domeſtic traitors, " and the oppoſition of foreign enemies. The republic is " to be eſtabliſhed, not only by the victories of our armies, " but by the vigilance of our councils, and the juſtice of " our puniſhments. After what you have heard, it is not " neceſſary to remind you of the proceedings of that ſitting " of the Jacobins, where Dumas, preſident of the revolu- " tionary tribunal, the creature, and confederate of Ro- " beſpierre, had the audacity to inſult the repreſentatives of " the people. Need I call to your remembrance the ex- " preſſion addreſſed to the journaliſts, in one of the laſt ſit- " tings? '*I prohibit you from inſerting my diſcourſes in your* '*papers, till you have previouſly communicated them to me.*' " Here we already find the tone of the dictator; for the " language of the prohibition is, '*The people ſhall know no-* '*thing except through my organ, and in the manner in which* '*I ſhall be pleaſed to communicate it to them.*' Well indeed " might he court the aid of ſilence and deception, whoſe " deſigns were too infamous to be revealed, and whoſe con- " duct required to be gloſſed over with all the artifice of " hypocriſy. But the French people were not to be enſlav- " ed, after having ſhaken off the tyranny of force. The " guilt of the traitors now ſtands revealed, and it now re- " mains only to think of their puniſhment."

Tallien then propoſed the permanency of the ſittings, and the arreſt of Henriot, the commandant of the national guard, both which were decreed. Billaud then named ſeveral other creatures of Robeſpierre, all of whom it was immediately decreed ſhould be arreſted. Barrere then read an addreſs to the people, which was unanimouſly approved, and ordered to be printed and publiſhed. He then propoſed, that the armed force of Paris ſhould be put upon its former footing, which was alſo decreed, and the mayor and national agent were held anſwerable for the tranquillity of Paris on pain of loſing their heads.

After Vadier, Tallien, Billaud, Freron, Lacoſte, Delmas, and others, had ſpoken more or leſs ſtrongly upon the occurrences of the day, it was decreed, that the elder and younger Robeſpierres, St. Juſt, Couthon, and Lebas, all members of the convention, ſhould be arreſted, together with

with Nicholas, which they immediately were, and all their papers ſealed up.

Billaud, Collot d'Herbois, and Barrere, ſeem to have been aware of the weight of the Anti-Robeſpierian party, and joined themſelves to it in good time. That ſuch important events ſhould take place with any degree of tranquillity, can only be attributed to ſeveral members of the committee of public ſafety having joined in the buſineſs.

After the decree of arreſt was iſſued againſt Robeſpierre, St. Juſt, and Couthon, they were ſent to the Luxembourg, but the adminiſtrator of the police there would not receive them as priſoners; they were then taken to the town-houſe, where they were received with open arms. Henriot, who was alſo arreſted, found means to eſcape, and rode about the ſtreets, at the head of ſome horſe, and accompanied by all his adjutants, deſiring the people to arm, for that Robeſpierre was arreſted and liberty trodden under foot: he was believed by ſome, particularly the cannoneers, and between nine and ten, found himſelf at the head of 4000 men, on the Place du Carouſel. The Commune rang the tocſin, and the Place de Grave, was filled with armed men, and a number of pieces of cannon. Robeſpierre, St. Juſt, and Couthon, with the Commune, formed themſelves into a national convention, declared the other repreſentatives of the people, traitors to the country, and outlawed them; ſent circular letters to all the diſtricts; appointed a revolutionary tribunal to condemn all thoſe to death, who ſhould oppoſe them, of which Dumas was made preſident. Sijas, Vivier, and others, ſounded the alarm-bell at the Jacobin club, which alſo declared in favour of Robeſpierre; in a word, all Paris was in motion, and a civil war was on the point of breaking out.

The national convention, on their part, were not idle: Henriot, Robeſpierre, Couthon, St. Juſt, and all the members of the Commune were outlawed: a proclamation was publiſhed and read in all the diſtricts of Paris, repreſenting the danger the country was in, to the people. This had its effect, and the people declared for the convention. Part of the troops quitted Henriot, and twelve deputies were appointed to direct the military operations. Between two and three in the morning, Bourdon de l'Oiſe appeared upon the Place de Grave, and read the decrees of the convention to the people, and flew, with a ſabre between his teeth, and a piſtol in each hand, to the hall of the Commune, at the head of ſome reſolute men. This bold proceeding confuſed the mutineers; Robeſpierre was wounded with a piſtol

on

on the chin; his brother jumped out of the window, and broke his leg and arm; Couthon ſtabbed himſelf twice; and one Coffintal, a member of the commune, enraged that Henriot (who had declared upon forfeiture of his head, that all Paris was in their favour) had deceived them, abſolutely threw that traitor out of the window, who, thus bruiſed and wounded, found means to hide himſelf in a ſewer, from whence he was afterwards dragged, ſo covered with blood and dirt, that it was ſcarcely poſſible to recognize him.

The town-houſe was ſo ſurrounded, that none of the mutineers could eſcape, and they were all ſent to the committee of public ſafety. La Gendre did the ſame at the Jacobin club, as Bourdon de l'Oiſe had done at the town-houſe; he was going to ſhoot the preſident, but fearful leſt he might miſs his aim, or hit ſome one elſe, he only arreſted him, ſhut up the club, and took the keys to the convention. At break of day the tumult was over.

On the following day between ſix and ſeven in the evening, twenty-two of the mutineers received puniſhment amidſt an innumerable crowd of people of both ſexes, crying out, *Long live the Republic! Down with the Tyrant! Down with the Cromwel!* Couthon was guillotined firſt, then the youngeſt Robeſpierre, and next Henriot. Robeſpierre himſelf was the laſt but one. The applauſes and cries were doubled, when he aſcended the ſcaffold, where he ſtood two minutes, whilſt the executioner took off the cloth which covered his wounded face. He did not ſay a word, but died like one conſcious of the moſt atrocious crimes *. The heads of Robeſpierre, Henriot, Dumas, &c. were ſhewn to the people, who expreſſed their joy at their ſuffering.

The perſons guillotined on this occaſion, were the following; Maximilian Robeſpierre, thirty-ſix years old, a native of Arras; George Couthon, thirty-eight years old, born at Orſay; A. St. Juſt, 26 years of age, a native of Liſere; A. Robeſpierre, a younger brother of the above Maximilian; F. Henriot, commander in chief of the armed force at Paris; L. Lavalette, ex-noble, born at Paris, commander of a battalion of national guards, late a brigadier-general in the northern army; R. Dumas, thirty-ſeven years old, born at Luſſy, formerly a lawyer at Lyon-

* The following anecdote attending the execution of Robeſpierre, deſerves to be mentioned: When the ſteel of the guillotine had ſtruck off his head, a loud voice was heard to exclaim, ENCORE. The executioner immediately ſeized the head, as if he meant to repeat the operation.

le-Saunier, and late preſident of the revolutionary tribunal; J. R. Leſcot Fleuriot, thirty-nine years old, mayor of Paris; C. F. Payan, twenty-ſeven years of age, a juryman of the revolutionary tribunal, and national guard of Paris; N. Viviers, fifty years old, judge of the criminal tribunal, of the department, and preſident of the Jacobin club.

Robeſpierre was born at Arras, the capital of Artois. He was nephew to Damien, who was broken A. D. 1757. on the wheel, for attempting to aſſaſſinate Louis XV. He is ſtated to have been in ſo low a ſituation, as porter in a ſhop in Dublin; but returning to France, he began the profeſſion of the law, which he practiſed in Paris, with all the reſpectability of a pettifogger in England: his verſatile genius, deſperate ambition, and unprincipled nature, directed his practice to enormities which filled his purſe, and increaſed his infamy. In this profeſſion he took the advantage of ſubſtituting his own name inſtead of that of the legatee, in a will; for this malpractice he was ſent to priſon, where he is ſaid to have commenced his firſt acquaintance with Marat.

Poſſeſſing no paſſions which he could not controul, he was always ſufficiently collected to take advantage of thoſe of others, except when hope left him no proſpect of ſucceſs but from deſperation. It was his aim to deceive all, and be duped by none: his friendſhip was to direct the acts of others to his own advantage; and his enmity was more excited againſt thoſe to whom he owed the greateſt obligations, than to his real and avowed opponents. Thoſe who could no longer ſerve him, fell the victims of his ingratitude and diſappointment: ſuch as he dreaded, he tried to delude into a confidence of his virtue; but his moſt open and inveterate foes eſcaped his vengeance by his not daring to lead them to ſacrifice. He coaleſced with every perſon that could aid his deſigns, and whoſe confidence he could obtain; but he retained more in his ſervice by fear, than by friendſhip. The moſt intimate of his aſſociates, were the moſt jealous and ſuſpicious of his principles: he owed his riſe more to the error of popular opinion, than to any brilliancy of talent. His ambition began to pourtray itſelf, when he ſaid, in 1784, that he wiſhed to become Procureur-General of the parliament of Paris, that he might excite public attention. In this ſituation, he ſaw the means of gratifying his inſatiable thirſt of fame. With this motive he ſeems to have entered the States General: here he is ſtated to have appeared a ſilly demoniac, and to have excited a general contempt of his talents.

Unaf-

Unaſſuming in ſucceſs, ſimple in manners, and moderate in his living, he appeared incorruptible to the people. By the tranſgreſſions of others he juſtified himſelf: whatever he determined to perpetrate, his pretence and excuſe were founded on ſome plea of neceſſity, ariſing from a violence he would oppoſe, or an injury he would avert. A ſtranger to humanity he never pardoned; but always puniſhed without remorſe. His ferocity and ſanguinary diſpoſition, rendered him capable of every ſocial outrage. His temper, aided by Marat, and afterwards by Barrere, Couthon, St. Juſt, and Lebas, impelled him to invite the populace, whom he governed, to inceſſant pillage and murder. Like the common robbers of the woods and foreſts in France, he firſt took the lives, that he might afterwards deſpoil his victims.

Having eſtabliſhed a conſiderable influence in the Jacobin club, his power was proportionably encreaſed in the conſtituent aſſembly, and the commune, or common council of Paris. He thus laid the baſis of his dictatorial ſtructure on the ruins of his country's life, liberty, and property. The Jacobins, blindly impelled by his factious principles, uſurped the powers of the national repreſentatives, and rendered them, for a conſiderable time, incapable of effective reſiſtance. To preſerve his influence, he cauſed his partiſans to drown, with their clamours, every argument oppoſed to his ſentiments. By this means, thoſe who might have ſaved the country, by diſplaying his vile deſigns, were obliged to leave the tribunal, to ſuch as were more inclined to praiſe than cenſure his actions.

Becoming a favourite and prime miniſter of M. Egalité, he was ſupplied with the means of ſupporting his influence among the Jacobins, by rewarding his mercenaries with money taken from the coffers of his unprincipled patron. He was employed by Egalité in moſt of his meditated deſigns upon the government and royal family. Such zeal and abilities he diſplayed for intrigue, that he won the entire confidence of his employer. By his order, rumour has ſtated, that he gave poiſon to the prince de Lamballe, and that he afterwards *forged a will* for the dead prince, by which his highneſs became heir to the Lamballe family poſſeſſions. But theſe were trifling villainies compared with thoſe to which he was inſtigated by Egalité *.

Robe-

* The following anecdote is related of the infamous and deteſtable monſter Egalité. A little ſpaniel, big with puppies, left her mat in the corner of the chamber, and came towards his highneſs, with all the at-

Robeſpierre was ſhort in ſtature, being only five feet, two or three inches in height: his ſtep was firm; and his quick pace in walking, announced great activity. By a kind of contraction of the nerves, he uſed often to fold and compreſs his hands in each other; and ſpaſmodic contractions were perceived in his ſhoulders and neck, the latter of which he moved convulſively from ſide to ſide.

In his dreſs he was neat, and even elegant, never failing to have his hair in the beſt order. His features had nothing remarkable about them, unleſs that their general aſpect was ſomewhat forbidding: his complexion was livid and bilious; his eyes dull and ſunk in their ſockets. The conſtant blinking of the eye-lids ſeemed to ariſe from convulſive agitation; and he was never without a remedy in his pocket. He could ſoften his voice, which was naturally harſh and croaking, and could give grace to his provincial accent. It was remarked of him, that he could never look

tachment of the moſt faithful and affectionate of animals. She crouched, licked his feet, and offered him every ſign of fondneſs, of which her nature was capable. In her ardency of love, the poor creature raiſed itſelf, and dirtied his white ſtockings. With the moſt ſavage indifference to the pleadings of humanity, he took the poor animal and dropped it from the window, on the iron ſpikes of the railing before his door. While ſhe was dying in the greateſt anguiſh, he is ſaid to have called to the creature in thoſe words and accents of invitation, which are uſed when ſuch animals are wanted to approach us. For the honour of human nature, it is to be hoped this anecdote is a fiction; if it be true, it can only be ſaid, that it is an act which could only be committed by a man, who effected the murder of his royal couſin, attempted adultery with his queen, and hired aſſaſſins to murder all thoſe who obſtructed his progreſs to ſovereign uſurpation. The following traits of ſuch a compoſition of vice, folly, cruelty, and debauchery, not being generally known, may be acceptable to many. He affected the appearance of every ſuperficial accompliſhment, without poſſeſſing a ſingle eſſential quality, to conſtitute either the man of worth, or elegant courtier. Polite in exterior, he devoted himſelf to every art that could raiſe his conſequence, or adminiſter to his pleaſures. Content with the appearance of a gentleman, he had no regard for any worth deſerving reſpectability. To win the praiſe of this country, he affected our manners, without imitating any virtue we may poſſeſs. Profuſe without generoſity, lewd without attachment, debauched without gratification, ſplendid without reſpect, and ſavage without remorſe, he lived a perpetual ſatire upon men of courts, of title, and of fortune. With no talent or diſcretion, his life was devoted to intrigue. Affecting to be a politician, he was always the dupe of his own opinion, and at laſt the victim of his execrable deſigns. Extravagantly fond of praiſe, he patronized the vileſt and loweſt ſycophants. Narrow in his views, he perpetually deluded himſelf with the hope of poſſeſſing what his nature could never enjoy, nor his ſpirit atchieve. Without genius, courage, or temper, he formed plans which expoſed him to ridicule, exhauſted his finances; and, at laſt terminated his life with the ignominy of a tyrant, ſavage, and would-be uſurper.

a man

a man full in the face. He was maſter of the talent of declamation, and as a public ſpeaker, was not amiſs at compoſition. In his harangues, he was extremely fond of the figure called *antitheſis*; but failed whenever he attempted irony. His diction was at times harſh, at others harmoniouſly modulated, frequently brilliant, but often trite, and blended with common place digreſſions on *virtue*, *crimes*, and *conſpiracies*. Even when prepared, he was but an indifferent orator: his logic was replete with ſophiſms and ſubtilties; but he was in general ſterile of ideas, with but a very limited ſcope of thought, as is almoſt always the caſe with thoſe who are too much taken up with themſelves.

Pride formed the baſis of his character; and he had a great thirſt for literary, but a ſtill greater for political fame. He ſpoke with contempt of Mr. Pitt; and yet above Mr. Pitt he could ſee nobody unleſs himſelf. The reproaches of the Engliſh journaliſts, were a high treat to his vanity; whenever he denounced them, his action and expreſſion betrayed how much his ſelf-love was flattered. It was delightful to him to hear the French armies named the armies of Robeſpierre; and he was charmed with being included in the liſt of tyrants. Daring and cowardly at the ſame time, he threw a veil over his manœuvres, and was often imprudent in pointing out his victims.

If one of the repreſentatives made a motion which diſpleaſed him, he ſuddenly turned round towards him, and eyed him with a menacing aſpect for ſome minutes. Weak and revengeful, ſober and ſenſual, chaſte by temperament, and a libertine by the effect of the imagination, he was fond of attracting the notice of the women, and had them impriſoned for the ſole pleaſure of reſtoring to them their liberty. He made them ſhed tears to wipe them from their checks. In practiſing his deluſions, it was his particular aim, to act upon tender and weak minds: he ſpared the prieſts, becauſe they could forward his plans; and the ſuperſtitious and devotees, becauſe he could convert them into inſtruments to favour his power,

His ſtile and expreſſion were in a manner myſtical; and next to pride, ſubtlety was the moſt marked feature of his character. He was ſurrounded by thoſe only, whoſe conduct had been higly criminal, becauſe he could with one word deliver them over to the puniſhment of the law. He at once protected and terrified a part of the convention: he converted crimes into errors, and errors into crimes; he dreaded even the ſhades of the martyrs of liberty, whoſe in-

fluence he weakened, by ſubſtituting his own: he was ſo extremely ſuſpicious and diſtruſtful, that he could have found it in his heart to *guillotine* the dead themſelves.

To enter into a ſtrict analyſis of his character, Robeſpierre, born without genius, could not create circumſtances, but profited by them with addreſs. To the profound hypocriſy of Cromwel, he joined the cruelty of Sylla, without poſſeſſing any of the great military and political qualities of either of theſe ambitious adventurers: his pride and his ambition, far above his merits, expoſed him to ridicule. To obſerve the emphaſis with which he boaſted of having proclaimed the exiſtence of a Supreme Being, one might have ſaid, that according to his opinion, God would not have exiſted without him.

When on the night of the 27th of July, he found himſelf abandoned by his friends, he diſcharged a piſtol in his mouth, and at the ſame time, a *gens d'arms* wounded him by the diſcharge of another. Robeſpierre fell bathed in blood; and a *Sans Culotte* approaching him, very coolly pronounced theſe words in his ear, "*There exiſts a Supreme "Being* *."

What the ultimate views of *Robeſpierre*, with his creatures or aſſociates were, or whether he had any fixed and determinate plan at all, farther than the immediate gratification of an intriguing and reſtleſs diſpoſition, incapable of copartnerſhip or moderation, cannot yet be certainly known †. Some have thought that it was his deſign to bring the dauphin out of confinement, and, in his perſon, to reſtore monarchy. But Robeſpierre was generally conſidered as a determined fanatic: nor could he have any reaſonable hope, in the actual temper of the nation, and under the new diviſion of property, of being able to carry that plan into execution. On the other hand, if he reflected at all on the inveterate paſſion for liberty that had pervaded all France, and diſcomfited ſo many attempts to reſtore monarchical government, he could not ſuppoſe that the French nation could brook tyranny in the perſon of an upſtart dictator: a dictator unadorned with the ſplendor of military atchievements, and ſullied, in public opinion at leaſt, by that littleneſs and chicane, which are aſcribed to the profeſſion of the law in every nation of Europe.

As ſeveral patriots had been put under arreſt by Robeſpierre, his plan ſeems to have been to get rid of all, whoſe

* Il-y-à un Etre Suprême.

† It was ſaid by *Cromwel*, or of *Cromwel*, that a man never mounted higher than when he knew not whither he was going.

abili-

abilities or virtues ſtood the leaſt in his way, and then to form a triumvirate with the blood-thirſty Couthon, and the ambitious St. Juſt. "Theſe men," ſaid a member of the convention, "wiſhed to form a triumvirate, which "would recal the bloody proſcriptions of Sylla; the "triumvirs would have been Robeſpierre, St. Juſt, and "Couthon. The laſt is a tyger, who thirſts for the blood "of the national repreſentatives. He has dared, as a royal "paſtime, to ſpeak in the club of the Jacobins, of cutting "off five or ſix heads at a time." "Yes, Yes!" reſounded from all parts, "he would have made uſe of our "carcaſes, as ſo many ſteps to mount the throne." Barrere's ſentiments with regard to this matter, are as follow: "I come," ſaid he, from the committee of public "ſafety, to declare that the conſpiracy has not altered the "ſocial organization for a moment; that this partial com-"motion has left the government entire with reſpect to all "political, adminiſtrative, and revolutionary operations, "both at home and abroad. The conſpirators never did "any thing towards the organization, or the action of go-"vernment. It is a fact of which too many citizens are "ignorant, that proud of their reputation for patriotiſm, "they deſpiſed the man of buſineſs, diſdained the obſcure "functions of labour, and carried their ariſtocracy to ſuch "a pitch, as to think themſelves above ſerving their coun-"try. St. Juſt and Robeſpierre abſented themſelves from "the conſtant and daily buſineſs by which a ſtate is go-"verned, without feeling that it is ſo. They found us "vulgar enough to attempt ſaving our country in detail: "for themſelves they reſerved the pride and the luxury of "governing. They attended only to a part of the general "police, eſpecially organized by themſelves, and for them-"ſelves. The revolutionary government, and the executive "commiſſions, were organized contrary to their wiſhes; "and when they ſaw that we were determined to put the "republican government into form, all the part they took "in it was to fill the commiſſions with as many of their "creatures as they could put in. Thus, while we were ho-"neſtly compoſing executive commiſſions, St. Juſt and "Robeſpierre, rejecting the choice of perſons made by you, "impoſed upon us perſons whom they intended to make "the inſtruments of their abominable plan. The Briſſo-"tines truſted to their power in the departments; Robe-"ſpierre truſted to rule by the force of the centre of the re-"public, although he had alſo endeavoured to gain over ſe-"veral of the departments. Henriot had made oath to the

" new triumvirate, that he would anſwer with his life for
" the ſucceſs of the plan. The failure of his promiſes, en-
" raged his accomplices. Coffintal, one of the judges of the
" revolutionary tribunal, after fiercely reproaching him
" with having ruined them all, threw Henriot out of one
" the windows of the commune. On the propoſition of
" Dumas, the committee of execution at the commune, of
" which Simon was preſident, had ordered that the Gen-
" darmerie ſhould be ſhot, as well as the members of the
" revolutionary tribunal, and a certain number of the con-
" vention. The republic was parcelled out among the tri-
" umvirate and the commune. St. Juſt was to go with
" full powers to the army of the north; Couthon and Ro-
" beſpierre the younger, to the armies of the ſouth; Ro-
" beſpierre the elder was to reign at Paris. A vaſt number
" of counter-revolutionary papers were circulated in the de-
" partments. Of all theſe facts we have proofs."

But whatever might be the views of Robeſpierre, the cataſtrophe that involved his ate, with that of his partiſans, is a moſt copious ſubject of reflection moral and political 1. Among the features that diſfigure the French revolution, and conſequently the national character of the French, from whoſe minds and tempers the revolution directly ſprings, is this, that in their internal diſſentions and conteſts, there is no gradation in puniſhment, no moderation in victory. *Death* is awarded to every crime, proved or ſuſpected; the political partiſan is to be appeaſed only by the death of his adverſary*. How many individuals have fallen ſacrifices, not to crimes, not to venial tranſgreſſions, not to ſlight and unfounded ſuſpicions, but to their very virtues. 2. How fluctuating is popular favour, and on what trivial circumſtances, and unknown variations in the humours of men, do great affairs depend? The commune of Paris, the armed force of Paris, the Jacobin club at Paris, ramified into every part of France, and hitherto the arbiters of the public councils and fortune, were all on the ſide of Robeſpierre. But a ſpirit of bold patriotiſm was quickly ſpread by powerful ſympathy from certain individuals in the national convention throughout all claſſes in Paris. A force was quickly provided for guarding the national convention from violence; the courage and firmneſs of the Pariſian guards were not to be rallied by the intrepid ora-

* This conſideration by the way, may have been that which determined Robeſpierre to purſue his opponents in the convention even to death. The party of Tallien, he might ſuppoſe, would be ſatisfied only with his death. He meant to ſtrike the firſt blow.

tory,

tory, and example of *Henriot*; the commune of Paris, which had at firſt promiſed an aſylum to Robeſpierre, tamely gave him up; the municipality and the ſections of Paris, congratulated the convention on his arreſt; and all the people expreſſed immoderate joy at the execution of him, who, but a few days before, had been their idol. But, had the Commune of Paris, and the municipal guards, been firm to their engagements, the convention might have been ſurrounded before they had time to ſtrike a blow. The courage of that aſſembly might have been caſt down, and that of the Jacobins proportionably exalted. The fate of France hung in ſuſpenſe on the queſtion, who ſhould ſtrike the firſt blow; and was to be determined by the toſs-up of a halfpenny. It was perhaps owing to the confidence they placed in the Jacobins, and the municipality of Paris, that Robeſpierre, his brother, Couthon, St. Juſt, and others, behaved with ſuch undaunted courage, when Robeſpierre was denounced in the convention. 4. That which chiefly intereſts us, and all neighbouring nations in the late cataſtrophe at Paris, is its political conſequences. We in Britain have not, perhaps, been fully ſenſible, how general the ſpirit of liberty had become in France, and how deeply rooted. We have been prone to hope, that the cauſe of monarchy would draw ſome advantage from the prevalence of certain men and ſets of men, and the fall of others. Various ups and downs, however, of this kind have taken place; and ſtill the French go on in their wild carreer. We are apt to look at men and perſonal influence; the French, to principles, to freedom, to the eſtabliſhment of a republic. Even if Robeſpierre and his faction had gained the advantage over the convention, it is not probable that their aſcendancy would have been laſting; though they might have bound the nation in fetters for a time, and prepared the way for various events, never now to happen. By the overthrow of that faction which aimed to give law to the convention, the authority of that aſſembly will be confirmed; and the tide of affairs will flow more and more in the channel of republicaniſm. Tallien may undergo the fate of Danton and Robeſpierre, but other heads will ſpring up; and thus, this turbulent ſtate may be continued for a time, at leaſt, amidſt death and diſaſter, in various forms.

Every day brought to light ſome new atrocity committed by Robeſpierre, who had placed his creatures in all departments, and particularly in the revolutionary tribunal. This gave riſe to the arreſt of the judges and juries of that tribunal, which was re-organized.

The

The convention decreed, that one fourth of the members of all the committees, without diſtinction, ſhould be renewed monthly, and then proceeded by public vote, to complete the committee of public welfare. The new members are, Effachereau the elder, Breard la Loi, Thuriot, Treillard, and Tallien. The old ones are, Carnot, Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, Billaud de Varennes, Prieur de la Cote d'Or, and Robert Lindet.

Theſe important regulations of the Paris committees, ſeem to promiſe a correction of the powers uſurped in favour of tyranny, and a reſtoration of the legiſlative independence of the convention. The committee of public ſafety, now called THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF GOVERNMENT, by being renewed every month, and its members not eligible until after the interval of another month, muſt operate as a check on thoſe who would attempt to abuſe the powers with which they are inveſted. Permanent committees are ever attended with the greateſt dangers to the perſons and liberties of a people. To this may be aſcribed the deſtruction of Roman and Grecian liberty, as well as the dreadful and enormous ſacrifices that have indelibly ſtained the tribunals of France. There is, conſequently, no part of political organization which requires more the watchful jealouſy of a people, than that of preventing any delegated power being perpetuated.

On the 10th of Auguſt, the ci-devant miniſters Paré and Deſforques, the national deputy Neufchateau, who had been under arreſt about twelve months, the actors of the *Theatre Françaiſe*, and ſeven hundred other priſoners, were all ſet at liberty. One hundred priſoners were alſo releaſed from their confinement in the priſon of the Luxembourg. Tallien, the conqueror of Robeſpierre, came to deliver them. Noiſy and vociferous as the people uſed to be, when whole groupes of men were guillotined; as heartily and loudly did they rejoice, at ſeeing theſe unfortunate men releaſed. When Tallien went to the Luxembourg, to announce to the priſoners their deliverance, vaſt crowds of people accompanied him, loaded him with bleſſings, and *embraced both him and the releaſed priſoners.* Tears of joy guſhed from the eyes of all perſons preſent. Only ſeven of the whole number of priſoners, who were real criminals, were left to ſuffer death. All the other priſoners confined in that priſon, and now releaſed, were marked on the death or preſcription liſt of the ſanguinary Robeſpierre, and were to have been ſent before the revolutionary tribunal.

After the execution of Robeſpierre, the Abbé Syeyes tranſ-

tranſmitted a memorial to the committee of public ſafety, in which he declared that the revolution was to be looked upon *as not having commenced*, in reality, before that period.

Some time prior to this, James Monroe was admitted in great ſtate, to deliver his credentials as ambaſſador from America to the French republic. He produced credentials from Waſhington, and the ſecretary of ſtate, declaring the good wiſhes of the preſident and ſenate of America; the former of whom concludes his letter with praying God to have the *French republic in his holy keeping*. America having thus deputed a miniſter plenipotentiary to France, evinces her attachment and anxiety to connect herſelf more cloſely, with that country. This diſpoſition, the miniſters of Great Britain ſhould obſerve with the greateſt vigilance. This opens to the mind of the politician an ample field for ſpeculation, in which the views of America ſeem to be extended beyond the cultivation of her own territories, the eſtabliſhment of her infant manufactures, and the cheriſhing of her riſing reſources. Time will evince how far her policy has been prudent.

The preſident of the national convention thus addreſſed the American miniſter: "The French people have not for-
"gotten, that it is to the American people they owe the be-
"ginning of liberty. It was by admiring the *ſublime in-*
"*ſurrection* of the American people againſt Albion; it was
"by taking arms themſelves to ſecond the courageous ef-
"forts of that inſurrection; it was by cementing the inde-
"pendence of America, with the blood of their braveſt
"warriors, that the French people learned to break the
"ſceptre of tyranny in their turn, and to erect the ſtatue
"of liberty on the ruins of a throne, founded on fourteen
"centuries of corruption and crimes.

"How then ſhould they not be friends? How ſhould
"they not be aſſociated by reciprocal means of proſperity,
"which commerce and navigation preſent to two nations
"become free by mutual aid? But this is not an alliance
"purely diplomatic; it is the ſweeteſt, the frankeſt frater-
"nity that ought to unite them; it is this fraternity that
"unites them in effect, and the union will be for ever
"indiſſoluble, as it will be for ever the ſcourge of deſpots,
"the ſafeguard of the liberty of the world, the conſervation
"of all the ſocial and philanthropic virtues.

"In bringing us the pledge of this union ſo dear to us,
"you cannot fail to be received with the moſt lively intereſt.
"Five years ago, the uſurper of the ſovereignty of the
"people

"people would have received you with the pride which "befits only vice; and he would have thought that he did "much in granting to the minister of a free nation some "marks of his insolent protection. To-day, it is the sove- "reign people, represented by faithful mandatories, that re- "ceives you; and you see with what tenderness, what ef- "fusion of heart, this simple and touching ceremony is ac- "companied. Let me not delay to crown it by the frater- "nal embrace which I am charged to give you in the name "of the French people! Come and receive it in the "name of the American people! And may this picture "complete destroying the last hope of the impious coalition "of tyrants!"

The whole assembly rose up with one emotion and exclaimed, *Vive la Republique!*

The minister of the United States was conducted to the president of the convention, who gave him the fraternal embrace. He then took his seat among the representatives of the people, who redoubled their acclamations. Mons Bayle moved, that, in order to consecrate the fraternity which ought to exist between the two greatest republics of the two worlds, an American and a French flag should be united, and hung up in the place of their sitting, as a sign of eternal amity and alliance; which was decreed with unanimous applause.

Towards the end of July, a dreadful fire broke out at Ratcliffe Highway, about a mile below the Tower, which consumed more houses than any one conflagration has done, since the great fire of London. It began at Mr. Cloves's barge-builder, at Cock-hill, near Ratcliffe, about three o'clock in the afternoon; and it was occasioned by the boiling over of a pitch-kettle that stood under his warehouse, which was consumed in a very short time. It then communicated to a barge, it being low water, lying adjoining to the premises, laden with salt-petre and other stores. This caused the conflagration to spread widely in a short time. Several other vessels and small crafts lying near the barge, soon after took fire, without any possibility of getting them off. The blowing up of the salt-petre from the barge occasioned large flakes of fire to fall on the warehouses belonging to the East India Company, from whence the salt-petre was removing to the Tower (twenty tons of which had been fortunately moved the preceding day). The flames soon caught the warehouses, and here the scene became dreadful; all these buildings were consumed, with all their contents, to a great amount. The wind blowing

ſtrong from the ſouth, and the High-ſtreet of Ratcliffe being narrow, both ſides caught fire, which prevented the engines from being of any eſſential ſervice; and, in the courſe of the evening, it extended itſelf to the premiſes of Mr. Joſeph Hanks, timber merchant, in London-ſtreet, where it again raged moſt furiouſly, and communicated to Butcher-row, the whole of the weſt and part of the eaſt-ſide of which was conſumed. The fire then took its courſe up Brook-ſtreet, Stepney Cauſeway, caught the premiſes of Mr. Shakeſpeare, rope-maker, and burnt through to the fields on the one ſide, and the whole of the dwellings on the other; forming altogether a ſquare of great extent. What is very remarkable the dwelling-houſe of Mr. Bear, an extenſive building, although ſurrounded by the flames, was fortunately preſerved without the leaſt injury.

A ſurvey was ſoon after taken by the warden and officers of the hamlet, whoſe report was, "That out of one thou-"ſand two hundred houſes, of which the hamlet conſiſted, "not more than five hundred and ſeventy were preſerved "from the general conflagration." It having been reported that the fire was maliciouſly occaſioned, upon the moſt minute inquiry, it is clearly aſcertained that it was entirely accidental, from the cauſe abovementioned. It raged with ſo much violence, that it was with the greateſt difficulty Mr. Cloves and his ſervants eſcaped, one of whom was terribly burnt, and is now in the London hoſpital; and Mr. Cloves himſelf had his arm broke, and is otherwiſe much hurt. From the great diſtreſs the fire occaſioned to a number of poor families, government immediately ordered one hundred and twenty tents to be immediately pitched for their accommodation in Stepney-fields till they could be more comfortably provided for. That ſome idea may be formed of the very great loſs ſuſtained by this unfortunate event, the warehouſes of Mr. Whiting contained ſugars to the amount of upwards of 40,000l. which were entirely deſtroyed. The diſtreſs of the miſerable inhabitants exceeded all deſcription. In the ſurrounding fields were depoſited the few goods, conſiſting chiefly of bedding, they were able to ſave. Stepney church was opened for their reception, and above a thouſand people were obliged to remain all night in the fields, watching the remnant of their property.—Children crying for their loſt parents, and parents lamenting the fate of their children, added to the horrors of a ſcene not equalled during the preſent century.

Much about the ſame time, great riots diſturbed the tranquillity of the metropolis. It had been diſcovered, that the people

people employed in kidnapping men to recruit the army had been guilty of many acts of ſhocking oppreſſion and barbarity. One poor wretch confined in a lock-up houſe, threw himſelf from a window, and was daſhed to pieces. Other acts of cruelty were brought to light, and made known to the mob, who vented their fury by deſtroying the furniture of many public houſes where the recruiting buſineſs was carried on. The commotions upon this occaſion gave ſerious alarm to government. Six regiments of cavalry were ordered to take poſt on the borders of the town; and the lord mayor circulated a printed requeſt, that children and ſervants might be prevented from appearing in the ſtreets at night. Many of the rioters were apprehended. The gentlemen of the aſſociation for preſerving the peace of the city of London paraded the ſtreets every evening as a corps of obſervation; and tranquillity, in a ſhort time, was reſtored to the town and its environs.

CHAP. XXIX.

Prince de Cobourg's Addreſs to the Germans.—Prince of Orange's Propoſition to the Sates General.—Britiſh Army.—Head Quarters of the Prince of Orange.—Prince of Saxe-Cobourg's Farewel Addreſs to the Army.—Britiſh Commiſſioners ſent to the Court of Vienna.—Imperial Army.—Surrender of Valenciennes, Queſnoy, and Condé announced.—The Telegraphe.—Surrender of Sluys.—Eſtimate of the French Armies.—Affairs of Spain.—Watt found guilty of High Treaſon.

THE Imperial and Pruſſian armies having abondoned all offenſive operations on the left bank of the Rhine, and concentrated their force to defend Mentz and Manheim, the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, as the laſt effort, to rouſe the Germans to a ſenſe of their dangers, publiſhed on the 30th of July, from his head quarters at Foron le Comte, the following addreſs; in which the ſpirit of the ſoldier and the integrity of the man, are moſt eminently diſplayed. " German brothers and friends, our valorous " armies have juſt quitted the fertile plains, in which they

" have ſuſtained the moſt ſevere combats during three
" bloody campaigns, for the preſervation of your property,
" the repoſe of your lives, the ſecurity of your fields, the
" maintenance of your religion, the happineſs of your
" children, the riches of your flouriſhing provinces, and
" to ſave thoſe provinces from ruin and complete annihila-
" tion. Plains in which they maintained, at the expence
" of their blood, which has flowed for three ſucceſſive
" years, the glory of their arms, by the generous ſacrifice
" of their lives, and of their means; while they ſacrificed
" thoſe deareſt ties which attach men of diſtant nations,
" not leſs than yourſelves, to their homes, and to their
" country; and while they voluntarily renounced all the
" domeſtic happineſs they had a right to expect.

" The inexhauſtible reſources of a nation in a ſtate of
" furor, which ſports with the life and happineſs of man,
" with religion, with the duties, with the bands of civil
" ſociety; its innumerable cohorts, which are led to
" ſlaughter by their tyrants, and who, by laviſhing their
" blood, purchaſe the fleeting ſhadow of an imaginary
" liberty; the inactivity of a blinded people, who would
" not liſten to the approach of danger any more than to
" the paternal voice of their good prince; the ſecret prac-
" tices, which we hardly know by what name to call, of
" ſeveral of their ambitious repreſentatives, men in whom
" this very people ſee, now too late, and abhor the authors
" of their unbounded and unceaſing miſery. All theſe
" cauſes have forced our armies to retreat to your fron-
" tiers.

" It is there that they are now poſted, weakened, but
" not vanquiſhed; fatigued by an unequal conteſt, but
" not humbled by diſcouragement, nor ſubdued by deſpair.
" It is there that they form, as it were, an advanced wall
" of defence for their Germanic liberty; to act as a ram-
" part for your religion, your laws, and your families.
" The Meuſe is the line of ſeparation between the total
" loſs and the preſervation, between the overthrow and
" the maintenance of all theſe; between miſery and hap-
" pineſs. Riſe, then, German brothers and friends! On
" you will depend the making it poſſible for your de-
" liverers to live or die for your defence. I, myſelf a
" German prince, full of ſolicitude, not leſs for the ſafety
" of my country than the preſervation of my warriors—
" I call upon you. Procure us ſubſiſtence, bring us pro-
" viſions from your magazines. Think that in forward-
" ing to us theſe painful ſuccours, you ſecure at the ſame
" time

" time your approaching harveſt—Share with us your " ſavings—To obtain what we want, employ the trea- " ſures of your churches. Give your utenſils and vaſes " of ſilver to the emperor, for the pay of your defenders. " You will receive receipts for the re-payment in due " form, and you will be paid intereſt for the pecuniary aids " you have thus procured. Replace the reſources of Bel- " gium, which have been cut off from us, and now flow " for our enemies. Nurſe and relieve, with a ſolicitude " full of charity, our ſick and wounded!

" Riſe, courageous inhabitants of the fair countries of " the Rhine and the Moſelle! Arm yourſelves, ye va- " lorous men! Line your rivers and your defiles! Ac- " company our convoys! Watch over our magazines! " Riſe by thouſands, and fight with us for your altars, for " your habitations, for your emperor, for your liberty! " We will not lead you beyond the rivers of your coun- " try! We will not depopulate your provinces; but " you will ſecure the poſitions at our backs, and you will " guard your own confines. Aſſuredly, German citizens, " we are not deceived with reſpect to you; we have re- " poſed our confidence in the good ſenſe of Germans; " we truſt to the hearts and the blood of the German na- " tion. For three years your emperor has borne the " heavy burthen, and diſtant nations have fought for your " defence. You, yourſelves, muſt ſee that your turn to " take arms is now come, Then I, as commander in " chief of a faithful, approved, and courageous army, " promiſe in the name of my troops—to ſpare you, we " will obſerve a rigorous diſcipline; for your happineſs, " we will ſhed the laſt drop of our blood; as we have " fought for you, we will die for you; and never ſhall " the free, the happy Germany, bow down her head be- " neath the ſteel of the guillotine.—Never ſhall her " peaceful inhabitants exchange their generous morals, " their tranquil ſimplicity, their guardian laws of property, " their conſoling religion, for the licentiouſneſs, the ca- " lumniating ſpirit, the realized ſyſtem of ſpoil, the incre- " dulity, impoſed by force, of the French.

" But if, on the other hand, you ſhould be ſo unfor- " tunate, like thoſe inhabitants of the Belgic provinces, " who now groan in the boſom of calamity, deprived of " their property, of their liberty, of their altars, as to ſuf- " fer yourſelves to be miſled by ſecret ſeducers, we ſhall " find ourſelves obliged to paſs the Rhine, to leave you a " prey to your enemies, and to withdraw from you, with-

" out

" out ceremony, whatever the enemy might find among " you for their ſubſiſtence."

The Prince of Orange having aſſiſted at the aſſembly of the States-General, on the 4th and 5th of Auguſt, made the following propoſition; which ſhews with what energy the Dutch can prepare to defend themſelves when they find their country in imminent danger. Had they entered upon the war with the ſame ardour, their ſituation would not have required ſuch extraordinary efforts.

" High and Mighty Lords, on the 14th of laſt month, " I laid before the aſſembly of your High Mightineſſes, " my true ſentiments on the preſent ſituation of the affairs " of this republic, relative to the approach of the enemy " towards our frontiers. I proteſted, from the bottom of " my heart, that I was ready to ſacrifice all for its defence. " I conſidered ſaving the ſtate as very poſſible, if redoub- " ling courage and firmneſs, and relying on the divine " aſſiſtance, we employed the means in our hands. Fi- " nally, I conſidered the neglect of thoſe means, and all " unſeaſonable fears, as what would moſt readily lead to " the ruin of our country. Your High Mightineſſes, " and the ſtates of ſome provinces, have already made a " public declaration that theſe ſentiments are your own, " and proteſted the moſt zealous good will to aſſiſt in tak- " ing the moſt efficacious meaſures in ſupport of the com- " mon cauſe; I am well aſſured that the ſtates of all the " provinces will manifeſt the ſame promptitude as ſoon as " their convocation ſhall enable them to come to reſolu- " tions on the ſubject.

" In the mean time, your High Mightineſſes, and all " the colleagues and departments that could contribute to " the means of defence, have not been idle. There has " been much activity in providing the fortreſſes, in filling " the magazines, and in haſtening the equipment of veſ- " ſels for the protection of our rivers. But, however ne- " ceſſary, however uſeful, all theſe meaſures may be in " themſelves, it appears to me that there are two principal " objects beſides, belonging to a complete defence, and for " which proviſion cannot be made, but by grand meaſures " employed in concert; viz. by money and by troops.

" War, I own, is expenſive; the preſent is more ſo " than any hitherto waged; but it differs alſo in its nature " from all preceding wars, becauſe we have to deal with " an enemy who have recourſe to means hitherto un- " known, and who reckon as nothing the loſs of their " colonies, of their commerce, their agriculture, and all

" national proſperity, provided that, by compelling all the " reſources of their own country, they can reduce other " nations to the ſame exhauſted ſtate. Such an enemy is " not to be combated with parſimonious finances.—The " force that muſt be oppoſed to them requires great efforts, " doubtleſs, but yet not too great, if we conſider what " would be the conſequence of their ſucceeding in their " deſigns. I cannot, therefore, enough recommend it to " your High Mightineſſes, and to the reſpective provinces, " to employ all the means poſſible, in order that the " finances may be put into a ſtate to ſupply with promp- " titude the expences which the protection of the republic " neceſſarily requires. The other object I mentioned is " neither leſs neceſſary nor leſs urgent. To what end " would be the ſtate of the fortifications, of the inunda- " tions, of the veſſels, if men were wanting to defend " them?

" It has appeared to me, that this defence may be con- " ſidered as of two kinds—*the foreign defence*, and the *in- " ternal defence*. The former relates to the army of the " ſtate, which muſt act in the field, or in the ſtrong places, " out of the provinces; the latter, which muſt act in con- " cert with the army, to cover the provinces themſelves, " or afford an opportunity to employ the regular troops out " of the provinces.

" No perſon can doubt but that the army of the ſtate " has ſuffered much loſs in the many bloody battles, by " diſeaſe, by the ordinary courſe of nature, or other miſ- " fortune; and experience has ſhewn that recruiting in the " ordinary way has been extremely difficult, ſo that the " army is far ſhort of being complete. This deficiency, " in my opinion, ought to be ſupplied as ſoon as poſſible; " and, for this purpoſe, I have found no means more " prompt than a general recruiting out of the country, for " all the corps of the army without diſtinction, ſo that the " levies made in this way may be delivered to the captains " of companies which are not complete, at the price they " have coſt the public, or at ſome price agreed upon. " This meaſure, if your High Mightineſſes ſhould ap- " prove of it, will not coſt the ſtate much beyond the " proviſional advance of the money, which, as well as the " payment of the officers employed in this general re- " cruiting out of the country, will be repaid.

" The reaſon for which I propoſe this recruiting out " of the country is, that it may not claſh with another " meaſure, which I think of the higheſt neceſſity, viz. the

" levying

" levying a conſiderable body of the inhabitants of the
" country for the protection of the ſeveral provinces. I
" ſhould think that the manner in which this levy or en-
" rolment might be made, ought to be regulated by the
" different ſituations of the provinces. But I cannot ſuf-
" ficiently expreſs my ſatisfaction at what I have already
" often recollected, that there is a very great number of
" citizens, friends of their country, who have manifeſted
" the moſt ardent deſire for ſuch an enrolment, and who
" have given aſſurances at the ſame time, that they will
" willingly contribute, by way of ſubſcription, to ſupport
" the expence of the men who may be more directly em-
" ployed in the protection of their perſons and property."

" However, although the mode of enrolment ought to
" be left to the ſeveral provinces, ſome preliminary points,
" I think, ſhould be ſettled, to be obſerved as general rules
" in this operation; viz. that theſe levies muſt be united
" in corps, formed, with ſuch changes as their compo-
" ſition may require, on the model of regular troops; that
" they muſt be exerciſed, as faſt as poſſible, by military and
" non-commiſſioned officers, and commanded by military
" officers in the ſervice of the ſtate; that they muſt take
" the ſame oath as the other troops of the republic; that
" they muſt be aſſured of not being employed in the field,
" or out of the country, without their conſent; that, as
" far as the circumſtances of the defence of the country
" will permit, they ſhall be employed in the province in
" which they were enrolled; that their engagement ſhall
" laſt only for the remaining months of the preſent year;
" and that being, in ſeveral reſpects on a different footing
" from military forces, they muſt have more ample
" pay.

" I again ſubmit theſe propoſitions to your High
" Mightineſſes. It is unneceſſary to preſs you farther on
" the ſubject. Your High Mightineſſes know the urgen-
" cy of the circumſtances, and will take, in your wiſdom,
" ſuch reſolutions as the intereſt of the ſtate, and the ſafety
" of us all require."

On the 23d of Auguſt, the Prince of Orange arrived at Breda, and had a long conference with the duke of York. The inundations had ſucceeded ſo well, that it was no longer thought abſolutely neceſſary for the duke's army to remain in their poſition at Ooſterhout; at ſeven o'clock next morning, therefore, the reſerve ammunition and heavy baggage moved off ſlowly towards Crevecœur. An attack, however, was ſoon after made by the enemy on

the poſt of Gilſe, occupied by light dragoons, who were compelled to fall back. The French advanced to within about three miles of Breda, when they were obliged in their turn to retire.

On the 28th, about twelve o'clock at night, an order was received in the camp for the troops to hold themſelves in readineſs to march at a moment's notice; the tents were accordingly ſtruck, and they marched a little before three. This order was in conſequence of a council of war, which had been held a few hours before at the head-quarters at Ooſterhout. Information had been received that the enemy had made a movement towards the left of the army, and intended, if poſſible, to cut off their retreat towards Bois-le-Duc. As they were not moleſted on their march, the army were encamped on a large common, within three miles of that place, about four o'clock in the afternoon. On their leaving the ground near Breda, between ſix and ſeven thouſand Dutch, who were encamped on the other ſide of the town, immediately marched into it.

The head-quarters of the hereditary Prince of Orange were now alſo removed from Breda to the neighbourhood of Raamſdonk. On the 29th, a large train of waggons, cannon, and ammunition, paſſed through that town from Gertruydenberg. Of this change of poſition, the prince ſent the following notice to the States-General.

"High and Mighty Lords, the Duke of York having "laſt night proceeded with his army towards Bois-de-Duc, "I alſo left my poſition this day; and, having left the "garriſon in Breda, have proceeded hither. With the "remaining troops I have fortified the intrenchments of "Wiſpic, Gertruydenberg, Zand-au-dehours, Sevenbergen, and Steenbergen with the outer poſts. Nothing of "any moment has occured with the army of the ſtates."

The Duke of York, the hereditary Prince of Orange, and general Beaulieu, held a council of war at Bois-le-Duc, on the 1ſt of September, which laſted for upwards of four hours. A pontoon bridge was ſoon after laid over the Meuſe at Grave, to be in readineſs for the army, in caſe the enemy ſhould advance; and then it was determined that a poſition ſhould be taken up near Nimeguen, on the left bank of the Waal.

On the evening of the 14th, a very ſevere engagement took place at ſome diſtance from Bois-le-Duc, near Boxtel, between the Britiſh army encamped behind the Dommel, and the French troops which had proceeded into the mayoralty. A very heavy firing was kept up till late at night, when

when the Britiſh retreated to Geſtel, where they were again attacked at five in the morning, and a moſt obſtinate conflict enſued, with a conſiderable loſs on both ſides. The firing, both of the artillery and muſketry, was kept up till noon, when the Britiſh were forced to abandon their poſition, and to retreat to Schyndel; the Britiſh army having concentrated itſelf, ſeemed reſolved to maintain its poſts at Dinter and in the environs; and it was thought a third action would immediately take place. In the interim, the troops having returned from Bois-le-Duc, that city was expoſed to a ſudden attack. On theſe diſaſtrous occaſions the villages of Boxtel and Geſtel ſuffered conſiderably; a part of the former was burnt, and the reſt plundered and ravaged. The Duke of York's retreat to Grave left an opening between Breda and Bois-le-Duc, through which an enemy, leſs daring than the French, might penetrate into Holland, by paſſing the Meuſe near Bommel, where the river is fordable.

An Imperial decree now required the ſtates of the empire to take into immediate conſideration, the vigorous meaſures neceſſary to be taken in order to continue the war. It demanded as an indiſpenſable neceſſity, that the forces of the German empire ſhould be increaſed to five times the common contingent. It further expreſſed, that ſince the decree of the empire of January laſt, an augmentation of the forces of the empire was become more neceſſary, and more preſſing, in conſequence of violent and extraordinary meaſures adopted by the French, the invincibility of their arms, and the enthuſiaſtic zeal they had acquired by great and repeated ſucceſs which they ſeemed to puſh to the utmoſt. "Let the German empire therefore," continued the emperor, "concentrate its forces, and with a patriotic union, oppoſe German courage and intrepidity, to an enemy who is grown powerful by ſuperiority in numbers, and by propagating deſtructive principles. The propoſal of a quintuple contingent cannot but be extremely painful to the tender and paternal feelings of his Imperial Majeſty. But extraordinary and preſſing circumſtances require extraordinary and vigorous meaſures, and which, when the ſafety of all Germany is at a ſtake, cannot be looked upon as extravagant or unneceſſary. His Imperial Majeſty thinks himſelf obliged to declare, in caſe of a refuſal of this meaſure on the part of the empire, that, for the future, it will be out of the power of his Imperial Majeſty, without the co-operation of the ſtates of the empire, any longer to continue in the active protection and defence

of Germany; conſidering the ſacrifices his majeſty had already made, during three campaigns, of men, and of ſo many millions of money, having exhauſted his domeſtic means, and exceeded the limits of his capacity."

Meanwhile the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg ſet out for Vienna, after taking leave of the army by the following addreſs: "His majeſty having vouchſafed to comply with "my moſt humble repreſentation, by accepting my re- "ſignation of the command in chief of the army, which "my want of health, added to the weakneſs of my bo- "dily frame, would not permit me any longer to hold; "and this command having been immediately intruſted by "his majeſty to his excellency Monſeigneur Count de "Clairfayt, general of artillery, I take this mode to an- "nounce the above change in the army. At the ſame "time, I avail myſelf of this opportunity to teſtify to all "the generals and officers, as well as to the whole army in "general, my ſtrong regret at this ſeparation. I beſeech "them to be convinced that my eſteem for the troops who "have manifeſted ſo much bravery, and my gratitude for "their good will, their fidelity, and perſonal attachment, "will be everlaſtingly and deeply impreſſed on my mind, "as their recollection will be always dear to me.—My "prayers for the ſucceſs and glory of their arms will fol- "low them everywhere; and though for the preſent I ceaſe to "be their chief and their guide, I ſhall never ceaſe to admire "their merits, to rejoice in their exploits, and to be proud "of their friendſhip. I am perſuaded that they will re- "ceive this expreſſion of my ſentiments, and the profuſion "of a heart deeply penetrated, and as the lateſt proof of "my attachment and eſteem."

After the conqueſt of the Auſtrian Netherlands by the French, the court of London became alarmed at the danger to which the Dutch provinces were expoſed. They ſent Earl Spenſer and the honourable Thomas Grenville upon an extraordinary embaſſy to the court of Vienna. At the long conference held between the Prince of Roſemberg, Baron Thugut, and the Britiſh commiſſioners, there alſo attended the Count de Raſonmoffiky, ambaſſador from Ruſſia, and the Pruſſian miniſter plenipotentiary, the Marquis de Luchеſini. The motive for admitting the two laſt miniſters, is involved in that impenetrable obſcurity which marks the whole of the negociation. It is conjectured that the Marquis de Luchеſini perſiſted, in the name of his maſter, on the neceſſity of carrying on an offenſive war to drive the French from the Pays Bas; and that the king

king was willing to employ twenty-five thouſand men to defend the frontiers of Holland. This indeed his own intereſt muſt have diſpoſed him to do, for the ſecurity of Pruſſian Gueldres. He wiſhed, however, to negociate for the maintenance of his troops, at the expence of the emperor, or of the court of London.

The diſmiſſion of the prince of Cohourg from his command, is attributed to theſe commiſſioners who accuſed him with the loſs of Flanders, by his precipitate retreat.

About this time accounts were received from Treves, at the head-quarters of the Imperial army, from the general of cavalry Baron de Blanckenſtein, that the French had driven in his out-poſts from Merzketchen as far as Conſarbroke, and thoſe of the fortreſs of Luxembourg, from the poſt of Octringen, that they had puſhed on to Gravenmachern, and, by conſequence, on that ſide of the communication between Treves and Luxembourg. It was therefore reſolved, in a council of war, as it was impracticable to defend, with nine battalions only, the extent of the left branch of the Higher Moſelle, as far as Birckenfeldt, to maintain, as long as poſſible, the poſt of Treves, near Pellingen, with the three Imperial battalions there, and the two of Cologne. But the great ſuperiority of the enemy's numbers, the vain hope of ſuccour, and the expreſs orders that were given, not entirely to ſacrifice, in caſe of misfortune, the troops deſtined for the protection of Coblentz, determined the general to abandon the poſt of Treves.

A French officer, who deſerted to the camp of the Imperialiſts, was the firſt perſon that communicated the enemy's intention to ſeize upon Treves, a poſt admirably calculated for their advantage. Having made a feint towards Manheim, the Field Marſhal Mollendorff, was thereby completely deceived, and marched with the Pruſſian army to the neighbourhood of Oberſtein. In conſequence of an arrangement between Mollendorff and the Duke de Saxe Teſchen, a body of eighteen thouſand joined the Pruſſian army, to cover Mayence and Manheim *. In

* Much about this time, Michaut, general in chief of the French army on the Rhine, by ſome means or other got into Manheim, of which he took a view, ſupped, and ſlept in one of the principal inns there. On his departure, he gave a letter to one of the waiters; telling him a ſervant would call for it in the morning. After ſome time, nobody calling for the letter, it was opened, and contained the following words in French: "Citizens, Michaut, general of the Sans Culottes, "ſupped here laſt night, and was at the play at Manheim."

the meantime the enemy marched in three columns, and thus made themſelves maſters of the place.

After they had been ſome days in poſſeſſion of Treves, the French ſent a ſtrong body of troops towards Witlich to attack that poſt, which the corps of combined troops had been obliged to abandon. The Pruſſians, after having blown up the works on the ſide of the Moſelle, quitted the poſt of Montreal, and proceeded towards the Hundſruck. The French eſtabliſhed a municipality at Treves, but did not meddle with property, nor interfere with the religious worſhip of the inhabitants.

During the firſt week of September, the following return of the troops under the command of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Saxe Teſchen, was given by himſelf. The army of the empire conſiſted of nine thouſand, one hundred, and ninety horſe, and fifty-five thouſand, one hundred and ſeventy-nine foot; that of the Auſtrians of five thouſand, three hundred, and eighty-three horſe, and twenty four thouſand, ſeven hundred, and eighty-three foot. In this ſtatement, the corps of general Blankenſtein, and the Pruſſian auxiliaries, under the Hereditary Prince of Hohenloe, were included; but the militia of Suabia, now almoſt wholly put upon the footing of the regulars, was not compriſed in it. The Pruſſian army conſiſted altogether of ſixteen regiments of infantry, eighty-five ſquadrons of horſe of the firſt battalion of guards, one battalion of fuſileers, and about one thouſand ſix hundred artillery men. The whole combined force of the Rhine, therefore, conſiſted of about one hundred and fifty thouſand men. This ſtatement was printed by authority at Mentz.

On the 29th of Auguſt, Lecointre of Verſailles, in concert with Tallien, Dubois Crance, and a few others, produced an accuſation againſt ſeven members of the committees of public and general ſafety, namely, Barrere, Billaud de Varrennes, Collot d'Herbois, Vadier, Amar, Vouland, and David. This produced a violent commotion in the convention, and, after a very warm debate, it was decreed, by a great majority, that the charges were unfounded, and that the aſſembly ſhould paſs to the order of the day. During the evening and the following night, the matter was agitated in the clubs and ſocieties of Paris; and attempts were made to repreſent the above decree as an artifice of the majority to get rid of an accuſation which they were afraid to meet.

The charge was contained in twenty-ſix articles, and amounted in fact to accuſing them for not having ſooner deſtroyed

deſtroyed Robeſpierre; and for having acted as the inſtruments of his deſpotiſm. Next day, an attempt was made to bring forward the ſame matter again, and to hear the proofs on both ſides, in the face of the convention, as well for, as againſt the accuſed. After much wrangling, the convention decided, that the accuſation and the proofs ſhould be read. The charges were then brought forward, and diſcuſſed. Collot d'Herbois and ſome of the others ſpoke in their own defence; and after much agitation, the ſittings cloſed with declaring the charge to be calumnious.

On the ſame day was announced to the convention, the ſurrender of Valenciennes, Queſnoy, and Condé, to the arms of the republic. "I take this opportunity," ſaid Barrere, "of mentioning a new eſtabliſhment made under "the auſpices of the national convention. It is a machine "called a *Telegraphe*, by means of which the recapture of "Queſnoy was communicated in Paris two days ago, "within one hour after our troops entered the place. An "ingenious mode invented for tranſmitting information by "a particular language, which being repeated from diſtance "to diſtance, by machines within four or five leagues of "one another, and arriving in a very ſhort ſpace of time, "does honour to the knowledge of the age; and its execu-"tion is your work. The trial of this invention was made "laſt year, in preſence of commiſſioners nominated by the "convention. On a favourable report made by them, the "committee took great pains to eſtabliſh, by means of it, "a communication between Paris, and the places on the "frontiers of the north, beginning with Liſle. Near a "year was employed in collecting the neceſſary inſtruments, "forming the eſtabliſhment of the machines, and teaching "perſons the uſe of them. The ſervice is now ſo far ad-"vanced, that we can write to Liſle on all ſubjects, expreſs "whatever things we pleaſe, even proper names, and re-"ceive anſwers. This can be repeated ſeveral times in a "day. Theſe machines have the advantage of reſiſting all "changes of the atmoſphere, and intemperance of weather. "The only interruption that can be given to their opera-"tion, is by very bad or cloudy weather, which prevents "diſtant objects from being ſeen. It is eaſy to conceive "what general advantages may be derived from machines "of this kind, by eſtabliſhing eaſy communications be-"tween the moſt diſtant parts of the republic. By this in-"vention, diſtances of leagues vaniſh as it were, and cor-"reſpondence is carried on, with the rapidity of ſight. It

is

" is a mode which tends to conſolidate the unity of the re-
" public, by the intimate and quick connection which it
" gives to all its parts. The greateſt advantage in this cor-
" reſpondence is, that when we pleaſe, what is communi-
" cated, can be known only at the two extremities; ſo that
" now the committee of public ſafety can correſpond with
" the repreſentatives of the people at Liſle, without any
" perſon being acquainted with the ſubject. In caſe of a
" ſiege, we could be informed of whatever paſſed in Liſle,
" and tranſmit to Liſle the decrees of the convention, with-
" out the enemy being able to diſcover, or prevent our cor-
" reſpondence. Modern nations, by the diſcovery of printing,
" of gun-powder, the mariner's compaſs, and the language
" of the telegraphic ſigns, have made to vaniſh the greateſt
" obſtacles that oppoſed the civilization of man, and the
" union of great republics. It is thus that the arts and ſci-
" ences aſſiſt liberty *."

Sluys,

* The Marquis of Worceſter, to whom the public are indebted for that noble work the Steam Engine, was the inventor of the Telegraphe. In a very curious and rare little book, written by that noble-man, in the year 1655 entitled, " A Century of the Names and Scant-
" lings of ſuch Inventions as at preſent I can call to mind to *have tried*
" *and perfected*," this method of viſual correſpondence is particularly mentioned.

Monſ. De Lolme ſtates his ſentiments of the Telegraphe, as apply-ing it to the purpoſe of conveying intelligence reſpecting the drawing of lotteries. " The thought that occured to me," ſays he, " was that
" of a contrivance, by which thoſe horſe and foot pigeons might have
" ſaved themſelves a deal of trouble, and at the ſame time have con-
" veyed the knowledge of the firſt drawn numbers to different parts of
" the town, with much more ſpeed than it is poſſible for them to do,
" even if they were to employ real winged pigeons. The thought
" occured to me as a mere joke with myſelf, which I never communi-
" cated, being unwilling to give a hint that might accidently reach and
" aſſiſt ſome diſhoneſt perſons. However, I ſhall mention the con-
" trivance now.—Being publicly expreſſed in a newſpaper, it can do
" no hurt; becauſe, if it ſerves as a bad hint to ſome, it alſo ſerves as
" a proper caution to others; and, at the ſame time, the deſcription
" will enable the reader more readily to underſtand the explanation I
" intend to give in the iſſue, concerning the manner in which the
" knowledge of many ideas, and even of many expreſs words, may be
" conveyed in about half an hour from Liſle to Paris; that is, to the
" diſtance of an hundred and twenty miles.

" The contrivance I meant for ſpeedy conveying to the fartheſt end
" of Oxford-road, the knowledge of a number juſt drawn at Guildhall,
" was this:—A garret ſhould have been hired in ſome houſe near to
" Guildhall, or a place ſhould have been obtained in the upper part of
" that ſteeple which ſtands juſt by. A large black board, about ſeven
" feet long, and ſix feet high, ſhould have been affixed or hung outwards
" to this upper part of the ſteeple; and, upon this black board, the two

or

Sluys, after a brave reſiſtance, at laſt ſurrendered to the French. It was, however, a dear purchaſe; for they loſt, in

" or three intended numbers ſhould have been previouſly written in " large conſpicuous figures, each about eighteen inches long, and pro- " portionally broad and thick, with white chalk, or ſome proper white- " ening ſtuff laid on with a houſe painter's bruſh. A garret ſhould " alſo have been obtained near the end of Oxford Road, and, in this " garret, a teleſcope ſhould have been placed, ready fixed, and directed " towards the above-mentioned board, by means of which teleſcope, the " perſons ſtationed in the garret, would have inſtantly read the num- " bers upon the board. It is a well-known fact, that, with a reflecting- " teleſcope, about one foot or fifteen inches long, it is eaſy to ſee the " hour exhibited by a church dial ſituated at the diſtance of two or " three miles.

" Having expreſſed the above idea to the reader, I ſhall now obſerve, " that it is poſſible to diſtinguiſh and clearly read letters and words " from a diſtance of fifteen miles, or more. For that purpoſe, a power- " ful teleſcope ſhould be uſed; and the white letters on the black " board ſhould be very large; that is to ſay, thoſe letters which have no " tails, ſhould be three feet long; and thoſe with tails, ſhould be five or " ſix feet long, being at the ſame time proportionably broad and thick. " The black board might be of a ſufficient ſize to contain forty letters " in four lines.

" Now, ſuppoſing that ſeven ſtations, with ſuch a black-board, and a " proper apparatus belonging to each, were placed in the intermediate " ſpace, between the two extreme ſtations at Liſle and Paris, thus form- " ing that ſpace into eight diviſions, of fifteen miles each, it would be " poſſible, in half an hour's time, to communicate from Liſle to Paris, " the words "*Condé has ſurrendered this morning at ſix o'clock.*"

" I am taking it here for granted, that the perſons placed at the nine " different ſtations, are very attentive in watching the reſpective ſignals, " as well as expeditious in writing upon the black boards, and alſo that " the teleſcopes are kept conſtantly fixed and properly directed. I " mean preſently to deſcribe a very expeditious method of placing large " white letters on the black board.

" By means of forty letters, very conciſely uſed, it is poſſible to con- " vey a deal of important intelligence, in a clear and ſatisfactory manner; " but as forty letters, in ſome few particular inſtances, might not per- " haps be ſufficient, a ſecond ſucceſſive board might be uſed, which " might be ſlided over the firſt, like the ſcenes at the play-houſe; upon " which ſecond board the diſcourſe might be farther continued. Care " ſhould, at the ſame time, be had not to ſlide the ſecond board till it ap- " pears, by a proper ſignal exhibited by the people at the oppoſite ſtation, " that they have fully read the letters on the firſt board.

" The following expedient ſhould be uſed, for preventing the danger " of the perſons at the different ſtations, being either inaccurate or too " ſlow, in forming the large letters with chalk, or a houſe-painter's " bruſh, on the black board. The large letters ſhould be kept ready " made before-hand, with bright white tin; and the black board " ſhould be fitted with ſmall hooks, by means of which the large tin let- " ters might be eaſily and inſtantly affixed to it. A conſiderable num- " ber of ſuch large tin letters might be allowed to each ſtation; and the " perſons employed in the buſineſs might ſoon be brought to find out the

in one aſſault, no leſs than *eighteen hundred men.* The French general in the courſe of his correſpondence with the commandant Van der Duhn, inſiſted that the Hanoverians and Heſſians, who formed part of the garriſon, and were in the pay of Great Britain, ſhould not be included in the capitulation; to which general Van der Duhn replied, that ſooner than accede to ſuch conditions, he would bury himſelf in the ruins of the town. The conſequence was, that the Heſſians and Hanoverians were included in the articles of capitulation. It appeared that the garriſon was in very great want of proviſions. By the poſſeſſion of Sluys, the great r part of Dutch Flanders fell into the hands of the French.

General Pichegru ſent his congratulations to the convention, on the overthrow of Robeſpierre. Simular congratulations were ſent by Michaud, commander on the Rhine.

About this period, the following plan of military operation was ordered by the committee of public welfare to be carried into immediate execution: Pichegru, the commander in chief, was to attack Venlo, with thirty thouſand men; Jourdan to advance againſt Maeſtricht with ſeventy thouſand; Dandels to beſiege Breda with ten thouſand; Suliard to inveſt Gertruydenberg, with five thouſand; Matha to attack Bois-le-Duc, with twenty thouſand; and Vandomme to lay ſeige to Bergen-op-zoom, with twenty-five thouſand. The beſieging armies of Valenciennes and Condé, conſiſting of thirty thouſand, were to be a Corps de Reſerve.

" the proper letters for forming the preſcribed words, as readily as a " printer's compoſitor finds out his types, and places them on his *com-* " *poſing rule* or *ſlick*.

" When the communication is to take place during the night, it ſhould " then be effected by means of tranſparent letters, or *tranſſiarencies*; that " is to ſay, the large letters ſhould be cut through large thin ſheets of " iron; and thoſe ſheets, or large cut letters, ſhould he placed before a " vivid light or flame: care being at the ſame time taken to have the " iron ſheets placed in ſuch a manner, as to allow no light to paſs, ex- " cept through thoſe cuts by which the large letters are expreſſed. The " words exhibited during the night, by ſuch large letters of fire or light, " might be read from a very great diſtance indeed, by means of a good " teleſcope."

A Telegraphe may be conſtructed at a trifling expence; and the utility of it is obvious, from the ſucceſsful experiments the French have made with it. There is one circumſtance, however, which will render it entirely uſeleſs, and that is, a thick *fog* or *miſt*; for, in that caſe, let the light be ever ſo ſtrong, and the letters as large as they may, it will be impoſſible to diſcover them at any conſiderable diſtance.

The

The following eſtimate was now made of the French armies.

	Men.
From Hunningen to Dunkirk - -	360,000
On the ſea-coaſt and in La Vendée -	110,000
On the ſide of the Mediterranean -	50,000
The army of the Alps - -	80,000
Thoſe of the Pyrenees and ſouth -	90,000
In the twenty-ſix diſtricts ſurrounding Paris -	35,000
Diſtributed in the different departments -	130,000
Total	855,000

In the above French armies, from thirty thouſand, to fifty-five thouſand cavalry, were reckoned.

The French arms made rapid progreſs, not only in the eaſt, but alſo in the weſt. On the Spaniſh frontiers, fifteen thouſand Spaniards were defeated by ſix thouſand French, who took, at the ſame time, an immenſe quantity of magazines, containing eleven thouſand muſkets, two hundred pieces of ordnance, and tents for twenty-five thouſand men.

In order to inſpire the people with a high idea of their humanity, the French generals iſſued the following lenient orders to the ſoldiers of the Pyrenean army: "Deva-ſtation, "pillage, and burning, committed without orders from the "commander in chief upon the Spaniſh territory, ſhall be "puniſhed with death. Thoſe who ſhall commit any "outrage upon the defenceleſs inhabitants, men, women, "or children, ſhall alſo be puniſhed with death. The old, "the women, and the children, are eſpecially under the "ſafeguard of French generoſity. Protection, ſuccour, "and ſafety, are promiſed to all inhabitants of the Spaniſh "territory, who do not reſiſt. Thoſe who take up arms "againſt the ſoldiers of liberty, ſhall be treated as ene-"mies."

On the capture of St. Sebaſtian, four thouſand priſoners, and four hundred pieces of cannon were taken from the Spaniards. The French likewiſe took twenty-ſeven valuable prizes in the port *.

The governor of Fontarabia was allowed only ſix hours to conſider of a ſurrender; in which time he thought pro-

* The mole of St. Sebaſtian is ſufficiently capacious to contain two hundred large veſſels. The caſtle which commands it, and the ſea-coaſt adjoining, is of great ſtrength, and ſome antiquity, being the work of Sancho VIII. King of Navarre, about the year 1198.

per

per to capitulate. Fifty cannon, thirty-five ſhallops, and two brigs fell into the hands of the French. Under Louis XIV. it coſt Marſhal Berwick two months, and the flower of his army, to reduce this fortreſs.

At *Bilboa* fourteen eminent perſons, found guilty of treacherouſly correſponding with the enemy, were ordered for execution. Twelve were hanged at Pampeluna. It was there diſcovered, that all the guns on the batteries had been loaded with ſand inſtead of powder; ſo that if the French had ſucceeded in penetrating to the walls, no reſiſtance could have been made.

The Spaniſh government now publiſhed an addreſs to the people, in order to make their minds eaſy with reſpect to their ſituation. It ſtated, that the late ſucceſſes of the French on their frontier, had been greatly magnified by venal and diſaffected pens; and that the body of ſoldiers, who laid down their arms to the French, were compoſed of a feeble and undiſciplined rabble. It then entered into a ſtrain of declamation againſt the crimes, the oppreſſion, and impiety of the French government. It concluded with repreſenting the impoſſibility of the French being able to ſucceed in their deſigns againſt Spain, if the people only evinced a *ſufficient ſpirit to reſiſt them*; and exhorting them by every motive, by the memory of their anceſtors, by their love of their country, their regard for religion, their loyalty to their ſovereign, to come forward with zeal, vigour, and unanimity, in the preſent criſis.

The Madrid Gazette of the 26th of Auguſt claimed for Spain the honour of a complete defeat of the French before Bellegarde. General La Union wrote from his camp near that city, that on the 13th he divided his army into ſeven parts, ſix of which, compoſed of nine thouſand men each, had orders to make feigned attacks upon the French on all ſides, while he himſelf with a choice body of eleven thouſand, made a grand movement, when he completely routed them, drove them from all their redoubts, which were thirty-ſeven in number, and killed their general. He alſo poſſeſſed himſelf of all their camp-equipage, twenty pieces of heavy artillery, ſix howitzers, and a great number of ſmaller artillery. The number of killed on the part of the enemy was not known, but reckoned, from appearances, not leſs than four thouſand. The French retreated ten leagues beyond Bellegarde. About five hundred and fifteen of the Spaniards were killed.

In order to drive the battle from their gates, and to force the French to return within their own borders, the people

of

of Spain reſolved to riſe in a maſs. Deſirous to ſave the *lower orders* of the people from additional burdens, and to lay impoſts where they could beſt be borne, the king required four per cent. on all *places and penſions*; and a certain ſum, with the conſent of the pope, from the clergy. The noble Spaniards holding places under government ſeconded the virtue of the king. Inſtead of four, they offered five per cent. and their offer was accepted. Will this *good* example find its way from the continent into our iſland? There is not the leaſt danger of Spain ever falling under the dominion of France. It is defended by bold natural barriers; and there is a great deal of latent vigour and virtue in the inhabitants, as indeed there has been in all periods. Spain is, withal, ſo happily ſituated between the north and ſouth, and eaſt and weſt, on a glorious promontory between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean, that if the prerogatives of nature ſhould ever be ſeconded by wiſe and ambitious policy, it might, inſtead of being ſubject to any power in Europe, become the firſt in the world.

The public attention, at this time, was conſiderably directed to the charges of High Treaſon, exhibited againſt ſeveral perſons in the united kingdoms of England and Scotland. On the 3d of September, after a trial of twenty-two hours before the court of Oyer and Terminer, in Edinburgh, Robert Watt, wine merchant, and member of the Britiſh Convention, was found guilty of this crime.

Mr. Anſtruther laid before the court and jury the caſe which was to be proved. "Such, he ſaid, was the peculiar "happineſs of this country, that we had been unacquainted "with the law of treaſon for nearly half a century. It was "not his intention, if he poſſeſſed the powers, to inflame their "paſſions againſt the priſoner. His object was to give a "plain, a dry narrative of the facts, and a ſuccinct ſtatement "of the law. The laws of treaſon in England and Scotland "were now the ſame, and the duty of the ſubjects of both "kingdoms ſhould be the ſame. Scotland, in this inſtance, "had reaped much benefit by the Union, as her laws of "treaſon, previous to that period, were much more ſevere. "The act of Edward III. ſtated three diſtinct ſpecies of trea-"ſon. 1. Compaſſing and imagining the death of the king. "2. Levying war againſt him. 3. Aſſiſting his enemies. "He would not trouble the court or jury with the two laſt. "The ſingle ſpecies of treaſon, charged in the preſent caſe, "was the compaſſing and imagining the death of the king; "which was defined by the conceiving ſuch a deſign; not "the actual act, but the attempt to effect it. But the law

"which

"which thus anxiously guarded the sovereign, was equally "favourable to the subject; for it does not affect him until "the imagination be fully proved before *men of his con-* "*dition.* An overt act of treason is the means used for "effectuating the purpose of the mind. It is not necessary "to prove a direct attempt to assassinate the king; for the "crime is the intention, and the overt act the means used to "effectuate it.

"The prisoner," continued he, "and the committee of "which he was a member, had concerted a distinct and de- "liberate plan to overturn the existing government of the "country. The plan produced was this:—A fire was to "be raised near the Excise-office, Edinburgh, which would "require the attendance of the soldiers in the castle, who "were to be met there by a body of the Friends of the Peo- "ple; another party of whom were to issue from the West "Bow to confine the soldiers between two fires, and cut off "their retreat; the castle was next to be attempted; the "judges (particularly the Lord Justice Clerk) were to be "seized; and all the public banks were to be secured. A "proclamation was then to be issued, ordering all the farmers "to bring in their grain to market as usual; and enjoining "all country gentlemen to keep within their houses, or three "miles from them, under penalty of death. Then an ad- "dress was to be sent to his majesty, commanding him to "put an end to the war, change his ministers, or take the "consequences. Such was the plan of the committee of "ways and means as proposed by the prisoner. Previous "to this, it should have been mentioned, that all the Friends "of the People were to be armed: with this view one "Fairley was dispatched round the country, to levy contri- "butions, and disperse seditious pamphlets; for which pur- "pose he got particular instructions from the prisoner. It "would be proved, that the prisoner gave orders to Robert "Orrock to make four thousand pikes; and also orders to "one Brown for the same purpose. These were to be used "for completing the great plan; and Fairley's mission was "to inform the country of this great plot." Mr. Anstruther concluded an elaborate, clear, and distinct pleading of more than two hours and a half, "by requesting the jury to "lay no further stress on what he had said than it should be "proved, as it was meant merely as a clue to the evidence "which should be brought before them."

Mr. W. Erskine, junior counsel for the prisoner, said he would not trouble the court with many words, but would rest his defence upon the correspondence carried on between the

the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, the Lord Advocate, and the priſoner, by which it would appear, that he had attended the meetings of the Friends of the People, with no other view than a deſign to give information of their proceedings. A letter from the priſoner to Mr. Secretary Dundas was read, which ſtated in ſubſtance, that, as he did not approve of the dangerous principles which then prevailed in Scotland, and was a friend to the conſtitution of his country, he thought it his duty to communicate to him, as a good ſubject, what information he could procure of the proceedings of thoſe who ſtyled themſelves Friends of the People. From an acquaintance with ſeveral of the leading men among them, he flattered himſelf he had this in his power; and then goes on to mention ſome of the names of thoſe leading men in Perth, Dundee, and Edinburgh. In the firſt of theſe places, he ſaid he had been educated, and had reſided in the two laſt for a conſiderable number of years. It concludes with enjoining ſecrecy.

To this letter an anſwer was returned, which was alſo read. It acknowledged the receipt of Mr. Watt's, and after expreſſing a hope that things were not ſo bad as he had repreſented, deſired him to go on, and he might depend upon his communications being kept perfectly ſecret. Another letter from Mr. Dundas to Mr. M'Ritchie, the priſoner's agent, was next read, in anſwer to one from Mr. M'Ritchie, requeſting of Mr. Dundas what letters he had of the priſoner's. The anſwer bore, that all the letters he had received from Mr. Watt had been delivered to the Lord Advocate.

The Lord Advocate being ſworn, in exculpation, gave a diſtinct account of the tranſactions which he had had with the priſoner. He had converſed with him ſeveral times at his own lodgings; and he had at one time given him ſome information which he thought of importance. This was reſpecting the diſaffection of ſome dragoons at Perth, which, upon enquiry, turned out to be ill-founded. In March, 1793, his lordſhip ſaid, an offer had been made to him to diſcloſe ſome important ſecrets, provided he would give the priſoner 1000*l.* This he abſolutely refuſed.—However, ſome time after, the priſoner having informed him that he was much preſſed for money to retrieve a bill of 30*l.* his lordſhip, who was then in London, not wiſhing he ſhould be diſtreſſed for ſuch a ſmall ſum, ſent an order for payment of it. All this happened previous to the meeting of the convention; ſince which time, at leaſt ſince October laſt, he did not recollect ſeeing or having any connection with the priſoner.

Mr. Hamilton contended, that the proſecutor had failed in bringing the moſt criminal part of it home to the priſoner. He dwelt long on the correſpondence between Mr. Dundas and Mr. Watt. He ſaid, the priſoner had now deſerted the ſervice in which he had engaged; but had not had an opportunity of exerciſing it until the very time he was apprehended.

He contended, that he was a ſpy for government; and it was well known that a ſpy was obliged to aſſume not only the appearance of thoſe whoſe ſecrets he meant to reveal, but even to take part in their proceedings, in order to prevent a diſcovery. He alluded to ſpies in armies, and mentioned a melancholy circumſtance which happened to one laſt war, a gentleman with whom he had the honour of being acquainted. A ſpy in an army, he ſaid, was obliged not only to aſſume the uniform of the enemy, but even to appear in arms; and it would be exceedingly hard indeed, if taken in a conflict, that he ſhould be puniſhed for diſcharging his duty. He concluded with hoping the jury would bring in a verdict, finding the charges not proved.

The Lord Preſident, after clearly defining the aws of treaſon, ſummed up the evidence, narrating and explaining the various parts with much candour; leaving it entirely to the jury to return ſuch a verdict as their judgment ſhould direct. —The jury withdrew about half paſt five o'clock in the morning, and, in about five minutes, returned with a verdict —*Guilty*.

On the 5th came on the trial of David Downie, late goldſmith in Edinburgh, for High Treaſon, when the jury, after being out of court three quarters of an hour found him guilty, but, on account of certain circumſtances, they unanimouſly recommended him to mercy.

On the 6th the Lord Preſident, after a ſolemn addreſs to the priſoners, delivered the following awful ſentence of the court: "Robert Watt and David Downie, you have been "found guilty of High Treaſon by your Peers. The ſen- "tence of the court is, therefore, that you be taken to the "place from whence you came, from thence you ſhall be "drawn on a ſledge to the place of execution, on Wedneſ- "day the 15th of October, there to hang by your necks "until you are both dead;—your bowels to be taken out, "and caſt in your faces; and each of your bodies to be cut in "four quarters, to be at the diſpoſal of his majeſty:—and the "Lord have mercy on your ſouls!"

The

The unfortunate priſoners received the dreadful ſentence with much firmneſs and compoſure, and were immediately conducted to the caſtle.

CHAP. XXX.

Affairs of Poland.—King of Pruſſia's Army.—Inſurrection at Warſaw.—Proclamation of the Supreme National Council.—Manifeſto of the Emperor of Germany.—Letters of the Kings of Pruſſia and Poland.—Diſturbances in South Pruſſia.—Siege of Warſaw raiſed.—Victories of the Poles.—Letter of the National Council to General Koſciuſko, and the General's Anſwer.

TO thoſe who are inclined to congratulate a brave and patriotic people, conquering their invading enemies, the ſucceſſes of the Poles, at this time, muſt afford peculiar pleaſure.

About the middle of June, General de Elſner, who had been detached againſt Cracow, ſent the following report to his Pruſſian Majeſty, at his Head-Quarters, near Michalowo. On the 14th, the general arrived at the paſs of Michalowo. He found it occupied by the enemy, attacked their cavalry poſted there, and drove them under their intrenchments before Cracow; and in the evening fixed his camp in ſight of Cracow. On the 15th, in the morning early, the general ſent Lieutenant Reiſewiz with a ſummons to Cracow. The enemy deſired nine hours to conſider. About that time Lieutenant Reiſewiz was ſent again, threatening, that if they would not come to an immediate concluſion, the bombardment ſhould commence immediately. At eleven o'clock an anſwer was returned, that the town would ſurrender at diſcretion, upon which Colonel Lodiwarz put himſelf in motion to occupy the town and caſtle with two battalions, and two ſquadrons. Captain de Fontanus was left to regulate the articles of capitulation, and General Elſner, with his corps, again joined his majeſty.

On the 25th, the King of Pruſſia arrived at Kielce, and fixed his camp near that place, the left wing being covered by the town, and the right joined ſo cloſe by the Ruſſian troops, that the armies might be called united.

In addition to the critical ſituation of Warſaw, at this

time, which the enemy's forces approached from all directions, the indignation of the people was raiſed to the moſt alarming height on Friday the 17th inſtant. The armed citizens had repaired on that day, in the afternoon, to the intrenchments before the city, for the purpoſe of going through their military exerciſe. The armed inhabitants of another diſtrict of the capital, went with drums beating and inſtruments playing to the Guildhall of the Old Town, before which they drew up in a parade. One of their chiefs, whoſe name was Konopka, made a ſpeech to them, in which he repreſented how unaccountable it was for the National Council and the Criminal Tribunal ſtill to delay the judgment of thoſe Poliſh priſoners, who were notoriouſly guilty of high treaſon. The keeping of thoſe delinquents proved, at the ſame time, very expenſive to the nation. The priſoners would perhaps eſcape all puniſhment; but it was in the power of the people to make them expiate their crimes.—This ſpeech irritated the people to ſuch a degree, that they unanimouſly called out, not to ſeparate, before the gallows ſhould be erected, and the traitors executed. The gallows was accordingly put up without delay; the Criminal Tribunal had releaſed ſeveral hundred perſons who had been put under arreſt, but on the reſt of them who were pronounced guilty, no ſentence had as yet been pronounced.

The preſident, Zakizewſky, exerted his utmoſt efforts to perſuade the mob at leaſt to delay the execution till the judgment was paſſed; and ordered the gallows to be taken down; but the enraged multitude ſoon erected it again, and ſacrificed to their fury the following perſons: De Boſcamp, Prior Counſellor; de Grabowſky; Majewſky, Attorney General of the Crown; Roguſky and Pietka; Wulfers, a Counſellor and Member of the ci-devant Proviſionary High Council; Prince Anthony Czetwertinſky, and Prince Maſſalſky, the only male heir of that ancient and illuſtrious family, and uncle of the Princeſs de Lyne at Vienna. The exertions of the preſident, Zakizewſky, prevailed at laſt on the mob to reſpite the other priſoners, whoſe number amounts to one hundred and ſixty-nine; and the populace diſperſed, without doing any more miſchief.

The Supreme National Council now iſſued a proclamation, which ſtated that the principal object of the inſurrection being to diſſolve every connection that ſubjected the republic to the control of foreign powers, this could only be effected by the unanimous exertions of the inhabitants of Poland. "By taking up arms, the Poles have deſtroyed thoſe pre-"judices which excited ſo much jealouſy and diſcontent.

"Although

" Although different in their faith and form of worſhip, they " are nevertheleſs brothers in principle. Until the reſtora- " tion of peace, and tranquillity at home, when the republic " will be enabled to eſtabliſh the privileges of every ſect on " the moſt ſolid foundations, the National Council think it " their bounden duty to make the following declaration, in " behalf of the non-conformiſts of the Greek perſuaſion.

" Their church having always enjoyed a hierarchy, diſtinct " and independent of all extra-judicial authority, the ſaid " church ſhall continue to enjoy the excluſive privilege, " with this exception, however, that all diſputes ſhall be re- " ferred to the reſident Patriarch at Conſtantinople. The " Supreme Greek Conſiſtory ſhall be convoked by their " preſident, who ſhall nominate perſons eligible to fill the " places of abſent members. He ſhall notify to the churches, " monaſteries, and every individual within the pale of the " Greek church, that they ſhall enjoy the free exerciſe of " their religion, in common with the ſubjects of Poland, " liable however to the maintenance of their own clergy. " They ſhall alſo be eligible to all offices, civil and military, " and ſhall be under the immediate protection of the laws.

" The council confirms this declaration by enjoining the " ſpiritual and executive ſecular authorities, to make all per- " ſons amenable to the laws who ſhall either by words or " writings, preſume to perſecute any individual non-con- " formiſt of the Greek perſuaſion, on the pretence of re- " ligion, and to puniſh them as diſturbers of the public " peace."

General Koſciuſko alſo iſſued a proclamation addreſſed to the Poliſh Greek non-conformiſt clergy, regular as well as ſecular, wherein he deplored the fate of thoſe unfortunate eccleſiaſtics who were doomed to live under the iron fangs of deſpotiſm. " The Ruſſian government," ſaid he, " makes " uſe of their ſacred office only for the promotion of their " ſiniſter views. They are expected, from the nature of " their vocations, to inſtruct and enlighten the people. In " future their own intereſt ſhall be promoted, and their hap- " pineſs conſulted. Let them, in the mean time, invite the " people to participate in the bleſſings of liberty and a be- " neficent government, which the Poles are determined to " obtain, at the price of their blood. Then indeed thoſe " eccleſiaſtics will be on a reſpectable footing in Poland. " Their property and ſtipends ſhall be ſecured to them by " ſalutary laws. Diſparity of religion will not prevent their " being conſidered as brothers and fellow citizens. It ſhould " be reckoned a moral duty to make them ſenſible of the

" difference between an unjuſt and oppreſſive government, " on which they depend for a miſerable ſubſiſtence, and a " government founded on the immutable principles of juſtice " and liberty!"

The general then calls to their recollection the proceedings of their laſt diet. If their deliberations had not been interrupted, the ſpiritual government, which the States had left for their own choice, and which the States cheerfully ſatisfied, would have been eſtabliſhed long ago. He aſſures them that they ſhall obtain what that diet could not accompliſh: namely, that the Greek church ſhall have liberty to exerciſe all the functions of their religion, and that a proper proviſion ſhall be made for the paſtors. He alſo aſſures them that the Poles deſire to conciliate the affections of the eccleſiaſtics to the republic, by acts of kindneſs and aſſurances of protection. He concludes by admoniſhing them to prevail upon the people to take up arms and join the Poliſh nation, whoſe ſole object is to recover their loſt rights, and to perſevere in the conteſt until their efforts ſhall be crowned with ſucceſs.

In addition to this, Koſciuſko made a declaration, which was tranſmitted to all the courts, in which he ſays, " That, " as the Poliſh inſurrection took place upon principles wholly " different from thoſe that prevail in France, ſo ſhould it be " conducted in a manner equally different. That all thoſe " ſhall be regarded as enemies to their country, who ſhall at- " tempt to form clubs, or particular ſocieties. That the au- " thorities ſhould be rejected, and, particularly, that the king " ſhould be treated with all the deference and regard to which " he was entitled."

The proofs of the guilt of thoſe unfortunate perſons, whoſe devotion to Ruſſia brought them to a miſerable end, has been found in the Chancery of the Ruſſian legation, and ſhew that they were not actuated by pure and diſintereſted views, particularly in the diet at Grodno. In the Warſaw Gazette of the 21ſt of June, they publiſhed an account of the penſions which the Generals Ozarowſki, Koſſakowſki, Zabiello, the Biſhop of Koſſakowſki, and the Miniſter Ankwiez, received from the empreſs above their proper allowance. The firſt 2000 ducats yearly: the ſecond, beſides an indemnity for his property upon the Ruſſian Cordon, 3000 ducats: the General Zabiello 1000 ducats per month during the ſitting of the diet at Grodno; and the Miniſter Ankwiez, 500 ducats.

It is a circumſtance not unworthy of hiſtorical remark, that Koſſakowſki, the Grand General of Lithuania, lately put to death at Wilna, was the ſame who fought againſt the Ruſſians

Ruſſians with ſo much vigour, and ſometimes with ſucceſs, during the confederation at Bar, of which he was a principal. The ſworn enemy of Staniſlaus Auguſtus, he gratified his hatred in bearing arms againſt the power that protected him. Circumſtances having changed, he devoted himſelf to the intereſts of the court of Peterſburg, following the counſels of his brother, the Biſhop of Livonia, a prelate for whom ambition prepared the ſame fate as it did for the Hetman of Lithuania.

On the 19th of June, a courier brought intelligence to Vienna of the entry of ten thouſand Pruſſians into Cracow on the 12th, and of the retreat of Koſciuſko, who was afraid of being placed between two hoſtile armies, if he had made any motion for its relief. The inhabitants procured an amneſty for what had paſſed, and were not required to ſubſcribe any new oath. This unexpected circumſtance was produced by a very extraordinary propoſition on the part of Koſciuſko, who offered, previous to the battle of the 6th, to deliver Cracow into the poſſeſſion of the Auſtrians, on condition of its being garriſoned ſolely by them until the end of the war. This requiſition was actually acceded to by the court of Vienna, and five thouſand men were to have entered that city on the 16th of June, had not the Pruſſians received intimation of the negociation, and anticipated the event.

About the end of June, the following manifeſto of the Emperor of Germany, for letting his troops enter Poland, was diſtributed by his majeſty's order by Count Harnoncourt, Commander in Chief of the Auſtrian troops, to the inhabitants of Poland. "Whereas his Imperial majeſty cannot behold with an indifferent eye, the troubles which have ariſen in Poland, which might have dangerous conſequences for the ſafety and tranquillity of the countries belonging to his majeſty, he has given me orders to repair with the troops under my command to the Poliſh territory, in order that, by ſo doing, not only all dangers be averted from the frontiers of Gallicia, but that the tranquillity and ſafety of the countries of his majeſty the emperor be conſolidated. In conſequence, the public have been appriſed, that thoſe who ſhall behave peaceably, friendly, modeſtly, and conſiſtently to the Auſtrian ſoldiers, will have to expect mighty protection, and the ſafety, both of their own perſons, and of their eſtates and property; thoſe, on the contrary, who ſhall dare to go ſo far as to render themſelves guilty of an inconſiderate reſiſtance, will bring upon themſelves all the ſeverity of the martial laws."

On the 12th of July, the head-quarters of the King and

Prince Royal of Pruſſia were only three or four leagues from Warſaw; when they publiſhed the following official Bulletin of their operations. "After our departure from "Pinczow, where we had taken poſt ſubſequent to the capture "of Cracow, we paſſed the defiles of Kielce and the foreſts. "We then marched towards Opoezno; while, on the other "ſide of the Viſtula, from Lublin, the Ruſſian troops pro- "ceeded through Lithuania. We croſſed the Pilica without "the ſlighteſt oppoſition; whilſt the Auſtrians entered the "Palatinates of Lublin and Selm, and placed a garriſon in "Sendomir. The enemy flee before us."

About this time the National Council recalled all the fugitive Poles for the defence of their country, under the pain of the forfeiture of their rights as citizens, and confiſcation of property. The wife of General Relawſky, who acted againſt the Poliſh party at Targowitz and Grodno, preſented the Grand Council with 200,000 Poliſh dollars, as a patriotic gift, and received in return *a divorce from her huſband.* The theatre at Warſaw, the palaces of Prince Radziwil and Count Ogiński, and ſome other public buildings, were converted into hoſpitals.

The news that Prince Repnin had taken Wilna by ſtorm was now confirmed. A general maſſacre was the conſequence, in which the Ruſſians ſpared neither age nor ſex. General Subow, who commanded on this occaſion, afterwards directed his march towards Grodno. Another body of ten thouſand Ruſſians, on their march to Warſaw, paſſed Dubienka, the approach of whom rather damped the ſpirits of the Poles in that city.

On the 6th of Auguſt, about eleven thouſand Poles, moſtly regular troops, advanced with thirty pieces of cannon and two mortars againſt Liebau. At firſt the Ruſſians poſted themſelves before the town to oppoſe them, but they were ſoon obliged to retreat; when the Poles following, fired their cannon-ſhot at them in the ſtreets, by which a great number of them fell, and many of them were driven into the ſea. Soon after the Poles had taken poſſeſſion of Liebau, a Ruſſian ſhip arrived, but finding that the place was in the hands of the Poles, eſcaped with the greateſt difficulty, very much damaged by the Poliſh cannon. In and near Polangen there were now upwards of ten thouſand Poliſh troops.

On the 11th, the Poles were placed before Warſaw in four entrenched camps, connected with each other, under the command of Koſciuſko, Dambrowſki, Zajaczeck, and Mokronowſki; the three latter being under Koſciuſko's command. This generaliſſimo was at Mokatow, where Madalinſki

linſki was likewiſe poſted; before him, at Czerniako, General Dambrouſki was oppoſed to the Ruſſians, who were near Villanow; Zajaczeck was before Wola, oppoſed to the Pruſſians; and Mokronowſki, with whom Prince Joſeph Poniatowſki ſerved as a volunteer, was likewiſe againſt the Pruſſians, who were poſted near Gurce.—From theſe Poliſh camps a continual fire was kept up againſt the Pruſſians, by which ſeveral villages, in the poſſeſſion of the latter, were ſet in flames. At Wola, a ſhot from a ſix pounder fell on one of the king of Pruſſia's own tents. Proviſions they had in great plenty, continual ſupplies coming from the other ſide of the Weichſel, and even by the roads of Lithuania. Near the Bug they took a great number of Pontons, and upwards of one hundred oxen, which were brought into Warſaw. The pontoneers and ſoldiers, which accompanied them, were made priſoners.—The king, who has the good will of all the patriots, ſent his laſt jewels to the National Council, to be uſed for the defence of the country, and for the making of new artillery.

Much about the ſame time, at Kerzminiec, in Volhinia, an action happened between the Poles and the Ruſſians, in which the latter loſt their military cheſt, containing 80,000 Poliſh guelders.

Some days prior to this, a letter from the King of Pruſſia to his Poliſh Majeſty, was ſent by a trumpeter to Warſaw, of which the contents are as follow.

"SIR, MY BROTHER,

"The poſition occupied by the armies which ſurround "Warſaw, and the efficacious means which are begun to be "employed to reduce it, and which augment and advance in "proportion as an uſeleſs reſiſtance is prolonged, ought to "have convinced your majeſty that the fate of that city is no "longer dubious. I haſten to place that of the inhabitants "in the hands of your majeſty. A ſpeedy ſurrender, and the "exact diſcipline I ſhall cauſe my troops, who are deſtined "to enter Warſaw, to obſerve, will ſecure the life and pro-"perty of all the peaceable inhabitants. A refuſal to the firſt "and final ſummons, which my Lieutenant-General de "Schwerin has juſt addreſſed to the Commandant of War-"ſaw, will inevitably produce all the terrible and extreme "means, to which an open city, which provokes by its ob-"ſtinacy the horror of a ſiege, and the vengeance of two "armies, is expoſed. If, under the circumſtances in which "your majeſty is placed, your majeſty may be permitted to

"inform

" inform the inhabitants of Warſaw of this alternative; and " if they are permitted freely to deliver it, I can anticipate " with an extreme pleaſure that your majeſty will become " their deliverer. Should the contrary happen, I ſhall regret " the more the inutility of this ſtep, becauſe I ſhall no longer " be able to repeat it, however great may be the intereſt I " take in the preſervation of your majeſty, and of all thoſe " whom the ties of blood and loyalty have called around your " perſon. In any caſe, I truſt that your majeſty will accept " the expreſſion of the high eſteem with which,

" I am,
" Sir, my Brother,
" The good Brother of your Majeſty,
(Signed)
" FR. WILHELM.

" Camp at Wola, Auguſt 2."

REPLY OF STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS.

" The Poliſh army commanded by Generaliſſimo Koſ- " ciuſko, ſeparating Warſaw from your majeſty's camp, the " poſition of Warſaw is not that of a city which can decide " on its ſurrender. Under theſe circumſtances nothing can " juſtify the extremities of which your majeſty's letter ap- " priſes me; for this city is neither in the ſtate to accept, " nor in that to refuſe the ſummons which has been tranſ- " mited by Lieutenant-General de Schwerin to the Com- " mandant at Warſaw. My own exiſtence intereſts me no " more than that of the inhabitants of this capital; but ſince " Providence has vouchſafed to elevate me to the rank which " allows me to manifeſt to your majeſty, the ſentiments of " fraternity; I invoke them to move your majeſty to abandon " the cruel and revengeful ideas which are ſo contrary to the " example kings owe to nations, and (I am altogether per- " ſuaded of it) are altogether oppoſite to your perſonal " character.

(Signed)
" STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS.

" Warſaw, Auguſt 3."

About the middle of Auguſt various accounts were received of the troubles that had broken out in South Pruſſia, formerly Great Poland, of which his Pruſſian Majeſty took poſſeſſion laſt year. The inſurrection began in the late waywodſhip of Gneſen, Brzeſc and Inowroclau. The Poles poſſeſſed themſelves of the town of Gneſen, twelve leagues from

from Thorn, on the road to Poſen. The few Pruſſian ſoldiers who were there made priſoners; they plundered the military cheſt, overthrew the Pruſſian Eagles, trampled them under their feet, and even hung up eagles on gibbets, erected for that purpoſe. The ſame inſurrection took place at Brzeſc in Cajoira, and at Whoelawek, ſeven leagues from hence. In this latter place the Poles took ſeveral boats loaded with powder and ammunition, and their eſcort, which had been ſent from Grandeuz, on the Weixel, at Warſaw. In all the places which they viſited, they made the magiſtrates and inhabitants take the oath of fidelity to the republic of Poland, and to the conſtitution of 1791.

On the 22d, the Poliſh General, Marawſky, marched into South Pruſſia, at the head of ten thouſand men, and ſoon induced the greater part of the inhabitants of the provinces of Poſnania, Gneſen, and Kaſſich, to arm in his favour, and incorporate themſelves with his forces. In conſequence of this, he made diſpoſitions for effecting the ſame in Siradia, and other places, in ſuch a manner that ancient Poland ſhould be ſoon united to Koſciuſko. It was on account of this movement, that the King of Pruſſia ordered ſeveral corps from Mentz and the Rhine. The ſame letters mention a battle between the Poles, under General Poninſky, and a numerous body of Pruſſians, in the iſland near Zegrze, which is formed by the Narew, where it empties itſelf into the Bug. The Pruſſians at this place had nearly completed a bridge to facilitate their paſſage to Warſaw, diſtant only four leagues, when they ſuſtained a furious attack, and were entirely defeated and diſperſed. The victory was of great advantage to the Poles, as it tended to keep that part of the country entirely open, by which Koſciuſko received his proviſions. Another action took place between the Poliſh General Gedroyce, and the Ruſſians, in Lithuania. The latter were repulſed in their attempt to invade Samogitia. And, laſtly, in another action upon the confines of Poland, General Madalinſky alſo defeated a body of Ruſſians, and obliged them to renounce their projects of entering the waywodſhips. The whole duchy of Courland was now in the intereſt of the Poles, who ſeemed as if they would regain all the territory which had been wreſted from them. General Waurzecky commanded in Courland and Samogitia, where the militia, and the forces under him, made their own, and the diſtrict of Lithuania, a common cauſe.

The inhabitants of Warſaw, at this time, appeared to be under no apprehenſion whatever, but lived very much at their eaſe. To the ſummons ſent by the King of Pruſſia, they

boldly anſwered, that they neither would nor ought to receive any propoſitions of that nature, while they had a reſpectable army to defend them, an army, which they invited him to beat and diſperſe, *if he were able.*

The army of Koſciuſko remained ſo ſtrongly intrenched, that the enemy were not able to approach the city, which had not been in the leaſt damaged by the bombardment. The bombs as yet had ſcarcely reached the lines. Such was the abundance of proviſions, that meat, inſtead of being at a high price, as might be expected under ſuch circumſtances, was ſold at no more than nine Poliſh pieces per pound, which is equivalent to four pence halfpenny of Engliſh-money.

On the night between the 5th and 6th of September, the Pruſſian and Ruſſian armies abandoned the ſiege of Warſaw, after having for two months made the moſt fruitleſs efforts to render themſelves maſters of that capital. Although this retreat at firſt ſeems to have been occaſioned by the general inſurrection which had taken place in all the Palatinates of Great Poland, it is however certain, that in any caſe they would have been obliged to abandon the ſiege; for beſides their having loſt a number of men, in different bloody engagements, by diſeaſes and by deſertion, they experienced a total want of proviſions and ammunition.

The King of Pruſſia, having left his ſick and wounded to the mercy of the enemy, divided his troops into three diſtinct corps, which inſtantly retreated towards Peterkaw, Czentokow, and Zakrocym, the laſt of which places is about two miles diſtant from the confluence of the Bug and the Viſtula.

The Ruſſians, to the number of ten thouſand, who had retired at the ſame time from Villanovo to Koczinicze, afterwards marched towards Lublin; General Ferſen it was thought, there would form a junction with another body of twenty thouſand men from Wolknia, commanded by the famous Suwarrow, an officer whoſe very name terrified the Turks during the late war.

When the news of raiſing the ſiege of Warſaw reached this country, every friend of humanity rejoiced. The King of Pruſſia, blinded by his ambition, now found himſelf out-witted by Catherine, who equally well gains her end by the deſtruction of Pruſſia, as ſhe would by that of Poland. To induce his Pruſſian Majeſty to carry his arms into Poland, ſhe propoſed that they ſhould not merely ſubdue the provinces which had begun to aſſert their liberty, but that the whole of Poland ſhould be divided, and ſhe promiſed immediately to aſſiſt him with all her forces. Allured by ſuch flattering proſpects of extended dominion, he marched into

the

the heart of Poland. The commanders of the empreſs, according to report, had orders to follow a different line of conduct, that of merely amuſing, by ſkirmiſhing on the frontiers, and in Lithuania. Before the King of Pruſſia found it neceſſary to raiſe the ſiege of Warſaw, he received a very polite communication from Prince Repnin, ſtating that it was with ſorrow he had to announce that the reſiſtance of the Poles in Lithuania was ſo general, and required ſo much attention from the army of the empreſs, as to put it entirely out of his power to co-operate with the Pruſſian army in the reduction of Warſaw. This, with the information received by his Pruſſian Majeſty at the ſame time, that the inſurrection was not only gaining ground in South Pruſſia, but extending into other parts of his dominions, made it abſolutely neceſſary for him to retreat with as much precipitation as the Duke of Brunſwick did from France.—The cauſe of the Poles muſt be dear to the heart of every Briton, and every human creature. Nor could the Britiſh government, perhaps, obſerve a more magnanimous, or juſter, or wiſer policy, than to take part with the Poles, and afford them, in conjunction with Sweden, Denmark, and Turkey, effectual protection. Under our protection, they might receive the ineſtimable bleſſings of moderated monarchy and regulated liberty. Abandoned by us, they throw themſelves into the arms of France, and adopt principles of licentiouſneſs.—What does the Empreſs of Ruſſia deſerve at our hands? What the King of Pruſſia? And what, again, do the Poles and preſent King of Poland, ſo much attached to, and ſo deſirous of an alliance with the Engliſh, not deſerve?

Immediately after the ſiege was raiſed, the Supreme National Council wrote the following letter to General Koſciuſko. "Penetrated with the moſt heart felt-joy, occaſioned by the retreat of the enemy from our capital, the National Council, dear general, congratulates you on this happy event; for your zeal and arrangements have annihilated all threats of our enemy. The council, worthy general, is convinced of the extreme troubles which you put yourſelf under, by taking upon you the defence of our capital, and only wiſhes to be able to convince you of the gratitude and reſpect which every individual owes you, as the conſequences of your endeavours are of the utmoſt importance to our cauſe. The council, for this purpoſe, has reſolved to commemorate this happy event by a public feſtival, which your preſence would make more brilliant and pleaſing to a grateful people; the council, therefore, leaves it to you, to name the manner and time of this feſti-

" val, and expect your farther advice. Dated in the ſitting " of the council, September 6, 1794."

General Koſciuſko in his anſwer thanks the council " for " this flattering token of their ſatisfaction, and ſays, that the " liberation of the capital is owing to Providence, the bravery " of the Poliſh warriors, the zeal and courage of the inhabit- " ants of Warſaw, and the wiſe management of the acting " government. The manner and time of the intended feſtival " he entirely leaves to the Supreme Council to determine; " as his buſineſs does not allow him to be preſent in perſon."

On the 12th of September, very ſatisfactory accounts were received at Warſaw from Lithuania, and particularly from the town and diſtrict of Rown, ſituated on the frontiers of Samogitia, on the junction of the two rivers Niemen and Wilya. A body of Ruſſians having prepared to take that town by ſurpriſe, the commanders, in order to accompliſh their deſigns, embarked in ſeveral boats about ſix hundred infantry, with a conſiderable number of cannon, which were to be tranſported on the river Niemen againſt Kowno, called Caven, in German: but General Meyen, the Poliſh Commander of that town, informed in time of the intention of the enemy, planted ſeveral pieces of heavy artillery on one of the banks of the Niemen, concealed in a thick foreſt; and as ſoon as the boats with the Ruſſian troops were within reach of his cannon, he fired upon them with red-hot balls ſo ſucceſsfully, that in a little time they all diſappeared along with their cargoes.

About this time, the Ruſſian army, conſiſting of twenty thouſand men, arrived in Poland. On the 17th their advanced guards fell in with a party of Poles, near Koptin, which conſiſted of about one hundred men, whom they attacked, and killed the greateſt part of them. The Poliſh General Shieranowſky, with about nine thouſand men and twenty-three pieces of cannon, was encamped near Brzeſc. The Ruſſians arrived on the 18th before Brzeſc, and found the Poliſh army in order of battle, ready to receive them, which they immediately attacked. The Poles defended themſelves for three hours with the greateſt bravery, but were, at laſt, forced to retreat acroſs the Bug. The Ruſſians followed them, took a great number of them priſoners, and diſperſed the reſt. The loſs of the Poles was reckoned at about ſix thouſand men.

On the 13th of September an engagement took place between the Poliſh troops, under General Dombrowſki, and the Pruſſian corps, poſted at Kamiona, to guard a conſiderable magazine of flour, oats, ſalt, and proviſions of all kinds.

General

General Dombrowſki divided his troops into three columns. The firſt column forced the enemy, and got poſſeſſion of Kamiona; the ſecond carried a battery, and the third was equally ſucceſsful in the object of its attack. The Pruſſians in this action had one hundred men killed, and ſeventy-five taken priſoners, among the latter of whom were two officers The whole of the magazine fell into the hands of the Poles. The number of the inſurgents in South Pruſſia daily increaſed. They were divided into ſeveral bodies, which altogether amounted to about fifteen thouſand men.

CHAP. XXXI.

Liberty of the Preſs.—Attempt to aſſaſſinate Tallien.—The Jacobins pointed out as the Aſſaſſins.—Of the two leading Parties in France.—Balloons adopted by the French in order to view the poſition of the Enemy.—Perpetual Motion ſaid to be diſcovered by a North Briton.

TOWARDS the end of Auguſt, the queſtion concerning the Liberty of the Preſs was debated in the National Convention of France, when it was decreed that the preſs was free, and that "at no time, for no reaſon, and under no "pretext, could it receive any infringement." The ſound policy, judicious ſentiments, and liberal principles, contained in *Freron's* ſpeech on this ſubject, well deſerve attention.

"I riſe," ſaid he, "to preſent the plan of a decree, called "for by diſcuſſions in the popular ſocieties, and by the wiſh "of all France. Such a decree is the moſt effectual, indeed "the only means of ſecuring the republic againſt the oppreſ-"ſion of liberty, and the national repreſentatives. The "tyranny of Robeſpierre is known; it is our duty to publiſh "the means by which he effected his uſurpation, as a grand "leſſon to legiſlators, and to every free people on earth. It "is well known, that in a ſociety of brothers and friends, a "geſture or word of him was ſufficient to make any man be "ſtruck out of the Jacobin Club; and that the man, who "was ſtruck out of the liſt of the Jacobins, was ſoon ſtruck "out of the liſt of the living; that, under pretext of a revo-"lutionary government, he artfully contrived to ſet the con-"vention above principles, the two committees above the "convention, the Committee of Public Safety above the

"Committee

" Committee of General Safety, and himſelf above the Com-
" mittee of Public Safety; that, in this hall, for a repre-
" ſentative of the people to give an opinion contrary to that
" of Robeſpierre, was to obtain a paſſport to the guillotine;
" that he filled all the priſons with excellent republicans;
" that he corrupted the Revolutionary Tribunal, where
" judgments of death were pronounced in terms of jocularity.
" Ought we not to bluſh at, as well as to lament, what we
" have ſuffered? If truth accuſe us, far from ſtifling her
" voice, we ought to make it be heard in the moſt ingenuous
" manner. A magnanimous confeſſion of our errors will
" be the ſureſt pledge of our reſolution to correct them, and
" to reſtore the ſacred power of reaſon, juſtice, law, and hu-
" manity. The tyrant, who oppreſſed his colleagues ſtill
" more than the nation, was ſo enveloped in the ſemblance
" of popular virtues; the eſteem and confidence of the peo-
" ple, which he had uſurped, for five years, by an hypocriſy
" that never ſlumbered, had formed around him a rampart ſo
" ſacred, that we ſhould have endangered the nation, and li-
" berty itſelf, if we had ſooner given way to our impatience
" to deſtroy the tyrant. We were obliged to keep our necks
" under the ſword, to give time for him to unmaſk himſelf.
" If, when we attacked him, the eyes of the people had not
" been opened, either the blow would not have been mortal,
" or death, in depriving him of a throne, would have raiſed
" to him an altar. On this altar, a man of ſimilar ambition
" might have erected a tyranny not to be deſtroyed. We did
" not deſtroy the tyrant until the 27th of July; but with what
" certainty, and in how many ways, was his ruin prepared
" two months before? The tyrant himſelf felt this to be the
" caſe, and ſought for ſecurity in the puniſhment of all who
" alarmed his ſuſpicions; and the more heads he ſtruck off,
" the more he was alarmed for his own. Liberty, the ſacred
" attribute of human kind, will no more puniſh her enemies
" in France, but by the oracles of juſtice, as holy as herſelf.
" Thoſe priſons, which never opened but to receive new
" victims, or to ſend them to the ſcaffold, we have now open-
" ed, to reſtore to their families thoſe numerous citizens, who
" have been ſhut up in them without cauſe. You have re-
" ſtored its full effect to that principle, without which there
" is neither juſtice, nor law, nor ſocial order; viz. that the
" authority inſtituted to protect the liberty of individuals,
" cannot infringe that liberty but for pacific reaſons com-
" municated to the party accuſed. The unanimity with
" which we voted for the death of Robeſpierre, ought to be
" a pledge, that all diviſions among us are at an end. Let
" thoſe,

" thoſe, then, who hitherto have given us only ſilent votes, " aid us now with the reſult of their knowledge and their " ſtudy. Let us make haſte to improve this renovation of " our ſentiments, to the completion of the laws which the " republic has enjoined us to prepare.

" While our triumphant armies are carrying thunder " againſt our enemies, let us diffuſe light, and the example " of good inſtitutions, to thoſe nations whom we are puſhing " forward to liberty, even by their defeats. But to run this " new career with honour, we ought, before entering upon " it, to call to our aid all the knowledge of France. You " will underſtand, that I mean the Liberty of the Preſs. How " unfortunate is it, that after five years of a revolution, begun " by the light which the Liberty of the Preſs had flaſhed even " in the eyes of enemies; if, after having enjoyed for four " years the moſt indefinite liberty of thinking, ſpeaking, " writing, and printing; if, after having inſcribed this " liberty, in the Declaration of the Rights of Man, as the " moſt ſacred of all rights, the moſt inviolable and invincible " protection of the reſt, we now find ourſelves obliged to " call for a decree on the Liberty of the Preſs! I reſpect the " convention too much; I have ſtudied this ſpirit, and the " effect of its laws too deeply, to aſk if there is a law that " aboliſhes the Liberty of the Preſs. No; no law of yours " could take from the people—your ſovereign and your con- " ſtituent—the enjoyment of the firſt of the Rights of Man. " But the tyrant to whom nothing was ſacred but his own " pride, trampled equally under foot, the Rights of Man, and " your laws. By him were ſent to death men guilty of no " other crime than that of having printed their opinions, at a " time when even the exceſs of this liberty had the protec- " tion, and the guarantee of all the laws, and all the powers. " As artful as he was cruel, he never ventured to ſay *printing* " *was forbidden*; but the guillotine fell on every man who " availed himſelf of this right. To make liberty go back- " wards, it was neceſſary for him to make knowledge do ſo " too. If the preſs had remained free; the number of irre- " proachable citizens, who were daily dragged from their " homes to the priſon, and from the priſon to the ſcaffold, " would have raiſed their voice. Details of the horrors com- " mitted in the priſons, would have been preſented to the " view of a humane people. The outrages of juſtice and " humanity by aſſaſſins, which he called a tribunal, would " have reſounded from one end of the republic to the other; " and not only whatever wore a human heart, but the very " ſtones would have riſen up againſt the monſter, who

" harangued on morality and virtue, while he ſtopped every " voice that could ſpeak of his innumerable crimes. Thus " he ſuppreſſed at once the freedom of debate, by which the " convention could have denounced him to the nation, and the " Liberty of the Preſs, by which the nation could have de- " nounced him to the convention.

" This dreadful example ought to teach us how neceſſary " the Liberty of the Preſs is to terrify, to unmaſk, and to " ſtop the plots of ambitious men. The indefinite Liberty of " the Preſs alone can give this movement to the minds of " men. The indefinite Liberty of the Preſs connects and " exchanges the ideas of the philoſophers of every country, " and of the legiſlators of every free people. The Liberty " of the Preſs unites, for the benefit of a ſingle nation, all the " knowledge, and all the force of the human mind. The Li- " berty of the Preſs is alone ſufficient to defeat the moſt " dexterous enterpriſes of ambition; it is neceſſary to give " to repreſentative government the eſſential character of the " pureſt democracy, and, by means of it, legiſlators, in the " torrent of daily affairs that engage their attention, may re- " ceive the various and profound concluſions of every think- " ing mind upon earth. Decree then that the preſs is free; " but declare, at the ſame time, that whoever attempts ſetting " any limit, or offering any infringement to this liberty, has " truths to conceal and falſehoods to propagate; declare that " every Legiſlative Body, every governing Committee, every " Executive Authority, every Public Functionary, that by " decree, order or act, ſhall attempt to ſuppreſs or circum- " ſcribe the Liberty of the Preſs, is in a ſtate of conſpiracy " againſt the people and the republic. I will not deny that " this luminary of the human race, this ſun of the mind, made " to enlighten governments through paths in which are dark- " neſs, confuſion, and diſaſter, may, in the hands of ſome in- " cendiaries, become the hurtful inſtrument of their paſſions; " but the day ſtar alſo, while he ſheds torrents of light over " the globe, raiſes the vapours which obſcure the vallies, and " ſometimes occaſions ſtorms. Would you for this extinguiſh " the ſun in the vault of heaven? The Liberty of the Preſs, " if it be not unlimited, cannot exiſt. Let then this ſource " of light be inſtantly opened, and, in the day that it will ſhed " around us, let all the queſtions be agitated which we have " yet to decide upon, or which have not been decided to the " ſatisfaction of the beſt informed patriots of France and the " ſages of the univerſe.

" The Revolutionary Tribunal, and the general police, " re-

" require alſo your attention. The police of ignorant and " barbarous nations is impriſonment, and their juſtice, death: " Among nations enlightened on the ſocial art, in govern- " ments acquainted with human nature, a ſkilful and well " diſtributed vigilance renders numerous impriſonments un- " neceſſary; and penalties, well apportioned to degrees of " guilt, render the puniſhment of death more terrible from " being rare. What contempt has been affected among us " for theſe maxims! Into what horrors has this contempt " led us! Let experience, which has coſt us ſo dear, bring " us back to thoſe eternal principles which the genius of " Monteſquieu and Beccaria drew from the hiſtory of ages. " Let us think with them, that the terror of puniſhment is " loſt in its frequency, and that to make death be feared, we " muſt ſeldom inflict it. It is not the axe which is always " falling, but the axe which is always ready to fall, on which " the imagination and eye dare not fix. Multiplied puniſh- " ments, by rendering criminals more deſperate, may deſtroy, " in the minds of a whole people, thoſe tender and ſublime " affections, that exquiſite feeling of humanity, which are the " principle, the end, and the perfection of all the ſocial vir- " tues. I move, that you order your Committee of Legiſla- " tion to preſent a plan of active police and vigilance, which " may keep inceſſantly under the eyes of the magiſtrate all " thoſe whoſe manner of living or talking may excite ſuſ- " picion. It is the weakneſs, the diſorder, and the ſloth of " government that fill the priſons. A government of order, " vigilance, and energy, makes ſociety itſelf the guardian of " ſociety, without ſcreening from puniſhment thoſe who are " the juſt objects. Good patroles prevent bloody battles. " Patroles may be a meaſure of police as well as of military " vigilance, and, perhaps, if properly organized the beſt fitted " for a revolutionary government."

During the firſt week of September, the convention was engaged in the examination of the conduct of thoſe agents into whoſe hands the buſineſs of ſelling the lands forfeited to the republic was committed. Great frauds were diſcovered. It was found that many of the moſt violent republicans were republicans, only that they might with impunity lay hands on the effects of the nation. In one of the debates on this ſubject, Tallien declared to the convention, that men who were in office gained ſuch great property as to lay out immenſe ſums in purchaſes, and by this means many poor *Sans Culottes* were prevented from buying the ſmall lots. He pro-

poſed therefore that huſbandmen ſhould be allowed as much land as they could cultivate themſelves.

Whether Tallien's inſinuation againſt thoſe who had enriched themſelves at the expence of the nation, excited the reſentment of the peculators, is not known, but as he was going home about twelve o'clock at night, after he had made this declaration in the convention, he was attacked near his own door by a man in a great coat and round hat, "*Come* "*Villain*, (he cried) *I have ſtaid for thee a long time.*" He then ſtruck him with his fiſt upon the breaſt, and at the ſame inſtant fired a piſtol at him. The ball penetrated near his ſhoulder. He fell. Though ſeveral people came up immediately, the aſſaſſin eſcaped, favoured by the darkneſs of the night. Upon examination the wound was pronounced *not mortal.*

The next day Merlin of Thionville pointed out the Jacobins as the aſſaſſins of Tallien. "Do ye wiſh," ſaid he, "to know the murderers." Read the analyſis of yeſterday's ſitting of the Jacobin Club: you will there ſee the victims pointed out, you will there ſee that ſeveral National Repreſentatives are pointed out for aſſaſſination. They wiſh to have patriots after the faſhion of Robeſpierre; knights of the guillotine. Let me repeat to you a phraſe of one of their members: "*The frogs of the marſh* are rearing their* "*heads; but they will be the ſooner cruſhed.*" Is not this enough to determine the convention, if not to ſhut up the Hall of the Jacobins, at leaſt to forbid any of the National Repreſentatives to aſſiſt at its ſittings?

It was not long before Tallien recovered from his wound, and, in conſequence of the attempt to aſſaſſinate him, regained much of his popularity, which was evidently on the decline. Freron, one of his party, now became the editor of a periodical paper, entitled *The Orator of the People*, in which he did not ſpare his political opponents.

It may not be improper here to recal to the minds of thoſe, who may not have leiſure or opportunity to be minutely informed of the ſtate of France, that there are in that country two leading parties. The followers of Marat, Danton, and Robeſpierre, are violent democrats, whoſe principal aim is, by means of clubs and popular aſſociations, to keep all things in a kind of revolutionary fermentation; who are jealous of kings, princes, lords, and all men, who by rank, fortune, or fame, are diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar. They would wage eternal war with all their neighbours, unleſs, under the plauſible, yet deluſive idea of fraternization, they ſurrender themſelves

* The valley ſide of the convention, or moderate party.

ſelves to the control and direction of the French republic, as ſo many nations of Europe, in former times, one after another, in the name of FRIENDS and ALLIES, did to thoſe of the Romans. They ſee no ſettlement but in wild uproar; no order but in confuſion. The followers of Briſſot, or the Girondiſts, now called the Moderatiſts, in oppoſition to the Jacobin and other clubs, maintain the ſovereign power of the convention, the regularly, and, as they ſay, legally conſtituted repreſentatives of the people. Though it has not been thought eligible, perhaps not altogether ſafe, to the naſcent republic, by the Moderatiſts, to declare for the abolition of the clubs, the cradle undoubtedly of liberty, they wiſh to curb their extravagance; to poiſe the ſtate by its own conſtitutional powers; to quiet the minds of all ranks by the operation of the laws; and diffuſe the bleſſings of equal government throughout every part of the empire. This party, ever ſince the fall of the dictator, has been on the increaſe. The convention ſeem to become more and more at liberty to ſpeak the ſentiments of the people of France, whoſe intereſt, and inclination too, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, is *peace*. All men of property, good morals, and good hopes, the number of whom in France is, no doubt, conſiderable, muſt be inclined to peace by the influence of every generous, as well as ſelfiſh, paſſion; by a love of friends and kindred; above all, by parental tenderneſs—by an anxious deſire to ſettle their poſterity in the quiet enjoyment of fortune, or the peaceable means of acquiring it.

About this time balloons were adopted by the French commanders, for reconnoitring the ſituation of the allied armies. They were attached to the ground by cords, with aëronauts ſkilled in tactics, who viewed the poſition of the troops, took plans, and gave information by ſignals, or by dropping papers. They were compoſed of yellow taffeta gummed, and covered with a net-work of ſtrong thread; and the aërial voyagers had with them, in the gondola, all the inſtruments neceſſary to determine the height of the balloon in the atmoſphere, and to diſcover the temperatures they might experience. The form of the balloons was not ſpherical as thoſe of Montgolfier, Blanchard, Pilatre, and Rozier. Their figure was elliptic, twenty-nine feet in length, nineteen in diameter, and fifty-ſeven in circumference.

The invention of a machine with perpetual motion has long been conſidered as an object of the greateſt importance, and much attention and expence have been employed to diſcover it. In the courſe of laſt month, a maſon at Arbroath, in Scotland, finiſhed a machine, compoſed of metal, which

has neither ſpring nor pendulum to actuate its motion. It moves merely by its own powers of preſſure. Such is the ſimplicity of its conſtruction, and the energetic principles by which it is regulated, that there is little doubt entertained of its going for ages. He began to ſtudy this branch of mechaniſm at a very early period in life; and now, after thirty-ſix years of almoſt conſtant application, his endeavours proved ſucceſsful.

CHAP. XXXII.

Engagement near Grave.—Defeat of General Clairfayt.—Defeat of General Colloredo.—The Pariſians demand a Chief.—Crevecœur ſurrenders to the French.—Advantages gained by the Spaniards over the French.—Poſition of the Britiſh Army at Bommell—Inundations.—Bois-le-Duc, Venlo, Nimeguen, and Maeſtricht ſurrender to the French.—Addreſs of the Prince of Orange.—Diet at Ratiſbon.—Execution of Watt.—Acquittal of John Horne Tooke, Eſq. and other State Priſoners.—Prorogation of Parliament.—Inconſiſtent Character of the Dutch.

ON the 15th of September a ſudden attack was made by the French, upon all the poſts of the right of the Britiſh army near Grave *; and that of Boxtel, which was the moſt advanced, was forced, with conſiderable loſs to the Heſſe-Darmſtadt troops, who occupied it. "As the "line of my out-poſts upon the Bommel could not be main-"tained," ſays the Duke of York, "while the enemy "were in poſſeſſion of Boxtel, it appeared neceſſary to re-"gain it; at the ſame time, the degree of reſiſtance, which "the enemy would make, would ſerve to aſcertain whe-"ther this attack was ſupported by their army, with a view "to a general attack, or was merely an affair of out-poſts. "I therefore ordered Lieutenant General Abercrombie to "march with a reſerve during the night, with directions "to reconnoitre the poſt at day-light, and to act as he "ſhould judge beſt, from what he ſhould diſcover of the

* Grave is a pleaſant town upon the Meuſe. The Prince of Orange bought it, with conſent of the ſtate, of the King of Spain.

orce

"force of the enemy. The general having advanced as "directed, found the enemy in ſuch ſtrength as left little "room to doubt of the proximity of their army, and he ac- "cordingly retired, but in ſuch good order, as prevented "the enemy from making any impreſſion, although they "followed him for ſome diſtance. About this time I re- "ceived private information, upon which I could rely, and "which was confirmed by the obſervation of my patroles, "and the reports of deſerters, that the enemy had been rein- "forced by the corps which had hitherto been acting in "Weſt Flanders, as well as by a column of the army "which had been employed before Valenciennes and "Condé. The ſame information aſſured me alſo, that the "column which had been marching towards Maeſtricht "had ſuddenly returned towards us. From theſe accounts, "and what I knew of the previous ſtrength of the enemy, "it appeared that the actual force now advancing againſt "me, and whoſe object could only be an attack upon my "army, could ſcarcely be leſs than eighty thouſand men. "The hazard of an action, with ſuch a very great diſparity "of numbers, could not but become a matter of the "moſt ſerious conſideration; and, after the moſt mature "deliberation, I did not think myſelf at liberty to riſk, in "ſo unequal a conteſt, his majeſty's troops, or thoſe of his "allies ſerving with them. I had the utmoſt reliance on "their courage and diſcipline, and I had no doubt but that "thoſe would have enabled me to reſiſt the firſt efforts of "the enemy; but it could ſcarcely be expected that even by "the utmoſt exertion of theſe qualities, they would be able "to withſtand the reiterated attacks which the vaſt ſu- "periority of the enemy would enable them to make, and "which we know, from experience, is a general principle "upon which they act. Actuated by theſe reaſons, and the "further information which I received about noon, that "the enemy were marching conſiderable columns towards "my left, in which part my poſition was moſt vulnerable, "I determined on retreating acroſs the Meuſe. The ar- "my accordingly marched at three o'clock, and, without any "loſs whatever, took up a poſſeſſion, which had been previ- "ouſly reconnoitred, about three miles in front of this place, "from which they croſſed the river yeſterday morning. "The loſs in the attack upon the out-poſts has fallen chief- "ly upon the Heſſe Darmſtadt troops, with ſome of the fo- "reign troops, newly raiſed for his majeſty's ſervice. "The 29th regiment was engaged, and loſt ſeveral men."

Much about the ſame time, the Auſtrian army under

General Clairfayt was defeated by the French in the vicinity of Maeſtricht. The ability, however, with which the general adopted every plan of operation, the unabated firmneſs of ſpirit he preſerved, and the preſence of mind he evinced in this diſaſtrous conflict, greatly increaſed the ſplendor of his character. He had placed his centre before Juliers; his right extended along the left bank of the Roer on the ſide of Ruremond; and his left was ſupported by Duren; having the Roer behind his whole line. Before his centre was the plain of Aldenhoven, bordered on every ſide by ſmall hills; and at the extremity of the plain was a very large paſſage, through which the enemy muſt penetrate, before they could attack the grand army. On the hills were redoubts, at equal diſtances, furniſhed with artillery, which took the enemy in flank, making a croſs fire. The French on their ſide had planted cannon at the extremity of the hills, on the ſide of the paſſage, to fire upon ſuch of their own troops as might fall back, or might endeavour to turn about, to avoid the fire of the redoubts. The French advanced with their uſual intrepidity and fury. They were mowed down by the artillery placed on the hills to the right and left, and the batteries raiſed by our army in front. During the three hours that their attack laſted, they loſt one thouſand five hundred men, whilſt the Auſtrian army remained firm, and experienced ſcarcely any loſs. It might have remained ſo without fear of being forced, and certain of ſeeing the enemy cover the plain with their dead, before they could make any impreſſion on it: but general Clairfayt was informed, that his other two wings had not made the expected reſiſtance; that they were forced, and that he was in danger of being turned and overpowered by the two corps that had routed them. He then made his retreat to Cologne, in the beſt order, with the loſs only of ſeven hundred men. General Clairfayt had cauſed two redoubts to be conſtructed at the head of the bridge of Cologne, to protect the paſſage of the Rhine, in caſe he ſhould be obliged to retreat. He confided the guard of it to the emigrant legion of Bourbon, ſaying to it, "I know "that I give you a poſt extremely difficult to guard; but "the neceſſity I am under, and the high opinion that I en"tertain of your bravery, perſuade me that I cannot con"fide it in better hands." In effect, that legion maintained its poſt during five hours, repelling all the efforts of the enemy, who attempted to fall on its rear guard, and did not retire until the whole army had paſſed the river.

An action likewiſe took place at this time between the

Auſ-

Auſtrians and the French, near Dego, in the vicinity of Caire, of which the following is the official account. "During the night of the 18th of September, we were informed, that the enemy was marching in three ſtrong columns againſt our advanced poſts, near Mallaſe; in conſequence of which, all our poſts were reinforced, and Major Count de Khun, was ſtationed at Mileſimo and Coſſeria, with four companies of the regiment of Archduke Anthony, and at the ſame time General Count de Colloredo took a poſition on the heights of Carcare, with ſeven battalions of infantry, and two ſquadrons of the Hulons of Meſzaros, covering his right wing, with the Cenſe Brain, and ſtarioning his cavalry in the plain. On the 19th, at nine o'clock, the enemy, protected by a thick fog, advanced in great force, and compelled our advanced poſts, after a vigorous reſiſtance, to fall back; after which, they extended themſelves with ſuch celerity on the ſummits of the mountains, which are covered with cheſnut trees, that, towards ſeven in the evening, they had nearly ſurrounded our right wing, between Carcare and Mileſimo. On the 20th at day-break, we diſcovered the enemy marching in two columns, of which, about one o'clock, one preſented itſelf to our front, while the other, compoſed of four thouſand men, advanced againſt our right wing, where it attacked Major de Khun with the greateſt impetuoſity, who ſuſtained his poſition during an hour, but at laſt found it expedient to retreat to a neighbouring height, where he formed his corps into a ſquare, in expectation of a freſh aſſault from the enemy. The latter, however, diſcouraged by the great loſs which they had ſuffered, did not renew the attack, but endeavoured to ſurround the corps, and with it the right wing of our army. This manœuvre obliged General Colloredo to retire from his poſition, and to ſend a diviſion of infantry to the ſupport of Major Khun, who was in conſequence enabled to retreat, in the night of the 20th, without the ſmalleſt loſs. As the ground adjoining Caire, does not admit of a convenient poſition being taken, our troops were obliged to fall back as far as Dego; and the motions of the enemy inducing us to ſuppoſe, that they meant to take us in the flank and rear, our right was ſtationed at Saint Juliette, and our left on the mountains towards Montenotte."

On the 24th of September, the people of Paris aſſembled in great crowds on the places, Sorbonne, de Greve, Petit St Antoine, du Carouſel, &c. &c. demanding unanimouſly not a king but a chief. Several battalions of national

guards

guards were detached with cannon to diſperſe the mob, preceded by the repreſentatives of the people, who, having harangued the populace, and aſſured them that if they had grievances to complain of, or any propoſal to make to the convention, they ſhould obtain the readieſt redreſs, ſucceeded to ſeparate the mob. As theſe commotions, however, ſeemed to be connected with the diſturbances which had again broken out at Marſeilles, the convention, it was thought, would find their entire ſuppreſſion a very difficult taſk. In conſequence of the diſturbance in Paris, the convention wrote for a detachment of ten thouſand of the beſt troops in Pichegru's army.

Fort Crevecœur, after having been bombarded by hewitzers, ſurrendered to the French on the 21ſt, at midnight. The garriſon, ſaid to conſiſt of two hundred and fifty men, under the command of colonel Tibbal of the engineers, made a capitulation, by which it was allowed to march out with the honours of war, the troops laying down their arms on the glacis, and engaging not to ſerve againſt France for the ſpace of *a year and ſix weeks*. The terms of this ſurrender had a great influence on the ſeige of Bois-le-duc, againſt which place the moſt violent fire was now kept up. The capture of Crevecœur laying open the part of Gueldres which is ſeparated by the Meuſe from Brabant, the defence on that ſide became extremely critical.

The ſame day, a ſevere ſkirmiſh took place between Patteren and Aldenhoven. The French cavalry, particularly the chaſſeurs, advanced as far as Iden and Ontweller, and even to Kirchberg, where they ſurpriſed ſome of the Auſtrian chaſſeurs, and a picquet of light-horſe; on which occaſion a cannonading took place between the out-poſts at Gulik, with loſs on both ſides. Towards Lidnich, where thirty-ſix ſquadrons of horſe were poſted, a very bloody conflict took place. Next day, every thing was quiet; a general attack was expected, but it did not take place. The French, poſted near a mile behind Aldenhoven, fired ſeveral cannon, by which the Auſtrians loſt three of their gunners.

On the 29th the Auſtrians repulſed the French as far as Hongen; but in the afternoon they returned with reinforcements, and drove away the few troops that were at Putzlon, Inden, and Lammerſdorff. The ſame day the Auſtrians received orders to throw a bridge over the Roer, and next day the bridge was almoſt completed. In the meantime every thing was quiet, and nothing further had occurred in the army.

About

About this time diſpatches were received at Madrid, from the prince of Caſtlefranco, commander in chief of the forces in the kingdom of Arragon, giving various particulars of his entry into the French territory, the deſtruction of the French magazines in the valley of Liers, the barracks near Laſcun, and ſome large depots of grain, &c. near the ſame place. Some of theſe advantages ſeem to have been obtained by the garriſon of the valley of Aſpe, which had been conſiderably reinforced; in fine, all the troops in that quarter aſſembled decidedly for the attack of the French in the vallies of Liers and Daſcun, and if poſſible to ſurpriſe the French in that quarter before they could receive any reinforcement. This buſineſs, from the nature of the ground, was rendered ſo extremely difficult, that two whole days were expended by ſome of the Spaniſh officers in a reconnoitring excurſion, before the enterpriſe was reſolved upon, and received the ſanction of a council of war, who were unanimous in their determination of attacking the enemy.

The Spaniſh troops then began their march in three columns. The firſt and ſecond columns, after driving the French from their poſitions, deſtroyed all their magazines: the third ſucceeded in taking a battery of three guns belonging to the enemy, and ſetting fire to the barracks near Laſcun; and on the advance of the Spaniſh troops after this ſucceſs, the enemy were diſlodged from ſeveral heights near Aragues; as thirty of the Walloon guards, under Baron Doberge, kept the enemy at bay, till a reinforcement arrived under Don Pedro de Porras, the enemy fled ſoon after, with the utmoſt precipitation; but Baron de Trieſt, who led one of the columns, it ſeems was miſled by his guides, who loſt their way in conſequence of the cloudy weather, and a great fall of rain. After ſilencing the French batteries, and effecting the principal object of the expedition, the Spaniſh general, ſpeaking of the retreat of his army from Laſcun, ſays, that it was a maſterly performance in military tactics, ſuch as in point of merit will not yield to any of a modern date. The French are repreſented as having loſt a vaſt number of men in this affair, and nothing but the fatigue of the day is ſaid to have prevented the Spaniards from following up their ſucceſſes at the inſtant: the fire it ſeems being kept up during ten hours without intermiſſion. The whole loſs of the Spaniards on this occaſion did not exceed two hundred killed, wounded, and miſſing; and from the loſs that was ſuſtained by the French, it was preſumed they

they would be totally unable to put the plan of attack in execution.

On the 2nd of October the French formed an army of eighteen thouſand men at Kuſſel. The commandant of Venlo ſent a patrole to reconnoitre the enemy, but it was too weak to venture far; they however made ſome priſoners, and were informed that the French had entered Gulik. Their motions, indeed, were now ſo various, that the allies could not tell where the enemy meant to divert their attacks.

The report of the inveſtment of Maeſtricht*, and the ſurrender of Aix-la-Chapelle, was about this time, made to the convention.

On the 6th, the bombs thrown by the French into Duſſeldorff, from the other ſide of the Rhine, ſet fire to ſeveral parts of the town. The imperial ſtables, the hotel of Conſtole, and the Imperial poſt-houſe, were burnt down; the great tower was not only burnt, but fell in, and by its fall did much damage.

At this period, the poſition of the Britiſh army was very important. Five thouſand Britiſh and Hanoverians were poſted to defend the paſs, at Bommel, the third regiment of guards arrived to ſhare in the poſt of honour, and general Abercombie was on his march, with a conſiderable army to command the whole. The Duke of York, in the mean time, was poſted at Cleves, Doiſburg, and Emmerich. "The defence of Bommel," ſays an officer in a letter to his friend, "is ſo ſtrong as to bid defiance, as "we believe to all attack; and not even the wonders that "the French Republicans have performed, can induce us "to believe it poſſible for them to overcome the artificial "obſtacles now raiſed againſt them. It is obvious, how-"ever, that they are not daunted. They are advanced to "the attack, and all the late torrents of rain, which have "had the double effect of ſweeping them off by diſeaſe, "and of ſwelling the inundation, do not appear to have "either ſlackened their efforts, or to have diminiſhed their "alacrity. If it be the cauſe alone that ſupports their "ſouls under ſuch difficulties, it is in vain to ſay that their

* Maeſtricht is a ſtrong fortified town, ſo called from there having been formerly a ferry over the Maeſe. The children of this place are ſubject to that maxim of the civil law, *partus ſequitur ventrem*, to that Prince to whom the mother was ſubject at the time of birth. If a ſtranger ſhould go there, he muſt declare to whom he will be ſubject. The Duke of Brabant is the chief ſovereign, poſſeſſing the power of coinage, and granting pardon to offenders.

"liberty will not be triumphant: if they accompliſh the "paſſage of Bommel, Holland is theirs. With all our con- "fidence or ſucceſs, fifty bylanders and other veſſels are "moored and chained off Bommel, to tranſport the "troops, if neceſſary. The roads are all cut up, and bat- "teries raiſed to defend the ground, inch by inch. The "inundation is raiſed from three to ſix feet, and extends "for thirty miles. The poor peaſants are obliged to quit "their habitations, and the roads are lined with waggons "and carts carrying off their families and furniture. Lord "Paget commands at preſent in Bommel, and colonel "Eackenzie at the out-poſts; in all there are ten thouſand "men to defend the paſs."

The inundations of Holland were now very conſiderably improved by the heavy rain, and the country about Hulſt was in every reſpect a perfect iſland. Before the ſluices were opened, the Dutch had the percaution to plough up the land, and interſect it with deep ditches, that ſhould the French have attempted to croſs the water where it was ſhallow, they would have been buried in the mud, and hurled headlong into the pits, which were generally filled with ſharp ſtakes, ſo placed under water as to receive both men and horſes on their points. The Prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt was very viligant and active to prevent improper perſons from croſſing the inundations, and every ſuſpicious perſon was immediately arreſted, and cloſely examined.

On the 16th of October Bois le-Duc * ſurrendered to the French, an event, which from the reſpectable ſtate of the fortreſs, and the circumſtance of the extenſive inundation, was rather unexpected. The garriſon conſiſted of about ſix thouſand Dutch troops, and three hundred French emigrants. The Dutch troops were allowed, with all the honours of war, to march out by the gate of Nimeguen, and to repair to Grave, on condition not to ſerve againſt the French republic within the next twelve months. The French emigrants, conſiſting of two companies of the Legion de Beon, and about ſeventy volunteers, who ſerved in the Dutch regiments, were conducted into the interior of

* Bois-le-Duc, the principal town of Brabant, is ſo called from the Latin Boſcum Diſcis, derived from a pleaſant wood, belonging to the Dukes of Brabant, having been where the town is now ſituated. It is built near a little river, called the Deeſe, on the borders of Guelderland, and is ſtrongly fortified. The cathedral is large, magnificent, and embelliſhed with the fineſt dials in Europe. This town was taken by the confederate ſtates from the king of Spain, after a long and expenſive ſiege, anno 1628.

France,

France, and received general Pichegru's ſolemn promiſe, that the well known decrees againſt emigrants ſhould not be put in execution againſt them. The ſmallneſs of the garriſon was ſaid to be the reaſon of this unexpected ſurrender.

Not long after Venlo, capitulated; concerning the ſiege and ſurrender of which the following are the particulars. On the 4th of October, at the firſt approach of the French, the whole garriſon of Venlo, and the ſpacious fort of St. Michael, conſiſted of no more than one thouſand two hundred men fit for ſervice; then duty, of courſe, was extremely fatiguing. On the 21ſt, the French had puſhed their works within a piſtol ſhot of the palliſadoes of the covered way before the gate leading to Ruremonde, and from theſe works their grenadiers and chaſſeurs killed and wounded ſeveral ſoldiers of the garriſon on their poſts. A ſmall ſortie was therefore determined upon. A detachment of one hundred and thirty volunteers, commanded by Captain Roſt, of the regiment of Panhuys, and twenty-five horſe, executed this duty with as much valour as ſucceſs. The French having been driven out of their firſt entrenchment, were purſued to their ſecond and third, while the pioneers levelled and deſtroyed the firſt. This ſucceſs, however, was not obtained without loſs. Three officers were wounded, and fifty-nine non-commiſſioned officers and privates either wounded or killed. The French, however, ſoon re-eſtabliſhed their works, and puſhed them on with ſo much activity and ſpirit, on both ſides of the town, that on the 23d, the guns were no longer able to hurt them, and they killed and wounded many of the troops in the out-works of the place. The garriſon being now dwindled to the number of nine hundred and fifty men, many of whom for five, ſix, and ſeven days together, had been conſtantly on duty, it was found impoſſible any longer to defend the out-works, which were of courſe abandoned, and the defence confined to the body of the place. In this ſituation the town was ſummoned to ſurrender on the 24th of October. A capitulation was drawn up, the fifth article of which purported, that the garriſon ſhould be allowed to ſerve againſt the enemies of the United Netherlands. This article having been rejected, it was determined to defend the town to the laſt extremity; which determination, however, inclined the French general, Laurent, to agree to the above article, and the capitulation was ſigned on the 26th.

The ſucceſſes of the French armies, during this month, were indeed ſo numerous and rapid, that it muſt ſuffice here only

only to mention many of them. On the 9th, they made themſelves maſters of Sechelles, Odunbach, and the city of Velſcheim. On the 10th, the armies of the Rhine and the Moſelle formed a junction at Lautreck. On the 14th, they took the towns of Auterberg, Rozenhauſen, Lauſberg, Abzem, and Obenhouſe. On the 15th the towns of Gelheim and Grauſtadtz yielded to the army of the Rhine; and to the army of the Moſelle, the towns of Trorback, Borgcaſtle, Birkenfield, Oberſtein, Kirn, and Miſenheim. They then marched againſt Creutznach, from which they were to proceed againſt Ruidalſheim, Leiſaltheim, and Pederſheim. On the 17th, Frankendal was taken, and on the 18th, in the evening, they entered the beautiful epiſcopal city of Worms. Bengen opened its gates to the French on the 20th; general Marceau, who was ordered by general Jourdan to march againſt Coblentz, reached that place on the 23d, and, after defeating the Auſtrians, took poſſeſſion of it. At the ſame time Hulſt, Sans-de-Gand, Phillippine, and Axelle fell into the hands of the French.

On the 19th of October, the French attacked the advanced poſts of the Duke of York's army, at Nimeguen, particularly that of Drutin, which was defended by the thirty-ſeventh regiment, and that of Appelthern, where the Prince of Rohan's light battalion was poſted. In repelling the attack, the troops diſcovered the greateſt bravery; but at laſt the poſt on the left of the thirty-ſeventh regiment, which was occupied by a detachment of Rohan Huſſars, having been forced, major Hope, who commanded the thirty-ſeventh, and who diſtinguiſhed himſelf exceedingly, was obliged to retreat upon the Dyke along the Waal, which he continued for ſome time, without being much annoyed by the enemy: unfortunately, however, a ſtrong body of the French huſſars being miſtaken for the corps of Rohan, the regiment allowed them to come upon them unmoleſted, when the huſſars immediately attacked, and the narrowneſs of the Dyke, which, on every other occaſion, muſt have afforded a ſecurity to the infantry, in this inſtance acted againſt them, as they were driven off it by the enemy's charge, and ſuffered very conſiderably. Of the whole regiment only major Hope and about fifty men eſcaped; but as eight of the officers were taken priſoners, it is probable that many of the privates were ſo too, and that the number of the killed was not ſo great as was at firſt reported.

About the beginning of November, the cannon both of the Engliſh and French at and near Nimeguen roared unceſſantly

ceſſantly for three days and nights. The Engliſh, Dutch, and Hanoverians made a ſucceſsful ſortie on the 4th, which was conducted in a very maſterly manner, and never did the Britiſh troops diſplay more cool and deliberate courage. A new Highland regiment, lately arrived from England, under colonel M'Kenzie, diſtinguiſhed themſelves very much, as did the Dutch regiment (Bentinck's) which had never been in action before during the war.

At five in the afternoon, the troops marched out of Nimeguen. They conſiſted of five Britiſh, one Heſſian, and two Dutch battalions, with ſome corps of cavalry. The latter went round a wood, and came in rear of the French works, while the allied troops drove the enemy from their entrenchments with the bayonet. About five hundred of the French were killed, and three only made priſoners. The whole loſs ſuſtained by the allies, conſiſted in about two hundred men killed and wounded, of which *one hundred and ſeventy four* were Britiſh. Thirteen Britiſh officers were wounded. Captain Archer, of the ſixty-third regiment, had ſome narrow eſcapes. Juſt as he left his bed-chamber, a ſhell ſtruck his lodging-houſe, and paſſed through his room, which gave way, and the houſe ſoon after tumbled down. Several ſhots paſſed cloſe by him; one of them ſtruck off two buttons from the breaſt of his coat, and another touched the corner of his elbow. Major-General De Burg was amongſt the killed. The works of the French were very much injured, and would have been quite deſtroyed, had not the *Dutch workmen run away.*

On the 5th the troops of the republic returned, and erected a formidable battery againſt the bridge, near which they ſunk two boats. On the evening of the 6th the troops were with-drawn from Nimeguen four thouſand men excepted, the half of which were Dutch; and on the 7th the town was completely evacuated.

Much about the ſame time Maeſtricht opened its gates, the garriſon of eight thouſand Auſtrians having compelled the Dutch, conſiſting of three thouſand, to ſurrender; though there was plenty of ammunition and proviſion in the garriſon, and the town was not in the leaſt damaged. The garriſon, by the articles of capitulation, bound themſelves not to act againſt the French until exchanged.

What has been ſaid of Cæſar, "that he left nothing "undone to obtain the completion of his deſigns," may be applied to the leading men of France. New proceſſes have been brought to perfection for the acquiſition of ſaltpetre,

petre, in proportion to the immenſe quantity of powder that they conſume; the telegraphe, invented to eſtabliſh between the government and the armies a correſpondence almoſt as rapid as thought; the balloon ſyſtem applied to the military art, in the moſt ingenious manner, to know the poſition of the enemy, and to diſconcert their projects; and a thouſand other means, either invented or brought to perfection, or put in uſe, to make their cauſe triumphant, prove the truth of this aſſertion. Ought not the combined powers alſo, while they purſue the old tactics of war, to make uſe of other reſources?

Meanwhile the following addreſs from the Prince of Orange was diſtributed in the provinces of Holland and Guelderland. "My illuſtrious father has empowered me "to call upon every good citizen for their aſſiſtance in the "defence of the confines, and to contend for the preſerva- "tion of their religion and their country; I therefore call "upon all the brave inhabitants of Guelderland and Hol- "land, to unite and ſtand up for the defence of their "houſes and lands, their lives and properties. Here are "arms, powder and ball—take them with a good heart, "and uſe them with a ſtrong hand. Not a man of you, "unleſs he chuſes, ſhall go out of his province, but let each "of you, in your reſpective diſtricts, prevent the enemy "from advancing any further. Brave and faithful coun- "men!—let us fight one and all for our dear country. "Soldiers, citizens, and peaſants!—let us all unanimouſly "aſſemble under the ſame banner; I will fight with you "for the ſalvation of the country, and may God give us "the victory."

The allies, when they formed the league of Pilnitz, ſuppoſed that the wealth of the commercial members of that aſſociation, and the ſoldiers of Germany, would make the reduction of the French revolutioniſts a matter of certainty. They made no allowance for the energy of paſſion, the contrivance of neceſſity, and the perſeverance of deeply-rooted opinion! With the recent emancipation of America, however, before their eyes, they might have foreſeen the difficulties that muſt ariſe from an attack on France. An enlightened, as well as a moſt candid and impartial hiſtorian, although he had borne arms againſt the revolted Americans, on a general retroſpect of the American war, makes, among others, the following reflections: "While the "natural ſtrength and ſpirit of Great Britain were embar- "raſſed and encumbered with the diſadvantages and errors "now enumerated, the Americans, in ſpite of a thouſand

" difficulties and wants, by the energy of liberty, the con-
" trivance of neceſſity, and the great advantages ariſing
" from the poſſeſſion of the country, ultimately attained
" their object. The American generals, having the bulk
" of the people on their ſide, were made acquainted with
" every movement of the Britiſh army, and enabled, for the
" moſt part, to penetrate their deſigns. To obtain intelli-
" gence, on which ſo much depends, was to the Britiſh
" commanders a matter of proportionable difficulty. The
" Americans had neither money nor credit; but they learn-
" ed to ſtand in need of only a few things; to be contented
" with the ſmall allowance that nature requires; to ſuffer
" as well as to act. Their councils, animated by liberty,
" under the moſt diſtreſſing circumſtances, took a grand
" and high-ſpirited courſe, and they were finally trium-
" phant."—The ſame philoſophical politician, on the ſame occaſion obſerves that, " Had the meaſures adopted by Bri-
" tain been adopted in time, perhaps they would not have
" been adopted in vain. Her conceſſions, as well as her
" armaments, were always too late. Earlier conceſſion,
" or an earlier application of that mighty force, which was
" at the diſpoſal of the commanders in chief in 1777, might
" perhaps have prevented or quaſhed the revolution*."

The preſent war, perhaps, was entered on rather raſhly; but, ſince what has paſt cannot be recalled, the queſtion is, what is now to be done? Undoubtedly all Europe ſhould unite in order to repreſs the French within their own territories; otherwiſe, ſays a judicious writer†, their thirſt for territorial conqueſt, their *gaio-mania*, will increaſe. About a century before the birth of Chriſt, more than three hundred thouſand men, known by the name of the Cimbri and Teutones, forſaking their own country on the ſhores of the Baltic, went in ſearch of plunder and glory. They attacked and ſubdued whatever people they found in their paſſage; and, as they met with no reſiſtance, reſolved to puſh their conqueſts farther. Their career was not to be ſtopt by any thing leſs than the political and martial courage of the Romans. They ſent an embaſſy to the Romans, to offer them their ſervices, on the condition that they would give them lands to cultivate. But, although the conſternation which the Cimbri and Teutones had raiſed in Italy and at Rome was extreme, the ſenate, too prudent to enter into any kind of accommodation with ſuch dan-

* Stedman's Hiſtory of the American War.

† Author of that ſenſible article in the Engliſh Review, entitled " National Affairs."

gerous

gerous enemies, returned to their demand a direct refusal. War ensued, and the barbarians were conquered, and almost entirely cut off by the *Roman MARIUS*. But had the Roman senate attempted to soothe and quiet the Cimbri by territorial concessions, either in Gaul or Spain, Italy too must by and by have become the prey of rapacity only inflamed by gratification. Germany is now, as Italy at the time of the Cimbric migration, the most warlike of the European nations. Where, since the death of FREDERIC the Great of Prussia, shall we find a MARIUS?

In the assembly at Ratisbon, about this period, the proposal of the minister from the elector of Mentz, to enter into negociations of peace with France, through the mediation of the courts of Sweden and Denmark, was but coolly received.

The Imperial ministers declared, that the proposal came to them very unexpectedly. The Hanoverian minister took the proposal *ad referendum*. The minister from Brandenburg was not present, but the Hanoverian minister declared the same in his name. The Saxon minister waited for further deliberation on the question. Other ministers did not come to any determination; and some said they had already mentioned their objections to the proposed mediation.

On the 15th of October, Watt, who had been found guilty of high-treason was executed at Edinburgh. At one o'clock the sheriff depute and substitute took coach from the sheriff clerk's office, and went to the castle, to receive Watt from the governor. At twenty minutes past one, the two youngest magistrates of Edinburgh, attended by their constables of the old institution, who are composed of respectable citizens and burgesses of Edinburgh, and escorted by the city guard, set out to meet the sheriff and the prisoner. By appointment, the sheriff, with two companies of the Argyleshire fencibles guarding the prisoner, met them at the water-house, which is the utmost limit of the precincts of the castle.

Here the duty of the fencible soldiers ceased, and in very slow and solemn procession, Watt was conducted down the street to the prison of Edinburgh, which they entered, precisely five minutes before two o'clock; and at a quarter past two, Watt appeared on the plat-form. Psalms were sung, and prayers given by the principal Baird. Watt was uncommonly devout; he joined in the psalms, and afterwards prayed fervently, standing on his feet all the while; he then ascended the table, but something being wrong

about the rope, he came down, fell on his knees, and prayed for ſome time. He again aſcended, and at adjuſting the rope, he agreed with the executioner, that the dropping of his handkerchief ſhould be the ſignal. He then prayed a third time, and having given the ſignal, the table was dropped two minutes before three; he was dead in two minutes. He continued hanging till half-paſt three. An oblong narrow table was then brought onward; it was painted black, and had a kind of block at one end. The rope was cut, and the body laid upon it, with the breaſt uppermoſt. A baſket of the cylindrical form was prepared to receive the head. At this the multitude, who had been comparatively ſilent, broke out into a murmur, of a kind that can hardly be deſcribed. The executioner then came forward, and ſaid ſomething to the mob, which was not diſtinctly heard, while he brandiſhed a broad ſharp axe. He then went to the body, and uplifted his axe, as if in the attitude of ſtriking. The effect of this was like a ſhock of electricity. The women ſcreamed and fainted, and hundreds ran down the wynds and cloſes in every direction. At two blows the head was ſevered from the body, and the executioner held it up ſtreaming with blood, proclaiming, in the uſual way, "This is the head of a traitor." The trunk, dreſſed as it was, was then laid in a coarſe coffin, a parcel of ſaw-duſt thrown on it, the head was then thrown in, and the lid nailed. There probably never was ſo great a multitude aſſembled in Edinburgh; not only the windows, but the tops of all the houſes were occupied. And in every part of the ſtreet from the Luckenbooths, to the Caſtle Hill, the people were abſolutely packed. There was, however, no diſturbance.

In England, however, John Horne Tooke, Eſq. Meſſrs. Hardy, Thelwall, &c. who were ſoon after tried on a charge of high treaſon, were acquitted. Their acquittal proved the unrivalled excellence of the conſtitution and laws of England, and gave general and lively ſatisfaction. It is a glorious political and civil conſtitution, which can form ſuch a ſpirit as that of Mr. Tooke, whoſe conduct and deportment throughout the trial, diſplayed the higheſt talents as well as fortitude. Mr. Erſkine's addreſs to the jury on behalf of Mr. Hardy, laſted nearly ſix hours. It was marked with that enthuſiaſtic animation which is the character of this eloquent advocate; and contained every poſſible appeal to the feelings and paſſions of the jury, to induce them to acquit the priſoner of the crime charged in the

the indictment, "The compaſſing and imagining the "death of the King." Mr. Erſkine concluded with the following beautiful peroration: "My wiſh and my recommendation is not to conjure up a ſpirit among us to deſtroy ourſelves, by bringing on the tyranny of a French tribunal, where an accuſation is enough to bring its object to the guillotine. Let us keep to the old and venerable rules and laws of our forefathers; and let a jury of the country feel the duty they owe the public, to themſelves, to poſterity, and to God, to preſerve by law the life of a man who only aſks it of them on the terms they would, in their turn, aſk their own. I ſhall now conclude with a fervent wiſh, and a fond hope, that it may pleaſe God, who guides the world, moulds governments at his will, and who governs us all in juſtice and in mercy, from whoſe care and bounty has ariſen the proſperity and glory of this happy iſland, to enlighten and direct your minds! To your care I now commit my client, without fear, being confident that you will do him juſtice!"

The prorogation of parliament to the 30th of December, filled the public mind with conjecture. Many were the different opinions entertained reſpecting this unexpected proceeding. The trials for high treaſon, the appearance of a change in the miniſtry, from Mr. Pitt having been left in a cabinet minority, the diſunion of meaſures in the allies, and the preſent negociations for a ſeparate peace between ſome of the belligerent powers and France, formed the chief of the various cauſes aſſigned.

When we view Holland, at this period, we view an enigma in national diſpoſition. To ſee a people ſo immerſed in the purſuits of avarice, abſorbed in their own perſonal indifference, inſenſible to their real dangers, and ungrateful to their defenders, excite a diſguſt for the human character, and chill the heart, glowing with ardour for the ſafety of them, as connected with the general cauſe of nations. To defend the Dutch, therefore, might be conſidered as the height of war-quixotiſm, were there not political reaſons for it.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Decree of the Convention reſpecting the Jacobin Club and other popular Societies.—Mutual Recriminations.—Acts of barbarity brought to light.—The Jacobins are driven out of their hall.—Arrangements between Great Britain and America.—The French take an important place from the Spaniards, near Pampeluna.—General Koſciuſko defeated and taken priſoner.—Surrender of Warſaw.

THE ſtruggle in the national convention of France, between the moderates, and thoſe who were in favour of ſeverer meaſures, or more properly of the Jacobin principles, now began to determine in favour of the former. Much had been ſaid at different times of purifying the popular ſocieties in Paris, and an addreſs preparatory to ſuch a ſtep was made to the people and publiſhed. It recommended to the public not to be carried away by party, to let the laws have their proper courſe, and not to throw obſtacles in the way of the completion of the ultimate good purpoſes of the revolution. This addreſs had the beſt effect, and the deputations from all the ſections of Paris appeared at the bar of the convention, who aſſured that aſſembly of their love for the republic, and their reſolution to do every thing ſet forth in the addreſs, for the good of the country. The way being thus far cleared, a propoſal was made on the 16th of October, in the name of the three committees, to prohibit by decree, *all clubs and federations, affiliations, and aggregations*, as well as all correſpondence between the ſocieties of the people, as being againſt the good of the country; and that every ſociety ſhall give in a liſt of the names of their members, their age, place of abode, calling, and what was their employment before the 14th of June, 1789. This occaſioned warm debates: ſome contended, that the convention had no right to interfere in the correſpondence of ſuch ſocieties; whilſt others ſaid, that the corre pondence of ſuch ſocieties, was the greateſt nurſery of ariſtocracy poſſible. Bentabole ſaid, "Cruſh the power of the Jacobins, and you will ſoon find the "combined powers make overtures of peace." At laſt the decree was agreed to, and the citizens in the tribunes and in the gardens of the convention, made the air ring with applauſes, and the cry of Vive la Republique! Vive la Convention!

A few days after, Cambon accuſed Tallien as one of the chief promoters of the horrid maſſacres. He particularly aſcribed to him the murder of the three hundred eccleſiaſtics in the church of the Carmalites in Paris, and declared that he was a leader of the party who compelled the legiſlative aſſembly to pronounce that Louis forfeited the crown, in order to put in his place that contemptible wretch, the duke of Orleans.

Tallien in his defence againſt this charge, gives a ſketch of the horrid ſcenes of blood which have diſgraced the revolution. He thus retaliates upon his opponents: "As my "own conduct is impeached, I challenge inquiry. I am "not one of thoſe men who have inundated the departments "with blood; who, by ſhooting and drowning their fellow-"citizens, have rendered the revolution odious. If you "will call the attention of the people to your own crimes, if "you will remind them of the banks of the Loire and of the "Seine, I will call their attention to my conduct. Since "you accuſe me of maſſacring refractory prieſts, I call the "attention of the people to the thouſands of victims you "have maſſacred in the ſouth, and drowned in the Loire. "I have wiſhed to avoid every thing that might revive diſ-"ſention; but ſince you invoke the public vengeance upon "me, I invoke the public vengeance upon you, former mem-"bers of the committee of public ſafety; upon you, former "members of the committee of general ſafety; upon you, "commiſſioners to the departments of the Pays de Calais, of "the ſouth, and the banks of the Loire. Let the people "pronounce between us; between you and the patriots, "who are now daily expoſed to the poinards which you "and your ſatellites point at their breaſts. Never was inno-"cent blood ſhed by my orders; never did the idea of it "diſturb my ſleep. Aſk the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, if "among them I committed extortions, or puniſhed any but "the guilty? Aſk the inhabitants of Niſme, of Nantes, and "various other places, and ſee what anſwer you will receive. "Theſe accuſations, I think, will not be renewed; but if "they are renewed, I declare that, without waiting for "the uſual forms, I will go before the revolutionary tribu-"nal, and carry my accuſer thither along with me."

The diſſentions among the parties brought to light an act of barbarity, which filled the whole audience in the galleries of the convention, with horror and indignation. Merlin of Thionville related the ſtory. He ſaid, that the adjutant-general le Febure ordered, in the month of February laſt, forty-one perſons, of whom two men were ſeventy-

eight years of age, twelve women, twelve young girls, an fifteen young children, five of them at the breaſt, to be embarked on board a veſſel, of which citizen Mace was the captain: theſe unhappy people were taken out to ſea, and at ſix o'clock in the evening were all thrown overboard, as being rebels to the law; ſuch was the pretext. Merlin then demanded, that Le Febure ſhould be brought before the revolutionary tribunal, "where he ſhall diſcloſe," ſays Merlin, "the atrocious tyrants to whom the country was "to have been abandoned. This adjutant-general would "not have conducted himſelf thus, if he had not had power-"ful ſupport."

On the 9th of November groups of people aſſembled at the Thuilleries, and the Palais Royal, in order to excite the populace in favour of the Jacobins. When the Jacobin ſociety met, the two parties, for ſome time, confined themſelves to cries, *Vive la Convention*, and *Vivent les Jacobins*; but each party irritating the other, they at laſt proceeded to acts of violence. Several ſallies were made from the hall of the Jacobins, and a deſperate conflict took place, in which ſome were killed, and many wounded. For ſome time the members of the Jacobin ſociety appeared to be the ſtronger party; but the people proceeded in crowds from the different ſections, aſſailed the hall of the Jacobins with ſtones, and taking poſſeſſion of it, drove out the members, locked up the hall, and carried the keys to the convention.

The leading terms of the late arrangements agreed on between Great Britain and America were now made known to the public. "The poſts which have been re-"tained by the Britiſh, ſince the laſt treaty of peace, are "to be reſtored to the Americans in eighteen months. A "commercial intercourſe is to take place between America "and the Britiſh Weſt Indies, at a low duty on tonnage. "And the important queſtion, whether neutral bottoms "make free ſhips? is to be referred to commiſſioners, "who are to make their report at the end of two years."

The French having over-run Navarre, took, about this period, an important place near Pampeluna; when the Spaniſh army retreated, and left the enemy within twelve miles of that city. Meanwhile the French received a reinforcement of fourteen thouſand men; and eighteen thouſand more were coming, had they not been detained by an inſurrection at Bourdeaux. As the invaſion of the Germans, however, rouſed and united the French in the cauſe of freedom, ſo the invaſion of the French may animate and unite the Spaniards in that of religion, and the cuſtoms of Spain.

They

They conduct themſelves with dignity and firmneſs; nor is there a doubt, but, with the advantage of a ſtrong natural barrier, they will be able to defend their country.

The *Poles*, worthy of freedom, and capable of regulated liberty, are oppreſſed and abondoned, it would ſeem, by all the world. But, as great military and naval preparations are going on at Conſtantinople, the Turks, perhaps, will yet ſuccour the Poles.

On the 10th of October, the Poliſh general Koſciuſko was completely defeated by the Ruſſians, and himſelf and ſeveral of his principal officers taken priſoners. The particulars of this engagement are as follow: The battle laſted from ſeven in the morning, till twelve o'clock in the day, and Koſciuſko appeared in it more glorious, though the exent happened to prove almoſt the entire deſtruction of his army, than ever did any hero of former times. Where the greateſt danger was, there he placed himſelf, and three horſes were killed under him. At laſt a Coſſack wounded him from behind with a lance, without knowing who he was, till his attendants when he fell, in their confuſion, called him by his name. Koſciuſko recovered himſelf ſo much, that he ran a few yards, when a Ruſſian officer cut him acroſs the head, and he fell a ſecond time to the ground, ſeemingly lifeleſs; ſo that it was thought he would hardly live to be informed of the misfortune which befel thoſe who were under his command. Some time after, however, the intelligence of his being out of danger, diffuſed univerſal joy. Before the battle, he gave orders to his ſoldiers, that in caſe he ſhould fall into the hands of the enemy, they might if poſſible ſhoot him, in order to prevent his being carried off in triumph. This was actually attempted by ſome of them; and had they not called out his name in their conſternation, he would not have been known, for he was in a peaſant's dreſs, which he never, ſince the beginning of the confederation, had put off. The Ruſſians directed their march to Warſaw; and in all parts of Poland, through which they paſſed, they aſſembled the ſtates, to effect a counter-revolution, in which they generally proved ſucceſsful.

In conſequence of the defeat of Koſciuſko, the Ruſſian general, Count Ferſen, ſent a letter to the king of Poland, demanding the "*immediate releaſe of the Ruſſian miniſter*, and "*all the officers attached to the empire*, now *in confinement at* "*Warſaw.*" To which the king returned for anſwer;—"*That he could not comply with the requeſt on any other conſideration*,"

" ſideration, than as an exchange of priſoners, and that he " was reſolved to ſtand by the revolution."

As the loſs of general Koſciuſko, ſo dear to the Poles, and the very ſoul of the revolution, threatened to produce ſome alarming conſequences at Warſaw, an addreſs was publiſhed on the part of the ſupreme council to the people, aſſuring them, that the chiefs of the revolution would remain firm at their poſts. General Wawrzewſki was then appointed to ſucceed Koſciuſko in the command of the Poliſh army.

The fate of their gallant leader, however, could not fail to depreſs the ſpirits of his patriotic adherents. The ſurrender of Warſaw, therefore, ſoon followed. The Ruſſians having taken the ſuburb of Praga, on the 14th of November, and rendered themſelves maſters of the whole Poliſh camp, the cannonade from Warſaw upon Praga laſted the whole day, and was very weakly anſwered by the Ruſſians. Towards the night, the cannonade ceaſed entirely, becauſe the magiſtrates ſent a deputation to General Suwarrow to requeſt a capitulation. The night between the 4th and 5th, was terrible to the inhabitants.

On the fifth at noon, the deputies Burakoſki, Strazaikowſki, and Mackarowiez, returned from the Ruſſian camp, where they had delivered a letter from the King of Poland to General Suwarrow, and entreated him to ſpare the capital, as it would ſurrender at diſcretion, and begged for ſafety of perſon and property. General Suwarrow immediatly dictated ſome articles of capitulation to the following purport: 1. To lay down immediately all arms. 2. To put all the artillery and ſtores in one place. 3. To ſet all the priſoners and hoſtages immediately at liberty. 4. To reſtore without delay the lawful conſtitution. 5. To repair immediately the bridge for the Ruſſian troops to enter the city. 6. General Suwarrow promiſes on his part, ſafety to the king's ſacred perſon. 7. Safety to the perſons and the property of the inhabitants. 8. A total oblivion of all that had happened.

The magiſtrates of Warſaw immediately publiſhed this capitulation, and requeſted the inhabitants to accede to the terms propoſed. The inhabitants gave their conſent; but the executive council, the army, and Generaliſſimo Wawrzewſki, ſeemed diſſatisfied with it, as they had not been included in the capitulation.

On the 6th, the deputies returned to General Suwarrow, and ſaid, that the magiſtrates and citizens had fulfilled his wiſhes, as far as it was in their power; but that the ſupreme

preme national council, Generaliſſimo Wawrzewſki, and the regular troops had ſtill the upper hand, and would not agree with the king and the burghers.—General Suwarrow anſwered, "I adviſe the ruling faction to ſubmit, as this "will be the only means to avert the hard fate which "awaits them." He then ſaid, that for his part, if the regulars would not lay down their arms, he would give them liberty to leave the city; but they might expect to be overtaken by his vengeance wherever they ſhould go.

On the 7th at ten o'clock in the morning, the members of the ſupreme council, and General Wawrzewſki, waited on the king, and ſurrendered to him all their power, and the chief command of the military. General Suwarrow now informed the king by leter, that in order to procure ſafety to his majeſty, and tranquillity to the capital, he ſhould enter the place on the 9th, which he accordingly did, at the head of his army; when the magiſtrates came to receive him, and delivered the keys of the place into his hands.

When the Ruſſians entered Warſaw, all the houſes and windows were ſhut.

Baron Buhler, the Ruſſian envoy to the Court of Munich, who, during eight months, had been kept a priſoner at Warſaw, immediately ſet out for Peterſburg to give the Empreſs an account of her victories, and of the ſituation of affairs in Poland.

The Poliſh patriots, who refuſed to accede to the capitulation of Warſaw, took their route towards Sendomir, under the command of Wawrzewſki. Their number was thirty thouſand. In want, however, of proviſions, and preſſed by the Ruſſians and Pruſſians, they were ſoon forced to diſband, after ſpiking eighty pieces of cannon. The Pruſſian general Klieſt, took twenty-two pieces, nineteen waggons of ammunition, and three thouſand ſtand of arms. The remainder of the booty fell into the hands of the Ruſſians. A corps of ſix thouſand men ſtill remained under Wawrzewſki, who was accompanied by the brave Madalinſki, Dombrowſki, Zaouſeck, and the Chancellor Kollontay. They proceeded towards Gallicia.

The capture of Warſaw is a circumſtance that every perſon but the Ruſſians laments. It adds to the overgrown dominions of a deſpotic princeſs, and blaſts that tree of freedom under which the Poliſh nation, by the laws

of

of God and nature, ſought happineſs for themſelves and for their poſterity. It is an event likewiſe on which Europe ſhould look with a jealous eye, as it certainly tends to deſtroy that balance of power, by which the reſpective intereſts of ſurrounding nations can only be preſerved.

FINIS.

INDEX.

A.

ABEL is ſlain by his brother Cain, i. 2.

Abyſſinia, the empire of, an account of it, ii. 56. The weakneſs of its government, *ib.* 57. Its curioſities and productions, *ib.* 59.

Acapulco, a ſea-port, an account of it, ii. 115.

Achæan league, an account of, i. 108.

Achilles ſlays Hector, i. 54. Surrenders the body to Priam, i. 55.

Alcibiades, his power, i. 91. Is murdered, *ib.* 92.

Adrian, his reign, learning and virtues, i. 240. His addreſs to his ſoul, *ib.* 241.

Ætna, Mount, an account of, ii. 4.

Africa, the interior parts of it, ii. 61. Its iſlands, *ib.* 63.

Agamemnon commands the Grecians againſt Troy, i. 54. Is murdered on his return home, *ib.* 57.

Agrarian law, the various diſputes concerning it, i. 141. Is ſupported by Gracchus, *ib.* 175.

Agriculture, progreſs of in America, iii. 52. The different ſtages of it, *ib.* 54.

Agrippina poiſons her huſband, i. 229. Her folly and ambitious views for her ſon, *ib.*

Alaric takes Rome and plunders Italy, i. 280.

Albans, their engagement with the Romans, i. 120.

Albert II. his reign, i. 393.

Alexander ſucceeds to the throne of Macedon, i. 102. Shews mercy to the Jews, *ib.* 42. His vengeance againſt Thebes, *ib.* 103. Defeats Darius, *ib.* 105. Reduces Perſia, *ib.* 106. His plans and death, *ib.* 106. Remarks on his character, *ib.* 107. The diviſion of his empire, *ib.* 108.

Alexander, his reign and virtues, i. 251.

Alexandria, the library of, is burnt, ii. 17.

Alexis Michaelowitz, his adminiſtration, ii. 324.

Alfred the Great, his reign and character, i. 411.

Algiers, an account of, ii. 47.

Alliances of nations are ſeldom ſincere or laſting, iii. 345.

Ali Bey, his victories and character, ii. 52.

Almagro divides the ſpoils with Pizarro, ii. 85. His attack on Chili

Chili, *ib.* 87. Defeats Pizarro, *ib.* 88. His death, *ib.* 96. Executes Pizarro, *ib.* 90.

Almagro the younger, his character, ii. 96. is defeated by Caſtro, *ib.* 100.

America, the continent of, was diſcovered by Chriſtopher Columbus, ii. 64. Its extent and various climates, *ib.* 65, 66. Its different animals, *ib.* 67. Its ſoil, *ib.* 68. The queſtion concerning the population of America, *ib.* 69. Was probably firſt peopled from the north, *ib.* 71. Its peculiar animals, *ib.* 145. Its birds, *ib.* 146. Its reptiles and fiſh, *ib.* 147. the appearance of the country, iii. 8. Curious phenomenon there, *ib.* 9. Its ſoil, *ib.* 13. Its produce, *ib.* 14. Its population, *ib.* 16. Its great men, *ib.* Its literature, *ib.* 17. Its language, *ib.* 18. Progreſs of agriculture in it, *ib.* 53.

America, United States of, of whom compoſed, iii. 1. Their articles of confederation, *ib.* 2. Their new conſtitution, *ib.* 4. their tolerance, *ib.* 56.

Americans, their complexion, ii. 72. Their underſtanding, *ib.* 73. Their manners and warlike ſpirit, *ib.* 74. Their cuſtoms, *ib.* 75. Their religion, *ib.* 76. Their morals, *ib.* Requeſt the releaſe of Thomas Paine, iii. 267. Send an ambaſſador to France, *ib.* 395.

Ankarſtrom aſſaſſinates the king of Sweden, ii. 261*. His confeſſion, *ib.* 262*. His puniſhment, *ib.* 263*.

Anne, queen, her reign, ii, 4*. Her war with the French, *ib.* 5*. Forms the union with Scotland, *ib.* 6*. The diſputes between the Whigs and Tories in her reign, *ib.* 8*. Makes peace with France, *ib.* 9*. The letter from the pretender to her, *ib.* 10*. Her character, *ib.* 11*.

Antideluvians, their ſtate, i. 3. Their longevity, *ib.* 4. Their manners, *ib.* 5.

Antionette, queen of France, her diſtreſs on the king's trial, iii. 182. On taking her final leave of him, *ib.* 201. The particulars of the charges alledged againſt her, *ib.* 241. Few witneſſes examined, *ib.* 242. The criminations againſt her by the public accuſer, *ib.* 243. Is defended by Chauveau and Coudray, *ib.* The charge of the preſident of the revolutionary tribunal to the jury concerning the queen, *ib.* The frivolous accuſations againſt her, *ib.* 245. Is found guilty and condemned, *ib.* 246. Her conduct on the occaſion, *ib.* Her appearance and execution, *ib.* 247.

Antoninus Pius, his reign and his character, i. 242.

Anthony, Mark, his funeral oration for Cæſar, i. 207. His intrigue with Cleopatra, *ib.* 212. His folly, *ib.* 213. Is defeated by Auguſtus, *ib.* 214.

Arabs, an account of them, ii. 14. Their ignorance, *ib.* 17.

Archimedes, his defence of Syracuſe, and his death, i. 167.

Areopagus, its character, i. 63.

Ariſtides, his character, i. 78. Is ſurnamed the *Juſt*, *ib.* 79. Is baniſhed, *ib.* 80.

Arria, her conſtancy and affection for her huſband, i. 228.
Aſſyrian monarchy, an account of, i. 24.
Athenians engage with the Spartans, i. 89. Their effeminacy and manners, *ib.* 100.
Athens, its riſe and ſplendor, i. 59. Its thirty tyrants, *ib.* 92.
Athol, duke of, is in poſſeſſion of the Iſle of Man, ii. 241*. Sells it to the Crown of Great Britain. *ib.*
Auguſtus reſigns the crown of Poland, ii. 335*. Obtains it again, *ib.* 336*. His gallantry, *ib.*
Aurelian, his reign and character, i. 258. Defeats Zenobia, the queen of Palmyra, *ib.* 259. Is aſſaſſinated, *ib.* 260.
Aurengzebe, his reign and ſucceſs, ii. 31.
Auſtrians force the lines of Weiſſembourg, iii. 257. Raiſe the ſiege of Landau, *ib.* 258. Their ſucceſs againſt the French, *ib.* 283. Retreat from Montigny, *ib.* 306. Are compelled to retreat before the French, *ib.* 324.

B.

Babylonians, their knowledge of aſtronomy, i. 12, 13. They worſhipped the ſun and ſtars, *ib.* 14.
Bahamas iſlands, an account of them, iii. 121.
Bajazet, his reign, ii. 7.
Baillie, M. his character and execution, iii. 256.
Balance of power, remarks on it, i. 302.
Balbinus, his reign and death, i. 253.
Baldwyn, earl, his character, i. 315.
Baliol, his claim to the Scottiſh throne, ii. 82*. Is ſupported by King Edward, *ib.* 84*. Does homage to him, *ib.* 85*. Is compelled to reſign, *ib.* 87*. His ſituation, *ib.* 88*. Negotiates with France, *ib.* 90*.
Balloons uſed by the French to inſpect the enemy's camp. iii. 437.
Barbadoes, its ſavage ſtate, iii. 113. Its productions and exports, *ib.* 114. Conjecture concerning it, *ib.* 115.
Bards, Welch, are murdered by order of Edward, ii. 235*.
Baſtia is taken by Lord Hood, iii. 300.
Baſtile, the, at Paris, taken by the mob, i. 381.
Barnave, his execution, iii. 257.
Barrere, his ſpeech againſt the Engliſh, iii. 303. His vile addreſs to the republican armies, *ib.* 304. His report on the naval engagement, and the ſupplies received, *ib.* 322. His report on their ſucceſſes and the trophies of war, *ib.* 328. His report on the capture of Oſtend, *ib.* 358. His decree for putting horſes and carriages into a ſtate of requiſition, *ib.* 362. His report on the victories of the republic, *ib.* 365. His report on the fall of Robeſpierre and his party, *ib.* 391. Is accuſed with ſix members of the committee of public welfare by Tallien, *ib.* 408. His report concerning the telegraphe, *ib.* 409.

Beatoun, cardinal, is murdered, ii. 133.
Beaver, the American, an account of it, ii. 144.
Beliſarius, the great general, his victories, i. 283. His diſgrace, *ib.* 283.
Belus, the famous temple of, i. 13.
Bengal, an account of, ii. 36.
Bermudas, an account of them, iii. 121.
Bernard, St. the character of, i. 319. Preaches up the Cruſade, *ib.* 319.
Billaud de Varennes, accuſes Robeſpierre in the convention, iii. 381.
Bois le Duc, an account of it, is taken by the French, iii. 445.
Bombay, an account of it, ii. 37.
Bommel, its ſtrength; the preparation made to oppoſe the French, iii. 445.
Brandt, count, is a favourite with the King of Denmark, ii. 269*. Is accuſed by the Queen Dowager, *ib.* 270*. Is arreſted, *ib.* 271*. Is executed, *ib.*
Brazil, an account of, iii. 124. Belongs to the Portugueſe, *ib.* 125. The inquiſition is eſtabliſhed there, *ib.* 126. The cuſtoms and manners of the inhabitants, *ib.* 128. Their hoſpitality, *ib.* 129. Their character, *ib.* 130. The gold mines diſcovered there, *ib.* 131. The quantity of gold collected there, *ib.* 132. Its diamonds, *ib.* 135. Its capital, *ib.* 137. Its commerce, *ib.* 137.
Brennus, the Gaul, takes Rome. i. 151.
Briſſot moves for a declaration of war againſt England and Holland, iii. 209. His ſpeech on the occaſion, *ib.*
——— his character, iii. 248. He and ſeveral deputies connected with him are executed, *ib.*
Briſſotines, of whom compoſed, are executed, iii. 248. Remarks on that meaſure, *ib.* 249. The accuſations againſt them, *ib.* 249.
Britiſh, Colonies of the, ii. 139. Their trade, *ib.* 140.
Britons, ancient, i. 407. Are conquered by the Romans, *ib.* Are invaded by the Scots and Picts, *ib.* 408. Their manners and cuſtoms, *ib.* 414.
Bruce, his claims to the throne of Scotland, ii. 82*. He is excluded, *ib.* 83*.
Bruce, David, King of Scotland, recovers the throne, ii. 122*. Is taken priſoner by the Engliſh. *ib.* 123*. His death, *ib.* 123*.
Bruce, Edward, his ſucceſs in Scotland, ii. 201*. Is invited to Ireland, *ib.* 202*. Lands there, his ſeverity, *ib.* 203*. Retreats to Ulſter and defeats earl Richard, *ib.* 204*. Is crowned at Dundalk, *ib.* 207*. The devaſtation he commits, *ib.* 208*. Retreats to Trim, *ib.* 209*. Is excommunicated by the Pope, *ib.* 210*. His diſtreſſes, *ib.* Is defeated at Dundalk and ſlain, *ib.* 211*. The conſequences of this invaſion, *ib.* 212*.

Bruce, Robert, eſcapes from England, ii. 110*. His addreſs in Scotland, *ib.* 111*. Revolts againſt the Engliſh, *ib.* 112*. Recovers Scotland, *ib.* Defeats the Engliſh at Bannockburn, *ib.* 113*. His advice to his officers in his laſt moments, *ib.* 115*. His death and character, *ib.* 116*.

Bruce, Robert, lands in Ireland to ſupport his brother, ii. 207*. Is excommunicated, *ib.* 210*.

Bruſſels, the alarm cauſed there by the French, iii. 325.

Brutus, his firmneſs, i. 127.

Buccaneers, their character and depredations, iii. 103. Their manners, *ib.* 104. Their various exploits, *ib.* 105—113.

Burgoyne, general, and his army are made priſoners at Saratoga, ii. 36*.

Bute, lord, his character and adminiſtration, ii. 29*.

Byng, admiral, his ill ſucceſs at Minorca, his trial, and execution, ii. 21*.

C.

Cain ſlays his brother Abel, i. 2.

Caligula, the emperor, his character, i. 226. His treatment of his horſe, *ib.* 226. His death, *ib.*

Callao, the city of, is totally deſtroyed by an earthquake, ii. 122.

Calonne, his adminiſtration, i. 374. Opens his plan to the notables, *ib.* 375.

Cambon accuſes Tallien of cruelty, iii. 455.

Camillus reduces the Veientes, i. 147. Defeats the Gauls, *ib.* 150. Is made dictator, *ib.* 151. His moderation and conduct, *ib.* 153. His death and character, *ib.* 154.

Canada, an account of, ii. 141. Its inhabitants, *ib.* 142. Its animals, *ib.* 144.

Caracalla, emperor, his character and cruelties, i. 250.

Caractacus is made priſoner, i. 227. His conduct before Claudius, *ib.*

Carjaval, his execution and death, ii. 102.

Coriolanus, his advice to the ſenate, i. 137. Is baniſhed: goes over to the Volſci, *ib.* Marches againſt Rome, *ib.* 139. Yields to the entreaties of his mother, *ib.* 140.

Carolina Matilda, the princeſs, marries the King of Denmark, ii. 268*. The deſigns of her mother-in-law againſt her, *ib.* Is ſlandered by her, *ib.* 269*. She is ſuddenly arreſted, *ib.* 270*. Her impriſonment and uncertainty, *ib.* 271*. Is ſeparated from her infant, *ib.* 272*. Removes to Zell, *ib.* Her death, *ib.*

Carolina, north and ſouth, the provinces of, iii. 67. Their conſtitution, *ib.* 68. Their climates, *ib.* 70. Their manners, *ib.* 72.

Carthage is burnt down by the Romans, i. 174.

Carthaginians their riſe and power, i. 161. Their firſt war with the Romans, *ib.* 162. They cruelly put Regulus to death, *ib.* 164.

ib. 164. Their ſecond war with the Romans, *ib.* 165. Their third war with the Romans, *ib.* 171. Their deſperate condition, *ib.* 172. Their laſt efforts, *ib.* 173.
Carus and his two ſons their reign, i. 263.
Caſtlefranco, prince of, defeats the French at Liers, iii. 443.
Catherine de Medicis her power and character, i. 353.
Catherine empreſs of Ruſſia, her riſe, ii. 326*. Her infidelity to her huſband, *ib.* 327*. Obtains the imperial power; her conduct and death, *ib.*
Catherine is diſguſted with her huſband, ii. 328*. Obtains the ſupreme power, *ib.* Her adminiſtration, impriſons prince Iwan, *ib.* 329*. Interferes in the affairs of Poland, *ib.* 330*. Her war with the Turks, *ib.* Her adminiſtration, *ib.* 332*. Forms the armed neutrality, *ib.* Her declaration to the King of Poland, *ib.* 337*. Her partition of Poland, *ib.* Her violation of the new conſtitution of Poland, *ib.* 340*. Her views reſpecting Poland, *ib.* 342*.
Cato ſlays himſelf, i. 201. His character, *ib.* 202.
Caxton, William, is ſuppoſed to have introduced printing into England, i. 424.
Cecrops founds Athens, i. 59.
Cenſors, Roman, their office and power, i. 146.
Charlemagne his power and intolerance, i. 306. Encourages learning, *ib.* 307. His private virtues, *ib.* 307.
Charles III. of Spain his reign, ii. 354*.
Charles X. of Sweden, conquers the Poles, ii. 257*.
——— XII. his conqueſts and deſigns, ii. 257*. His death, *ib.*
Charles V. of France the wiſe; his reign, i. 339. Improves the condition of France, *ib.* 340. His death and character, *ib.* 342.
——— VI. his minority, i. 342. His reign, his inſanity, *ib.* 343.
——— VII. his diſtreſſed circumſtances, i. 345. Expels the Engliſh, *ib.* 346. His character, *ib.* 347.
——— VIII. his reign and character, i. 348.
——— IX. his reign: maſſacres the Hugonots, i. 354.
——— V. Emperor of Germany oppoſes the reformation, i. 395. Reſigns his crown, *ib.* 397. Lives in retirement, *ib.* and ii. 350.
——— I. of England, i. 437. His quarrel with the parliament, *ib.* 438. The execution of Strafford and Laud, *ib.* His trial and execution, *ib.* 439.
——— II. his reſtoration, i. 441. Sells Dunkirk, *ib.* His character, *ib.* 443.
Charlotte, queen, her conduct on the king's illneſs, ii. 45*.
Chauvelin M. his letter to lord Grenville, iii. 207. Is diſmiſſed from England, *ib.* 209.
Chili, an account of it, ii. 124.
China, emperor of, his reception of lord M'Cartney, iii. 354.
Chineſe, an account of them, ii. 18. Their government, *ib.* 20.

Their language, *ib.* 21. The extent of their empire, *ib.* 22. Their population and religion, *ib.* 23.
Chivalry, the inſtitution of, remarks on it, i. 209.
Chriſtian II. of Denmark, his tyranny, ii. 267*.
———III. eſtabliſhes the proteſtant religion in Denmark, ii. 267*.
———VI. ſupports the pragmatic ſanction, ii. 268*.
———VII. marries the princeſs Carolina Matilda of England, ii. 268*. Goes on his travels, *ib.* 269*. Unwillingly conſents to his queen's being arreſted, *ib.* 270*. His weakneſs, *ib.* 272*. Reſumes his authority, *ib.* 273*.
Chriſtiana, her character, and ſtudies, ii. 254*. Reſigns her crown and travels, *ib.* 255*. Is offended by the females in France, *ib.* 256*. Aſſaſſinates Monaldeſch, *ib.*
Chriſtians are protected by Tiberius, i. 225. And Adrian, *ib.* 24. Are perſecuted by Decius, *ib.* 254. Their laſt perſecution under the Romans, *ib.* 265. Are eſtabliſhed by Conſtantine, *ib.* 269.
Chriſtiern II. his maſſacre of the nobles and ſenators of Sweden, ii. 253*.
Cicero, detects the conſpiracy of Cataline, i. 186. His character, *ib.* 189. Is accuſed and baniſhed, *ib.* 190. Is murdered, *ib.* 210.
Cimon, his atchievements, riches and popularity, i. 85.
Clovis, his reign, i. 304.
Cincinnatus, made dictator, i. 141. Reduces the Equi, *ib.* 142.
Clairfayt, general, is defeated by the French, iii. 297. Is defeated by the French, *ib.* 369. Succeeds the prince of Saxe Cobourg to the command of the imperial forces, *ib.* 406. Is defeated by the French near Maeſtritch, *ib.* 440.
Claudius, his conduct to Caracticus, i. 227, 228. Marries Agrippina, and is poiſoned by her, *ib.* 229.
Claudius defeats the Gauls, i. 257. His character, *ib.* 258.
Cleopatra, her charms captivate Cæſar, i. 201. And Anthony, *ib.* 212. The manner of her death, *ib.* 213.
Clootz, Anacharſis, his execution, iii. 271.
Cobourg, prince of, defeats general Dumourier near Tirlemont, iii. 213. His excellent addreſs to the Germans, *ib.* 399, 400. His farewel addreſs to the army on reſigning the command, *ib.* 406. The reaſon of his diſmiſſion, *ib.* 407.
Codrus, king of Athens, his patriotiſm, i. 60.
Coffee tree, an account of, iii. 145.
Collot d' Herbois is attempted to be aſſaſſinated, iii. 303.
Columbus, his proſpect of diſcovering the weſtern world, i. 299. Diſcovers America, *ib.* 300.
Combined armies, they invade France, iii. 161. Retreat, *ib.* 163. Beſiege Thionville and Liſle, *ib.* 164, 165. Are defeated by Dumourier, *ib.* 176.
Committee of public welfare, their order for beſieging ſeveral places, iii. 412.

Commodus, his reign and tyranny, i. 248.
Compact, family, an account of it, ii 352*.
Confucius, the Chineſe, his character, ii. 19.
Conrad, his reign, i. 388.
Conſtance, her plans, diſappointment, and death, i. 313.
Conſtantine, his reign, eſtabliſhes chriſtianity, i. 267. Builds Conſtantinople, *ib.* 270 His character, *ib.* 271.
Conſtantius, his amiable character, i. 267.
Conſtantinople built by Conſtantine, i. 270. Is beſieged by the Turks, *ib.* 284. And taken, *ib.* 286.
Convention between Sweden and Denmark, iii. 263.
Cornwallis, lord, is captured in America, ii. 40*. His ſucceſs in India, *ib.* 51*. Is preſented with the freedom of the city for his ſervices in India, *ib.* 69*.
Corſica, the whole of it is ſurrendered to lord Hood, iii. 302.
Corſicans preſent their conſtitution to Sir Gilbert Elliot, iii. 338.
Cortez conquers Mexico, ii. 81.
Couthon, his addreſs to the convention on the execution of Danton and his party, iii 280. His oppoſition to Robeſpierre, *ib.* 315. Is executed with Robeſpierre, *ib.* 385.
Cromwell, Oliver, his power, i. 439.
——Richard, his character and moderation, i. 441.
Cruſaders origin of, i. 291. The firſt Cruſade, *ib.* 293. Take Jeruſalem, *ib.* 295. Effects produced by them, *ib.* 296 Second Cruſade, *ib.* 319. Third Cruſade, *ib.* 325.
Curaſſou, the iſland of, an account of it, iii. 149.
Cumberland, duke of, defeats the rebels at Culloden, ii. 18*.
Curioſity, natural, remarkable one at Staffa diſcovered by ſir J. Banks, ii. 247*.
Curtis, Captain, his humanity at the ſiege of Gibraltar, ii. 353*.
Cuſtine, general, his complaint to the convention, iii. 223.
Cyrus the great, founds the Perſian monarchy, i. 29.

D.

Dalton, general, his cruelties in the Netherlands, ii. 368*.
Dampierre, general, ſucceeds to the command of the northern army, iii. 219. His engagement at St. Amand, his death *ib.* 223.
Danes, an account of them, ii. 266*. The ſtate of their literature, *ib.*
Danton is accuſed: Robeſpierre ſpeaks againſt him, iii. 276. His anſwer on his trial, *ib.* 279. Is executed with ſeveral of his party, *ib.* 280.
Darnley, lord, marries the queen of Scots, ii. 161*. His character, *ib.* 165*. Is murdered, *ib.* 167*.
Dauphin, the title of, whence it originated, i. 336.
Decemvirs, their tyranny, i. 143. They reſign their office, *ib.* 144.
Decius devotes himſelf to death to gain the victory, i. 157.

Decius, the emperor, his reign i. 254. Perſecutes the Chriſtians, *ib.* His death, *ib.* 255.
Deluge, the general, i. 5. By what means it was cauſed, *ib.* 5—7.
Demoſthenes, his famous orations againſt Philip, i. 97.
Denmark, an account of it, ii. 266*.
D'Eſeze, his excellent defence for Louis XVI, iii. 190—194.
Diamond mines, an account of them, iii. 134.
Dictatorſhip, the office among the Romans, i. 134.
Diocletian, his partitition of the empire, i. 264. His philoſophical turn of mind, *ib.* 265. Reſigns his throne, *ib.*
Didius Junius purchaſes the throne, i. 249. Is beheaded, *ib.*
Dominica, the iſland of, an account of it, iii. 117.
Domitian, his character, i. 238.
Doomeſday book, an account of it, i. 416.
Draco, an account of his laws, i. 62.
Drummond, general, is defeated at Guadaloupe, iii. 332.
Du Barre, Madame, the accuſation againſt her and her execution, iii. 257.
Dumourier, his circumſtances, iii. 161. His ſucceſs, *ib.* 162. his triumphs, *ib.* 175. His victory at Jamappe, *ib.* 177. Reduces Brabant, *ib.* 178. His career arreſted, *ib.* 179. His violent manifeſto to the people of Holland, *ib.* 211, 212. Is defeated near Tirlemont, *ib.* 213. His letter to Bournonville, giving an account of this ſtate of his army, *ib.* 215. Is reproached by the convention, *ib.* 216. Commiſſioners are ſent to arreſt him, *ib.* 217. Is forſaken by his army, *ib.* his defection, *ib.* Remarks on it, *ib.* 218. Makes his eſcape, *ib.* 219. His declaration concerning the Duke of Orleans, *ib.* 222.
Duport, his execution, iii. 257.
Dutch ſettlements and colonies in Guinea, iii. 144. In America, an account of them, *ib.* 150.
Dutch, remarks on their inconſiſtent conduct, iii. 453.

E.

Edgeworth, Mr. attends Louis XVI. in his laſt moments, iii. 203. His remark on the occaſion, *ib.* 204.
Edward I. his reign, i. 420. Is choſen umpire by the Scots, ii. 80*. His conduct on the occaſion, *ib.* 81*. His duplicity, *ib.* 87*. Beſieges Berwick, *ib.* 93*. Dunbar, *ib.* 94*. Edinburgh, *ib.* 95*. Defeats the Scotch at Falkirk, *ib.* 104*. Reduces the Welch, *ib.* 235*.
——— II. his weakneſs, i. 421.
——— III. his reign, i. 421. Inſtitutes the order of the garter, *ib.*
——— IV. his reign, diſpleaſes Guy earl of Warwick, i. 424.
——— V. his reign, i. 425. Is murdered in the Tower, *ibi.*
——— VI. his reign, character, and benevolence, i. 431.

Egalite, Philip, duke of Orleans, is arreſted, iii. 219. Demourier, his declaration concerning him, *ib.* 222. Is queſtioned by the revolutionary tribunal, iii. 250. His trial, character, and execution, *ib.* 251. An anecdote of his horrid cruelty, *ib.* 385. Remarks on his character, *ib.* 386.

Egypt, modern, an account of, ii. 50. Its famous cities, *ib.* 53. Its inhabitants, *ib.* 54. Its animals, *ib.* 55.

Egyptians, their antiquity, i. 14. Their government, *ib.* 15. Their population, *ib.* Their laws, *ib.* 17. And adminiſtration, *ib.* 18. The fertility of their country, *ib.* 19. Their edifices, *ib.* 20. Their knowledge in geometry, *ib.* 21. Their learning, *ib.* 22. Their hierogliphics, *ib.* 23.

Eider Fowl, an account of it, ii. 292*.

Eies Blink, an account of it, ii. 277*.

Elizabeth, queen of England, ſupports the reformation, i. 433. Defeats the Spaniards, *ib.* Her death and character, *ib.* 435.

Elizabeth, the empreſs of Ruſſia, her character, ii. 327*.

Elizabeth, princeſs, is cruelly condemned, her piety and execution, iii. 296.

Elliot, Sir Gilbert, accepts the conſtitution of Corſica for King George, iii. 339. His ſpeech to them on that occaſion, *ib.* 339—341.

Elk, American, an account of it, ii. 245.

Elſner, general de, takes Cracow, iii. 419.

Emperors, Roman, miſcellaneous remarks on them, i. 245.

Empire, Roman, cauſes of its decline, i. 272.

Engliſh evacuate Toulon, iii. 261. Take Tobago and St. Domingo, *ib.* 264. Takes poſſeſſion of Corſica, *ib.* 269. Takes Matinico, *ib.* 270.

Eſſex, the earl of, is the favourite of Elizabeth, i. 443. His execution, *ib.* 434.

Europe, remarks on it, i. 47. Emerges from darkneſs, i. 301. Remarks on its preſent ſtate, iii. 342.

Euſtatius, an account of, iii. 342.

F.

Fabricius, his integrity, his embaſſy to Pyrrhus, i. 158. Rejects his offers of riches, *ib.* 159. His generoſity to Pyrrhus, *ib.* 160.

Falkland iſlands, their diſcovery, iii. 123.

Fargeau is aſſaſſinated, iii. 207.

Feburle, an account of his abominable cruelties, iii. 456.

Fedlim, prince of Connaught, his character, ii. 205*. Is reinſtated *ib.* 206*. Is defeated and ſlain, *ib.* 208*.

Feſtival, dedicatory, at Paris, iii. 294.

Feudal, ſyſtem the, remarks on it, i. 287.

Flanders, the addreſs publiſhed by the French to the inhabirants of it, iii. 329.

Florida, an account of, ii. 130. Its productions, *ib.* 132.

Fox, George, the founder of the quakers, his character, iii. 44.
Fox, Mr. his coalition with Lord North, ii. 41*. His famous India bill, *ib.* 42*. His conduct concerning the famous regency bill, *ib.* 47*.
France, the nation of, i. 303.
Francis I. his character, i. 352.
Francis II. his reign, i. 349. Fights the battle of Marignano, *ib.* 350. His enterview with Henry VIII. *ib.* Is a candidate for the imperial crown, *ib.* Is taken priſoner, *ib.* 351. His character, *ib.*
French convention, iii. 168. Of whom compoſed, *ib.* 169. Aboliſh titles, *ib.* 170. Their injudicious conduct, *ib.* 172. The factions among them, *ib.* 173. Their decree againſt the emigrants, *ib.* 174. Of fraternity, *ib.* 175. They try the king, *ib.* 182. Deliver their opinions concerning him, *ib.* 197. Decree his death, *ib.* 198. Send commiſſioners to arreſt Dumourier, *ib.* 217. Their commiſſioners are delivered to the Auſtrians, *ib.* 219. Decree the baniſhment of the family of Bourbon, *ib.* Their indignation againſt the Engliſh, *ib.* 248. Their decree againſt the Engliſh, *ib.* 303. Raiſe extraordinary contributions, *ib.* 319. Their addreſs to the French people, *ib.* 330 Outlaw Robeſpierre and his party, *ib.* 384. Regulate the committees, *ib.* 394. Their addreſs to the American ambaſſador, *ib.* 395. Decree the liberty of the preſs, *ib.* 431. Suppreſs the Jacobin and other ſocieties, *ib.* 454.
French, their conqueſts, iii. 166. The conſequences of them, *ib.* 171. Declare war againſt England and Holland, iii. 209. Againſt Spain, *ib.* 213. The ſtate of their armies, *ib.* 215. Are defeated by the Catalonians, *ib.* 251. Are defeated at Lazennes, *ib.* 252. Are compelled to evacuate Menin, *ib.* 253. The effects of religion which they adopt, *ib.* 255. Are repulſed at the lines of Weiſſembourg, *ib.* 257. Are defeated at Port Vendre, and return to Perpignan, *ib.* 266. Are in want of proviſions at Paris, *ib.* 267. Are driven over the Lys, *ib.* 282. Are defeated by the allies, *ib.* 283. Are repulſed by general Bellegarde, at grand Blocus, *ib.* 286. Are repulſed at Cateau, *ib.* 288. Defeat the Hanoverians, *ib.* 294. Are repulſed at Tournay, *ib.* 295 Compel general Clairfayt to retreat, *ib.* 297. Defeat and ſurround the Engliſh, *ib.* 298. Are defeated by the Auſtrians, *ib.* 299. Totally defeat the Spaniards in Barcelona, *ib.* 302. Their ſucceſs againſt the Auſtrians and Spaniards. *ib.* 306. Are defeated by the Prince of Orange, *ib.* 314. Their demands on Spain, *ib.* 321. Are defeated and driven acroſs the Sambre, *ib.* 324. They take Bruges, *ib.* 326. Reduce Charleroi, *ib.* 327. They treat Flanders as a conquered country, *ib.* 329. Defeat the Britiſh at Guadaloupe, *ib.* 332. The improbability of their being reduced, *ib.* 344. They enter Oſtend, *ib.* 357. Enter Oudenarde, Mons and Ghent, *ib.*

ib. 359. Are defeated at Waterloo, *ib.* 360. Are repulſed by Lord Moira, *ib.* 361. Are defeated by the Spaniards at Barcelona, *ib.* 366. Are repulſed by the Pruſſians, *ib.* 367. Carry the redoubt at Edeſheim, *ib.* Take Namur, *ib.* 368. Defeat general Milas, *ib.* 369. Defeat general Clairfayt, *ib.* A number of them are maſſacred at Barcelona, *ib.* 377. Take Antwerp, *ib.* 378. Defeat the Engliſh at Geſtel, *ib.* 405. Their ſucceſs againſt the Auſtrians at Treves, *ib.* 407. Take Valenciennes, Queſnoy and Condé, *ib.* 409. Capture Sluys, *ib.* 412. The number of their forces, *ib.* 413. Their ſucceſſes in Spain, *ib.* Take St. Sebaſtian and Fonterabia, *ib.* 413. Are defeated by the Spaniards at Bellegarde, *ib.* 414. Defeat the Auſtrians near Maeſtricht, *ib.* 440. Defeat general Clairfayt, *ib.* And general Colloredo, *ib.* 441. Take Crevecœur, *ib.* 442. Are defeated by the Spaniards at Liers, *ib.* 443. They bombard Duſſeldorff, *ib.* 444. Take Bois-le-Duc, *ib.* 445. Take Venlo, *ib.* 446. Their various Succeſſes, *ib.* 447. Defeat the out-poſt of the Engliſh at Nimeguen, *ib.* Take Maeſtricht, *ib.* 448. Remarks on their conqueſts, *ib.* 450.

French literature, an account of it, i. 385.

French revolution, remarks on, iii. 156.

French ſettlements in America, iii. 138.

Freron, his account of the tyranny of Robeſpierre, iii. 432. His ſpeech concerning the liberty of the preſs, *ib.* 433. His remarks on capital puniſhments, *ib.*

Froſt, Mr. his trial, ii. 59*.

G.

Galba, his reign and character, i. 231.

Galienus, his character, variouſly deſcribed, i. 257. The calamities in his reign, *ib.*

Garter, order of, inſtituted by Edward III. i. 421.

Gauls beſiege Cluſium, i. 149. Defeat the Romans, *ib.* 150. Take the city, *ib.* 151. Are defeated by Camillus.

Gallus, his treachery and reign, i. 255.

Geneva, the ſudden revolution affected there, iii. 374. The conduct of the revolutioniſts, *ib.* Their proclamation, *ib.* 375. Impriſon the clergy, *ib.* Execute ſeveral, *ib.* 376.

Genoa, an account of its government, ii. 1.

George I. the maxims of his government, ii. 11*. Suppreſſes the rebellion in favour of the Pretender, *ib.* 12*. His character, *ib.* 13*.

——— II. his acceſſion, ii. 13*. Continues Sir Robert Walpole, *ib.* 14*. Changes the miniſtry, *ib.* 16*. Puniſhes the adherents of the Pretender, *ib* 20*. His ſucceſſes on the Continent, *ib.* 24*. His death, *ib.* 25*. His character, *ib.* 26*.

——— III. his acceſſion and marriage, ii. 26*. Changes the miniſtry, *ib.* 27*. Regulates the Royal marriages, *ib.* 33*.

Encou-

Encourages voyages of diſcovery, *ib.* 34*. Engages in war with America, *ib.* 35*. His forces are defeated at Saratoga, *ib.* 36*. Sends commiſſioners to America, *ib.* 38*. His indiſpoſition, *ib.* 45*. The effects reſulting from it, *ib.* 46*. The debates concerning the regency, *ib.* 46*. His recovery, *ib.* 47*. His preparations againſt Spain, *ib.* 49*. His pacification with Spain, *ib.* 50*. His proclamation on the riots, *ib.* 51. Diſmiſſes the French ambaſſador, *ib.* 56*. Proſecutes ſeditious perſons, *ib.* 57*. Raiſes ſubſidies againſt France, *ib.* 65*. Has ſeveral ſuſpected perſons arreſted for high treaſon, *ib.* 71*. Obſervations on his conduct againſt the French, iii. 347.

Georgia, the province of, iii. 73. Its population, *ib.* 74. Its government, *ib.* 75. Its commerce and exports, *ib.* 76. The orphan houſe academy there, *ib.* 78.

Gerald, Mr. his trial, an account of it, ii. 68*.

Germans, ancient, their manners, i. 388. Were ſubdued by the Romans, *ib.* Their literature, *ib.* 405.

Geta, the emperor, his death, i. 250.

Gibbelines, an account of them, i. 390.

Gibraltar, an account of its famous ſiege, ii, 353*.

Gipſies, the origin of them, *ii.* 51.

Gironde party, an account of, iii. 224. The charge againſt them, *ib.*

Gold mines at Brazil, iii. 131. At Japan, China, &c. *ib.* 133.

Gordon, Lord George, the miſchief occaſioned by his mob, ii. 39*.

Gothic general, the remark of one of them on books, i. 258.

Granada, the Iſland of, an account of it, iii. 118.

Gray, Lady Jane, her misfortune and execution, i. 432.

Grecians, their origin, i. 47. Are united by the council of Amphictyons, *ib.* 50. They take the city of Troy, *ib.* 56. Their colonizations, *ib.* 58. Defeat the Perſians, *ib.* 82. Their internal diviſions, *ib*, 86. Their poetry, *ib.* 109. Their muſic, *ib.* 110. The ſtate of the drama with them, *ib.* 112. Their architecture and painting, *ib.* 113. Their knowledge in medicine, *ib.* 114. Their eloquence, *ib.* Their taſte for war, *ib.* 115.

Greenland, an account of it, ii. 276*. Its mountains of ice, *ib.* 277*. The various colonies there, *ib.* 279*. The contradictory reports reſpecting it, *ib.* 280*. The diſcovery of it, *ib.* 281*. Whence its firſt inhabitants, *ib.* 283*. The manner in which they are ſupplied with fuel, *ib.* 287*. The intenſe cold there, *ib.* 288*. Their ſummers, *ib.* 289*. Their ſtorms, *ib.* Their light in winter, *ib.* The productions of their ſoil, *ib.* 290*. Their land animals, *ib.* 291*. Their birds, *ib.* 292*. Their fiſh, *ib.* 293*. Their fiſhing of the whale, *ib.* 295*. And of the ſeal; the uſe they make of it, *ib.* 297*. Their different boats, *ib.* A deſcription of their perſons, *ib.* 299*. Their diſpoſition, *ib.* 300*. Their dreſs, *ib.* 301*.

ib. 301*. Their habitation in winter and ſummer, *ib.* 302*. The manner of dreſſing their victuals, *ib.* 303*. Their domeſtic character, and parental affection, *ib.* 304*. The education of their children, *ib.* 305*. Their manner of living, *ib.* 306*. Their hoſpitable temper, *ib.* 307*. Their converſation, *ib.* Their traffic, *ib.* Their language, *ib.* 308*. Their genealogies, *ib.* Have no writing, *ib.* 309*. Their ſuperſtition, *ib.* Their religion, *ib.* Their ideas of the Supreme Being, *ib.* 310. Their ideas of future happineſs, *ib.* 311*. Their funerals and lamentations over the dead, *ib.* 312*.

Grenville, Mr. his adminiſtration, brings in the ſtamp act for America, ii. 31*.

Grenville, Lord, his anſwer to M. Chauvelin, iii. 208.

Grey, Mr. moves for a reform in parliament, ii. 65*.

Grey, Sir Charles, preſerves Oſtend from the French, iii. 254. Takes Martinico, *ib.* 270.

Guelphs, an account of them, i. 390.

Guernſey, iſle of, an account of, ii. 243*.

Guillotine, Dr. Victoire, his invention and execution, iii. 269.

Guſtavus, Adolphus III. his character and addreſs, ii. 258*. Becomes abſolute maſter of Sweden, *ib.* 259*. Engages with the Ruſſians, *ib.* 260*. Is aſſaſſinated, *ib.* Is forwarned of the deſign againſt his life, *ib.* 261*. The manner of his death. *ib.* His firmneſs, *ib.* 263*. Appoints his brother the ſole regent, *ib.* 264. Remarks on his character, *ib.*

Guy, Earl of Warwick, his power, i. 424. Raiſes Edward IV. and afterwards depoſes him, *ib.*

H.

Halifax, an account of it, ii. 151.

Hannibal, his hatred againſt the Romans, i. 165. His ſucceſs againſt them, *ib.* 166. Imprudently winters at Capua, *ib.* 167. Is defeated by Scipio, *ib.* 169.

Haſtings, Mr. is impeached by the commons, ii. 43*.

Hebert and ſeveral deputies are executed, iii. 271.

Hebrides, an account of them, ii. 244*. The manners of the inhabitants, *ib.* 245*. Their table, *ib.* 246*. Their dreſs, *ib.* Their Antiquities, *ib.* 247*. Their ſecond ſight, *ib.* 248*. Their population, *ib.* 249*. The length of their lives, *ib.* 251*. Their cuſtoms, *ib.*

Heckla, Mount, an account of it, ii. 319*. Of what it is compoſed, *ib.* 320*.

Helen, the cauſe of the Trojan war, i. 51. Her death, *ib.* 53.

Heliogabalus, his reign, i. 250. His female ſenate, *ib.* 251.

Henriot, is accuſed, iii. 383. Attempts to raiſe the people in favour of Robeſpierre, *ib.* 384. Is executed, *ib.* 385.

Henry I. of France, flies to Normandy, i. 313. Marries a Ruſſian princeſs, *ib.* 314.

Henry II. his reign, i. 352.
—— III. his character, i. 355. Is aſſaſſinated, *ib.* 356.
—— IV. fights the battle of Ivri, i. 357. Declares himſelf a Catholic, *ib.* 358. Paſſes the edict of Nantz, *ib.* His grand ſcheme, *ib.* 359. Is aſſaſſinated, *ib.* His character, *ib.*
Henry II. of England, his reign, i. 417. And victories, *ib.* 418. Conquers Ireland, ii. 172*. Calls a council at Liſmore, *ib.* 177*. His laws, *ib.* 178*. His government there, *ib.* 179*. His appointments there, *ib.* 183*. His ſons rebel againſt him, *ib.* 185*. Appoints John Lord of Ireland, *ib.* 200.
—— V. depoſes Richard, his manners and reign, i. 422.
—— VI. his character and reign, i. 423.
—— VII. his acceſſion, i. 426. Slays Perkin Warbec, *ib.* 427. Inſtitutes the ſtar chamber, *ib.* Aſſumes the title of king of Ireland, ii. 217*.
—— VIII. his character, i. 428. Writes againſt Luther, *ib.* 429. Shakes off the authority of Rome, *ib.* His wives, and his behaviour to them, *ib.* His character, *ib.* 430.
Hergiſt, Mr. is cruelly murdered at Nootka Sound, ii. 63*.
Hervey, his advice to earl Strongbow, ii. 187*. His accuſation againſt Raymond, *ib.* 193*.
Holland, an account of it, and the other united provinces, ii. 362*. Their diſſentions with England, *ib.* 365*. Their animoſities againſt the Stadtholder, *ib.* Its government, *ib.* 366*. Its literature, *ib.* Is inundated to prevent the approach of the French, iii. 445.
Holland, ſtates general of, publiſh an anſwer to Dumourier's manifeſto, iii. 212. Their anſwer to the Stadtholder's addreſs, *ib.* 373.
Horatius, his conteſt with the Curatii, i. 121. Slays his ſiſter, *ib.* 122.
Houchard, general, his conduct and execution, iii. 256.
Houſes of York and Lancaſter, i. 423.
Howe, earl, obtains a victory over the French fleet, iii. 311.
Hugh Capet, the founder of a new family, i. 310. His character, *ib.* 311.
Huns, they invade Italy, i. 279.
Hyder Ally extends his dominions, ii. 33. His character, *ib.* 34.

J.

Jacobin club, an account of them, ii. 55*. Declare in favour of Robeſpierre, iii. 384. Are diſperſed by the mob, *ib.* 45.
Jamaica, an account of, iii. 95. Its productions, *ib.* 96. Its hiſtory, *ib.* 97. Its Trade, *ib.* 100.
James I. his reign, i. 436. His favourite, *ib.* 437. His death and character, *ib.*
—— II. his acceſſion, i. 443. Is reconciled to Rome, *ib.* Is alarmed, *ib.* 446. Abdicates the throne, *ib.* 447. The ſarcaſm againſt him, *ib.* 448.
—— I. King of Scotland, his education and obſervations, ii. 125*. Attempts ſome regulations, is murdered, *ib.* 126*.

James II. his character and death, ii. 127*.
—— III. his reign and conduct to the nobles, ii. 128*.
—— IV. his character and accompliſhments, ii. 128*. His death, *ib.* 129*. His claims on Ireland, *ib.* 217*.
—— V. his minority, ii. 129*. His reign and death, *ib.*
—— VI. his reign, ii. 169*.
Japan, an account of, ii. 43.
Japaneſe, their manners, ii. 43.
Jay, Mr. his ambaſſy to England, iii. 294.
Ice fields, a deſcription of, ii. 286*. Conjectures concerning them, *ib.* 287*.
— mountains in the Northern Sea, an account of them, ii. 284*. The various ſubſtances found in them, *ib.* An enquiry how they are formed, *ib.* 285*.
Iceland, an account of it, ii. 317*. The eruptions there, *ib.* 318*. The ſpouting ſprings there, *ib.* 321*. The maſſes of ice there, *ib.* 323*.
Icelanders, an account of them, their diſpoſition, ii. 317*. Their attachment to their country, *ib.* Their literature, *ib.* 322*. Their commerce, *ib.* Their ſufferings from the ice, *ib.* 323*.
Jenghiz Khan, his victories, ii. 25.
Jerſey, iſle of, an account of, ii. 243.
Jeruſalem, the famous ſeige of, i. 233. Is taken by Titus and deſtroyed, *ib.* 234.
Jeſuits, their political ſcheme, ii. 125. The order of them aboliſhed, i. 371.
Jews, an account of them, i. 33. Obtain a king, *ib.* 37. Are reduced to ſlavery, *ib.* 39. Are ſpared by Alexander, *ib.* 42. Their obſtinacy in defending their city againſt Titus, *ib.* 233. Their ſufferings *ib.* Are perſecuted in Brazil, iii. 127.
Indians, their religion and manners, ii. 27. Their literature, *ib.* 29.
Indoſtan, diviſion of the territories in it, i. 35.
Inquiſition, is eſtabliſhed by the pope, i. 328.
John the Good, his reign, i. 237. Is taken priſoner by the Engliſh, *ib.* 338. Dies in London, his integrity, *ib.* 339.
—— II. of Portugal, promotes the ſpirit of diſcovery, ii. 357*.
—— made lord of Ireland, ii. 200*.
—— King of England reſigns his crown to the pope, i. 418. Grants the Great Charter, *ib.* 419. His treatment of a Jew, *ib.* 420.
Johnſon, Dr. his account of the inhabitants of the Hebrides, ii. 245*. His remarks on ſecond ſight, *ib.* 248*.
Jones, Paul, his depredations and boldneſs, ii. 38*.
Joſeph I. his reign, i. 399.
—— II. his reign and misfortunes, i. 405.
Iriſh an account of them, ii. 170*. The ſpirit of their chieftains, *ib.* 184*. Rebel againſt Henry, *ib.* 188*. The diviſions among them, *ib.* 198*. The miſchiefs reſulting from them, *ib.* 199*. They maſſacre great numbers of the Engliſh, *ib.* 218*. The Iriſh

Iriſh Catholics, ſuffer under Cromwell, *ib.* Are reduced by King William, *ib.* The reſtriction of their trade, *ib.* 219*. They form volunteer companies, *ib.* 220*. Obtain commercial advantages, *ib.* On the illneſs of George III. they offer to make the Prince of Wales *Prince Regent* of Ireland, *ib.* 221*. Their literature, *ib.* 222. Whence they had their name, *ib.* 222*. Their traditions, *ib.* 223*. Their different mines, *ib.* 224*. Their language, *ib.* 225*. Their religion, *ib.* Their manners, *ib.* 226*. Their commerce, *ib.* Their military genius and arrangements, *ib.* 227*. Their government, *ib.* 228*. Their hoſpitality, *ib.* Their laws, *ib.* 229*. Their cuſtom of foſterage, *ib.* 230*. Their perſons and dreſs, *ib.* 231. Their rites of ſepulture, *ib.* 232*. Their manners, *ib.* Their indolence, *ib.* 233*.

Iſnard, his addreſs to the French Convention, iii. 225.

Italy, its ancient inhabitants, i. 116. An account of it, ii. 1.

Jugurtha, his remark on Rome, i. 177.

Julius Cæſar, his riſe and connections, i. 187. Forms the firſt Triumvirate, *ib.* 188. Obtains the provinces of Gaul, *ib.* 189. His hatred to Cicero, *ib.* His victories in Gaul, *ib.* 190. Marches againſt Pompey, *ib.* 193. Defeats Pompey at Pharſalia, *ib.* 197. Is captivated with Cleopatra, *ib.* 201. Reduces his enemies, *ib.* 203. Is aſſaſſinated in the ſenate, *ib.* 204. His character, *ib.* 205. The funeral oration over him, *ib.* 207. The reaſons why he failed in the revolution, *ib.* 217.

K

Kentucky, an account of, iii. 79. Is purchaſed, *ib.* 80. The curioſities there, *ib.* 81.

Keppel, admiral, takes Goree, ii. 23*.

Kerim Khan, his character, ii. 39.

Knight templars, the inſtitution of them, i. 332.

Knox John, the reformer of Scotland, his character and manners, ii. 143*.

Koſciuſko, general, enters Cracow, iii. 274. His proclamation, *ib.* Defeats a body of the Ruſſians, iii. 292. His ſpirit and forces, *ib.* 308. His arrangements, *ib.* Forms a national council, *ib.* 310. His proclamation againſt Ruſſia and Pruſſia, *ib.* 320. His proclamation to the poliſh Greek non-conformiſt clergy, *ib.* 421. Promiſes toleration, *ib.* 422. Retreats from Cracow, offers to deliver it up to the Auſtrians, *ib.* Preſerves the city of Warſaw from the Pruſſians, *ib.* 428. His anſwer to the letter of the ſupreme council, *ib.* 430. Is defeated by the Ruſſians and taken priſoner, *ib.* 457.

Kouli Khan, his victories, ii. 32.

L.

Lacedemonians take Athens, i. 92.

Landrecies is beſieged by the Prince of Orange, iii. 285.
Lapland, an account of it, ii. 313*.
Laplanders, an account of their winter, ii. 314*. Their diſpoſition, *ib.* Their language, *ib.* 315*. Their poetry, *ib.* Their traditions, *ib.* 316*.
La Union, general, defeats the French at Bellegarde, iii. 414.
Latimer, Biſhop, his character and obſervation on his ſufferings, i. 432.
Laws, W. Miſſiſſippi ſcheme, i. 368. The fatal effects reſulting from it, *ib.* 369.
Leif, his voyage to Wineland, ii. 281*. His account of the dwarfs, *ib.*
Leopold, emperor of Germany, his character, i. 398.
Lewis the groſs, his reign, his advice to his ſon and death, i. 317.
—— the young his reign, i. 318. His misfortunes, *ib.* 319. Divorces his queen, *ib.* 320. His pilgrimage to Canterbury, *ib.* 321. His family, *ib.*
—— VIII. his reign, i. 326. His cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, *ib.* 327.
—— IX. his reign, i. 328. His mental derangement, his cruſade, *ib.* 329. Is taken priſoner, *ib.* 330.
—— X. his reign, i. 333.
—— XI. his character, i. 347.
—— XII. his reign and virtues, i. 348.
—— XIII. his reign, the diſorders under it, i. 360. Makes Richelieu, his miniſter, *ib.* 361. Beſieges Rochelle, *ib.* 362. His civil wars, *ib.* 363.
—— XIV. his minority, i. 363. His atchievements and character, *ib.* 366, 367.
—— XV. his minority, i. 367. Supports the King of Poland, *ib.* 370. His war with England, *ib.* His life is attempted, *ib.* 371. His character. *ib.* 372.
—— XVI. aſſiſts the Americans, i. 373. Aſſembles the Notables, *ib.* 374. Baniſhes the Parliament, *ib.* 377. Aſſembles the ſtates general, *ib.* 379. His flight and is retaken, *ib.* 382. His palace is taken and he is inſulted, *ib.* 383. The parties againſt him, iii. 180. The accuſation againſt him, *ib.* 121. His trial, *ib.* 182—197. His anſwers and conduct during his trial, *ib.* 182—188. His excellent will, *ib.* 188—190. The excellent defence made for him, *ib.* 190—194. Is condemned by a ſmall majority, *ib.* 197. His letter to the convention, *ib.* 198. Is ordered for execution, *ib.* 199. His preparation for this event, *ib.* 200. Takes leave of his family, *ib.* 201. An account of his laſt moments, *ib.* 202. His ſpeech on the ſcaffold, *ib.* 203. Is interrupted, *ib.* 204. His execution, *ib.* His character, *ib.* 235. His unfortunate day, *ib.* 206.
Lima, an account of, ii 121.
Linnæus, his great knowledge and character, ii. 265*.

Liſbon is deſtroyed by an earthquake, the generoſity of England on the occaſion, ii. 358*.
Liſle, the ſiege of it, iii. 165.
Literature, Engliſh, remarks on, ii. 72*.
Literature, Italian, ii. 5.
Llantoney Abbey, an account of it, ii. 239*.
Llewellyn, ſeeks the protection of Henry, III. ii. 234*.
——— prince retires before the Engliſh, ii. 235*. Is reduced by Edward, *ib.*
Locke, John, draws up laws for the government of Carolina, iii. 67.
Lombards, their attention to trade, i. 297.
Louiſiana, an account of, ii. 133.
Lucheſini, marquis of, his negociations at Vienna, iii. 406.
Luther, Martin, attacks the errors of the Romiſh church, i. 394.
Lycurgus, his regulations in Sparta, i. 65.

M.

Mac Arthy is ſupported by Raymond, ii. 195*
Macartney, lord, his embaſſy to China, ii. 71*. A very particular account of it, iii. 351. His reception by the emperor of China, *ib.* 354. His diſmiſſion, *ib.* 356. The failure of his embaſſy, *ib.* 357.
Mack, colonel, his plan of the war, iii. 342.
Macrinus, his reign, i. 250.
Madraſs, an account of it, ii. 37.
Mahomet, his character, ii. 14. His Alcoran, *ib.* 15. His death, *ib.* 16.
Maleſherbes is appointed one of the defenders of Louis, iii. 188. His execution, *ib.* 297.
Malta knights of, the defence they make, ii. 9.
Man, Iſle of, an account of it, ii. 241*. It's kings, *ib.* Is now in the poſſeſſion of the Duke of Athol, *ib.*
Mango Capac the founder of the Peruvian empire, ii. 84.
Manlius, his deſigns and puniſhment, i. 152.
Marat, his crimes, is arreſted, iii. 220. His trial and acquittal, *ib.* 221. His addreſs to the Jacobins, *ib.* His accuſation againſt the Gironde party, *ib.* 224. Prevails againſt them, *ib.* 225.
Marcus Aurelius his excellent government, i. 242. His army relieved by the prayer of chriſtian ſoldiers, *ib.* 243. His philoſophical maxims and his death, i. 244.
Margaret, queen of Scotland, an anecdote of her, i. 347.
Margaret, her government in Sweden, ii. 253.
Margarot, his trial, ii. 67.
Maria Thereſa queen of Hungary, her ſituation, i. 400.
Marius is defeated by Scylla, i. 178. His death, *ib.* 180.
Martinico, an account of it, iii. 141.
Mary, her reign, i. 432. Marries Philip of Spain, *ib.* Perſecutes the proteſtants, *ib.*

Mary, queen of Scots, her minority, ii. 130*. Is ſent to France, *ib.* 135*. Marries the Dauphin of France, *ib.* 141*. She loſes her huſband, *ib.* 150*. Leaves France, *ib.* 152*. Arrives in Scotland, *ib.* 153*. Her accompliſhments, *ib.* Her religion is diſadvantageous to her, *ib.* 154*. The jealouſies between her and Elizabeth, *ib.* 155*. An account of her reign, *ib.* 156*. Marries Lord Darnley, *ib.* 161*. The Scottiſh lords rebel againſt her, *ib.* 163*. Her character and taſte for letters, *ib.* 168*. Her impriſonment and execution *ib.* 169*.

Mary of Guiſe, made regent of Scotland, ii. 137*. Her adminiſtration, *ib.* 138*. Her duplicity, *ib.* 142*. Is deprived of the regency, *ib.* 145*. Her death, *ib.* 147*.

Maryland, the province of, iii. 59. Lord Baltimore ſettles there, *ib.* 64. The manners of its inhabitants, *ib.* 66.

Maurice Fitz-Thomas of Deſmond, diſpoſſeſſes the Engliſh, ii. 214*. Becomes an Iriſh chieftain, *ib.* Is made the firſt lord lieutenant of Ireland, *ib.* 216*.

Mazarine, cardinal, his adminiſtration, i. 365.

Maximin, his reign, i. 251. His uncommon bulk, *ib.* 252. His cruelty, *ib.*

Men are deſtroyed by a deluge, i. 5. Are diſperſed over the earth, *ib.* 8. Their ſavage ſtate, *ib.* 9.

Meſſalina, her character and cruelty, i. 228. Slays herſelf, *ib.* 229.

Mexicans, their acts, ii. 207. Their literature, *ib.* 109. Their policy, *ib.* 111. Their mines of gold, *ib.* 113.

Mexico its antiquity, ii. 80. Its inhabitants, ii. 112. Its trade, *ib.* 114.

Michaut, a French general, privately enters Manheim, iii. 407

Miltiades, his advice to the Athenians, i. 76. Routs Darius at Marathon, *ib.* 77.

Mithridates, is conquered by Pompey, i. 183. Is cruelly uſed by his ſon, his death, *ib.* 184.

Miſſiſſippi, an account of, ii. 134

Moderatiſts in France, an account of their views, iii. 437.

Moira, Lord, joins the Duke of York, iii. 361. His addreſs to his army on returning to England, *ib.* 378.

Montbar, his character and life among the Buccaneers, iii. 105.

Montizuma, emperor of Peru, his death, ii. 82.

Moravians their miſſion to Greenland, ii. 278.

Morgan, a Buccaneer, his attack on the Spaniards, iii. 107. Anecdote of him.

Motion, perpetual, the diſcovery of it, iii. 437.

Muir, Thomas, his trial, ii. 61*. Is baniſhed, *ib.*

N.

Nadir Shaw, is murdered, ii. 38.

Naples, the kingdom of, an account of it, ii. 4.

National council of Warſaw publiſh a proclamation, iii. 316. Their proclamation concerning the king of Pruſſia, *ib.* 333.
Neckar M. his adminiſtration, i. 373. Is recalled, *ib.* 379. Is arreſted at Geneva, iii. 374.
Negroes, their employment in the Weſt Indies, ii. 91. Remarks on their ſlavery, *ib.* 92. Their numbers, *ib.* 94. Their condition in Jamaica, *ib.* 101.
Nenyas, his character, i. 27.
Nero, his character and cruelties, i. 230.
Nerva, his character and reign, i. 238.
Netherlands, an account of them, ii. 367*. Revolt againſt the emperor, *ib.* 368*.
Newcaſtle, duke of, his character and adminiſtration, ii. 29*.
New England, the provinces of, an account of them, iii. 20. Their laws, *ib.* 22. Their manners, *ib.* 23. The inhabitants perſecute the quakers, *ib.* 24. Their fanaticiſm and cruelty, *ib.* 25. Their conſtitution, *ib.* 29. Their population, *ib.* 32. The inhabitants of them, *ib.* 33. Their religion, *ib.* 34. Their amuſements, *ib.* 36. Their trade, *ib.* 37. Their puniſhment for duelling, *ib.* 38.
New Foundland, an account of, iii. 116. Its fiſhery, *ib.* 117.
New Jerſey, an account of, iii. 42. Its climate, *ib.* 43.
New South Wales, the ſettlement there, ii. 60*.
New York is diſcovered by an Engliſhman, iii. 39. The origin of its name, *ib.* 40. Its inhabitants, *ib.* 41. Its trade, *ib.* 42.
Nile, the fertility of it, i. 19. The ſource of it, ii. 60.
Ninus, his conqueſts, i. 26. His adminiſtration, *ib.*
Noah is ſaved in the ark, i. 3.
Nootka Sound, the ſettlement made there, ii. 47*. Cauſe of a diſpute with Spain, *ib.* 48*.
Normans, an account of them, i. 308.
North, lord, his famous coalition with Mr. Fox, ii. 41*.
Norway, an acconnt of, ii. 273*. Its climate, *ib.* Its mountains, *ib.* 274*. Its foreſts, *ib.* Its quarries, *ib.*
Norwegians, their manners and longevity, ii. 275*. Their ſufferings from the black death, *ib.* 283*.
Nova Scotia, an account of it, ii. 151.

O.

O'Brien of Thomond, his conqueſt over the Aſtmen, ii. 188*. Beſieges Limerick, *ib.* 194*. Is defeated, *ib.*
Octavius ſucceeds to the fortune of his uncle Cæſar, i. 208. Joins in the ſecond triumvirate, *ib.* 209. Defeats Anthony, *ib.* 214. His ſucceſs and moderation, *ib.* 217. His character and death, *ib.* 219.
Olympic games, when inſtituted, i. 72.
Omar burns the library at Alexandria, ii. 17.
Orange, the hereditary prince of, beſieges Landrecies, iii. 285.

Storms the French camp, *ib.* 286. His letter to the States General, *ib.* 404. His addreſs to the Dutch, *ib.* 449.
Orange, prince of, the Stadtholder, the animoſities againſt him, ii. 365*. Is ſupported by the king of Pruſſia, *ib.* 366*. His addreſs to the United States on the attack of the French, iii. 369. His propoſition to them for the defence of the country, *ib.* 401. By means of foreign recruits, *ib.* 402. And internal levies, *ib.* 403.
Orellana, his adventures, ii. 93. Defeats Pizarro, *ib.* 94.
Orleans, Duke of, is aſſaſſinated, i. 344.
Orleans, the famous maid of, raiſes the ſiege of it, i. 347.
Oſtend is taken by the French, iii. 358.
Otho I. his reign, i. 389.
Otho II. his reign, i. 389.
Otho III. his reign, i. 231.

P.

Paine, Thomas, the effects of his writings, ii. 51*. His trial and publication, *ib.* 53*. His releaſe from priſon requeſted by a deputation from America, iii. 267.
Paoli, general, his proclamation to the Corſicans, iii. 335.
Paraguay, an account of it, ii. 124.
Paris, the maſſacre in, in September, iii. 158. The mob of Paris demand a chief, *ib.* 442.
Patagonians, an account of them, ii. 129.
Pedro de la Gaſca, his character, ii. 101. His diviſion of property, *ib.* 105. His adminiſtration, *ib.* His moderation, *ib.* 106.
Penn, William, his excellent character, iii. 46. Settles with the quakers in Pennſylvania, *ib.* 47. His juſtice and conduct, *ib.* 48.
Pennſylvania, an account of it, iii. 47. The uſeful inventions there, iii. 57. The ſufferings from the peſtilential fever there, ii. 63*.
Pepin, his reign, i. 205.
Pericles reduces the Samians, i. 88.
Pertinax, his fortune, i. 249.
Perſia, modern, an account of it, ii. 38.
Perſians, their trade, ii. 40. Their manners, ii. 41. Their religion, *ib.* 42. Their literature, *ib.* 42.
Perſian Monarchy, an account of it, i. 29.
Peruvians, their ſufferings under the Spaniards, ii. 79. the uſe of their knots, ii. 116. their religion, and its influence on them, *ib.* 117. their bark, *ib.* 118. their manners, *ib.* 123.
Peter the Hermit, preacher of the Cruſades, i. 292.
Peter the Great, his extraordinary character and genius, ii. 325*. His marriage, *ib.* 326*. His ſeverity to his ſon, *ib.* His death, *ib.* 327*.

Peter III. his adminiſtration, ii. 328*. Is depoſed, *ib.* His death, *ib.* 329*.
Phenicians, their religion, i. 44. Their knowledge in the ſciencies, *ib.* 45. Their language, *ib.* Their ſkill in navigation, *ib.*
Philadelphia, an account of, iii. 49. The repreſentatives met there, *ib.* 50. Their regulations and deſign, *ib.* 51.
Philip II. of Spain, his reign and character, ii. 351*. His cruelties in the United Provinces, *ib.* 362*.
—— III. his reign, ii. 351*.
——VI. his reign, ii. 352*.
Philip I. of France, his reign, i. 315. The cauſe of the renewing his wars with William, *ib.* 316.
——II. his reign, i. 322. Enters into the Cruſade. *ib.* 324. Marries a Daniſh princeſs, *ib.* 325. His adminiſtration, *ib.*
——III. his reign, i. 331. His afflictions, *ib.* 332.
——IV. his reign, i. 335. His war with England, *ib.* 336.
Philip of Macedon defeats the Thebans, i. 98. His intemperance, *ib.* 99. Is murdered, *ib.* 100. His character, *ib.* 101.
Philip, his character; celebrates the ſecular games, i. 253.
Pitt, Mr. (earl of Chatham,) his adminiſtration, ii. 22*. Adviſes a war with Spain, reſigns, *ib.* 27*. His death and character, *ib.* 37*.
Pitt, Mr. W. his adminiſtration, ii. 42*. The fund he forms for reducing the national debt, *ib.* 43*. His conduct concerning the regency, *ib.* 46*. His conduct on the motion for a reform in parliament, *ib.* 66*. Suſpends the habeas corpus act, *ib.* 70*.
Piaſt, his reign, ii. 333*.
Pizarro, Gonzalo, his adventures, ii .92. Is deſerted by Orellana, *ib.* 95. Is aſſaſſinated, *ib.* 97.
Pizzaro, his ignorance, ii. 83. Reduces Peru, *ib.* 85. Builds Lima, *ib.* 86. His engagement with Almagro, *ib.* 88. Is defeated and impriſoned, *ib.* 89. His death, *ib.* 90.
Pliny, the naturaliſt, is ſlain by an eruption from Veſuvius, i. 237.
Poland, its ancient hiſtory, ii. 333*. Its kings, *ib.* 334*. Its condition and diſtractions, iii. 291. Its miſerable ſtate without one ally, *ib.* 349. The unjuſt partition of it by Ruſſia, Auſtria, and Pruſſia, ii. 337*. Their diviſions, ii. 334*. Are ſubdued by the Turks, *ib.* 335*.
Poles, their ſufferings under the Ruſſians, iii. 293. Their ſucceſs againſt the Ruſſians, *ib.* 424. They riſe againſt the Pruſſians in South Pruſſia, *ib.* 427. Their ſucceſs againſt the Ruſſians and Pruſſians, *ib.* Defeat the Ruſſians at Niemen, *ib.* 430. Defeat the Pruſſians at Camiona, *ib.* 431. Are defeated and diſperſed by the Ruſſians, *ib.* 459.
Pompey, his ſucceſs againſt Miltiades, i. 183. Enters the temple of Jeruſalem, *ib.* 185. His diſagreement with Cæſar, *ib.* 192.

192. Is defeated at Pharſalia, *ib.* 197. Is treacherouſly murdered, *ib.* 199. His character, *ib.*

Port Royal, in Jamaica, its deſtruction by an earthquake and then by fire, iii. 99.

Portugal, an account of it, ii. 355*. Is ſubjected to Spain, ii. 357*. Queen of, her reign and malady, ii. 359*.

Potoſi, the mines of, diſcovered, ii. 119.

Power, arbitrary, remarks on it, ii. 343*.

Pragmatic ſanction, an account of it, i. 391.

Pretender, the, his deſcent in Scotland, ii. 17*. Invades England, *ib.* 18*. Is repulſed, *ib.* His diſtreſſes, *ib.* 19*.

Priam, rebuilds the city of Troy, i. 51. Begs the body of his ſon Hector from Achilles, *ib.* 55.

Printing, the advantages reſulting from it, i. 424.

Probus, his reign and atchievements, i. 262.

Provinces, the Seven United, an account of them, ii. 362*.

Pruſſia, an account of it, ii. 345*. Is conquered by the Teutonic Knights, *ib.* The introduction of Monarchy there, *ib.* 346*.

——— king of, his atchievements, i. 402. His character, ii. 346*.

——— the king of, his objections againſt the general armament of the Germanic empire, iii. 273. His conduct in the French war, *ib.* 345. His conduct to England and attention to Poland, *ib.* 346. Enters Cracow, *ib.* 423. His letter to the king of Poland, *ib.* 425. His provinces in Poland revolt from him, *ib.* 427. His forces defeated near Warſaw, *ib.* Raiſes the ſiege of Warſaw, *ib.* 428. Is deceived by the empreſs of Ruſſia, *ib.* Remarks on his conduct, *ib.* 429.

Pruſſians, their retreat from France, iii. 163.

Pyrrhus, king of Epire, defeats the Romans, i. 157. Offers to make peace, *ib.* 158. Is in danger of being poiſoned by his own phyſician, *ib.* 160.

Q.

Quakers, are perſecuted, in New England, iii. 24. Their characters and manners, *ib.* 44. And peculiarities, *ib.* 45. Settle with William Penn, in Penſylvania, *ib.* 47.

Queen Dowager of Denmark, her deſign againſt the queen, ii. 268*. Her plan of Revenge, *ib.* 269*. Her accuſation againſt the queen, *ib.* 270*. Obtains the ſupreme power, *ib.* 271*.

R.

Rabaut de St. Etienne, his character and execution, iii. 257.

Ratcliffe, an account of a dreadful fire their, iii. 396.

Rattle-Snake, an account of it, ii. 147.

Raymond, marries Baſilia, ii. 190*. Is ſuſpected by Henry, *ib.* 193*.

193*. Is invited to ſupport Mac Arthy prince of Deſmond, *ib.* 195*. Takes Limeric, *ib.* 196*. Is elected chief governor, *ib.* 197*.

Reed, Mr. an inſtance of his integrity, ii. 38*.

Reform, in parliament moved for, ii. 66*.

Reformation, in Scotland, ii. 136. The progreſs of it, *ib.* 141*. Is ſupported by Queen Elizabeth, *ib.* 146*.

Reformation, the, of Religion, an account of it, i. 393.

Regulus, is defeated and made priſoner by the Carthaginians, i. 163. Diſſuades the Romans from making peace, *ib.* 164. His honour and ſufferings, *ib.*

Repnin, prince, takes Wilna, iii. 424.

Revolution, in England, an account of it, i. 445.

Revolutionary tribunal, the arrangement of it, iii. 317.

Richard II. his reign, i. 422. His expedition to Ireland, ii. 216*. Is murdered, i. 422.

Richard III. his uſurpation; cauſes his nephews to be murdered, i. 425. Is killed in battle, *ib.* 426.

Richelieu, cardinal, his character and adminiſtration, i. 361—263.

Riots, dreadful, in London, the miſchief occaſioned by them, ii. 39*. In Birmingham, *ib.* 50*—63*. Effects of them, *ib.* Riots in London, iii. 397.

Rizzio, David, his character, ii. 164*. Is murdered in the preſence of the Queen of Scots, *ib.* 166*.

Robeſpierre, his character and power, iii. 157. His ſpeech againſt Danton, *ib.* 277. His addreſs to the Jacobin Club on the conſpiracy of Danton, *ib.* His report concerning the decadatory feſtival, *ib.* 294. An attempt is made againſt him, *ib.* 303. Is oppoſed by Couthon, *ib.* 315. His ſpeech on the occaſion, *ib.* 316. The plan formed againſt him, *ib.* 379. His defence in the convention, *ib.* 380. Is accuſed by Billaud de Varennes, *ib.* 381. Is refuſed to be heard, *ib.* 382. His friends are arreſted, *ib.* 383. Is wounded and executed amidſt the ſhouts of the mob, *ib.* 385. An account of his life and character, *ib.* 386. His cruelties, *ib.* 387. His connection with the duke of Orleans, *ib.* His figure and perſon, *ib.* 388. His oratory, *ib.* 389. His duplicity, *ib.* Wounds himſelf, *ib.* 390. Remarks on his deſigns, *ib.* 391. Reflections on his fall, *ib.* 392. Freron's account of his tyranny, *ib.* 431—432.

Robert, king of France, is excommunicated by the Pope, i. 312. His character, *ib.* 313.

Robert III. King of Scotland, his reign, ii. 123*.

Rockingham, the marquis of, his adminiſtration, and character, ii. 32*. Again comes into the adminiſtration, *ib.* 40*. His death, *ib.* 41*.

Roderic O'Connor, his power in Ireland, ii. 171*. Is reduced by Henry, II. *ib.* 174*. Defeats Tyrrel, *ib.* 190*. Makes peace with Henry, *ib.* 191*.

Roland, Madame, her character and execution, iii. 256.
Romans, their origin, i. 118. The diviſion of the citizens into claſſes, *ib.* 124. Their ſtate under the kings, *ib.* 125. Their ſtate under the conſuls, *ib.* 127—134. Their laws of the twelve tables, *ib.* 143. The conteſts between the patricians and plebeians, *ib.* 146—153. They pay their armies, *ib.* 148. Their quarrel with the Gauls, *ib.* Are routed by the Gauls, *ib.* 149. Their war with the Samnites, *ib.* 154. They reduce them, *ib.* 157. Are defeated by Pyrrhus, *ib.* They conquer Pyrrhus, *ib.* 160. Their war with the Carthaginians, *ib.* 162. They reduce Philip II. of Macedon, *ib.* 170. Their ſufferings under Marius and Scylla, *ib.* 178. The decline of their republic, *ib.* 183. Their wealth and magnificence under Auguſtus, *ib.* 216. An account of their arts and ſciences, *ib.* 221. Of their various military exerciſes, *ib.* 222. Of their camp and navy, *ib.* 223. Of their ſtate under the emperors, *ib.* 224. Of their ſufferings, *ib.* Of their luxury and degeneracy, *ib.* 225. The ſtrength of their empire, *ib.* 239. Their military government, *ib.* 272. Are ſubdued by the Goths, *ib.* 281.
Rome, its foundation, i. 118. Is enlarged, *ib.* 123. Is taken by the Gauls, *ib.* 151. Is rebuilt, *ib.*
Ruſſia, empreſs of, remarks on her conduct, iii. 347. Her great power, *ib.* 350. Deceives the king of Pruſſia, *ib.* 428.

S.

Saba, an account of, iii. 147.
Salique law, the wiſdom of it, i. 334.
Santa Cruz, an account of, iii. 152. Its population, *ib.* 153.
Santerre, interrupts the king on the ſcaffold, iii. 204. His addreſs to the convention, *ib.* 224.
Sardanapalus, the emperor, his character, i. 27.
Saxon heptarchy is formed, i. 409.
Saxon laws, i. 410.
Scanderbeg, his character, ii. 8.
Scandinavians, ancient, an account of them, ii. 252*.
Schilderop, an anecdote of him, iii. 154.
Scilly iſlands and rocks, an account of them, ii. 243*. The light-houſe there, *ib.* 244*.
Scipio, his firmneſs, i. 167. Engages Hannibal and defeats him, *ib.* 169.
Scipio Æmelianus, beſieges and takes Carthage, i. 173. His ſeverity, *ib.*
Scotch Highlander, anecdote of one among the Indians, ii. 131.
Scots, an account of them, ii. 77*. The parties among them, *ib.* 106*. The power of their nobles, *ib.* 117*. Nature of their country, *ib.* 118*. Their leagues of mutual defence, *ib.* 119*. Their conduct in the reformation, *ib.* 144*. Adopt the preſbyterian religion, *ib.* 149*.

Scylla defeats Marius and obtains the power of Rome, i. 178. Relieves Rome; defeats the Samnites, *ib.* 179. His ſeverity, *ib.* 180. Is choſen perpetual dictator, *ib.* 181. His reſignation and death, *ib.* 182.

Scythians, their manners, i. 46. Their warlike ſpirit, *ib.*

Seal, its natural hiſtory, ii. 149*. A deſcription of it, *ib.* 296* The blubber obtained from it, *ib.* The other uſes of it, *ib.* 297*.

Second ſight, remarks on it, ii. 248*.

Semiramis, her character and great works, i. 26.

Severus, his maxims of government, i. 249. Goes into Britain, *ib.* 250.

Sicilian veſpers, an account of them, i. 331.

Sierra Leone, the ſettlement there, ii. 52*.

Skrællings or dwarfs, an account of them, ii. 282*.

Slave trade, remarks on it, iii. 18. Effects from it, *ib.* 72.

Sobieſki, his reign, ii. 335*.

Solon reforms the laws of Athens, i. 62. His regulations *ib.* 63.

Solyman, the magnificent, his exploits, ii. 9.

Soulavie, M. excites the revolution at Geneva, iii. 373.

South Sea ſcheme, an account of it, ii. 13*.

Spain, an account of it, ii. 347*. Is conquered by the Saracens, *ib.* 348*.

Spaniards are defeated by the French, iii. 414. The treachery of ſeveral, *ib.* Their patriotiſm to ſupport the war, *ib.* 415.

Spaniſh literature, an account of it, ii. 355*.

Sparta, an account of, i. 64. Its ſingular inſtitutions, *ib.* 65.

Spartans, their manners, i. 65. And education, *ib.* 66. Their arms, *ib.* 67. Their ſlaves, *ib.* 71. Remarks on their government, *ib.* 72. Conquer the Meſſenians, *ib.* 73. Reduce the Athenians, *ib.* 94.

Spintriæ, an account of their employ, i. 225.

Spitzerbergen, an account of the iſlands, ii. 276*. The ſeverity of the cold there, *ib.*

Staniſlaus Auguſtus, king of Poland, is ſupported by the Ruſſians, ii. 336*. His kingdom is divided by Ruſſia, Auſtria, and Pruſſia, *ib.* 337*. An attempt is made to aſſaſſinate him, *ib.* 338*. Accepts the new conſtitution of Poland, *ib.* 339*. His inattention, *ib.* 340*. His ſubmiſſion to Ruſſia, *ib.* 341*. His proclamation addreſſed to the inhabitants of Warſaw, iii. 275. His letter to general Koſciuſko, *ib.* 309. His patriotic gifts, *ib.* 425. His anſwer to the king of Pruſſia's letter, deſiring him to deliver up Warſaw, *ib.* 426.

Star chamber inſtituted, i. 427.

St. Chriſtopher's iſland, an account of, iii. 116.

St. Domingo, an account of, ii. 136. An inſurrection of the negroes there, *ib.* 137.

St. Juſt, his accuſation againſt Hebert, Danton, &c. iii. 277.

Is not ſuffered to ſpeak in the convention, iii. 381. The accuſations againſt him, *ib.* 391.
St. Lucia, an account of, iii. 142.
St. Sebaſtian, an account of it, is taken by the French, iii. 413.
St. Thomas's iſland, an account of, iii. 152.
St. Vincents, an account of, iii. 118.
Stewart, family of, an account of them, ii. 123*.
Strongbow, chief governor of Ireland, ii. 186*. His difficulties, *ib.* 189. Takes Dublin, *ib.* 190*. Beſieges Limerick, *ib.* 191*. Is diſtreſſed at the apprehenſion of Raymond, *ib.* 194*. Defeats O'Brien, *ib.* 195*. His death, *ib.* 196*. His character, *ib.* 197*. His funeral, *ib.*
Struenſee, count, wiſhes to effect a reformation in Denmark, ii. 269*. Is arreſted, *ib.* 271*. Is executed, *ib.*
Style, the alteration of it, ii. 21*.
Sugerius, his character, i. 319.
Sully, duke of, his character, i. 358.
Supreme national council of Poland, their proclamation on the inſurrection, iii. 421. They recal the fugitive Poles, *ib.* 424. Their letter to general Koſciuſko on his having raiſed the ſiege of Warſaw, *ib.* 429. Reſign their power to the king, *ib.* 459.
Surat, an account of, ii. 37.
Swiſs, their bravery, ii. 361. Their literature, *ib.* Their anſwer to the Britiſh declaration, iii. 267.
Switzerland, an account of it, ii. 359*. Its ancient inhabitants, *ib.* 360*.
Syria, an account of, i. 32.
Syrians, worſhip one God, i. 32.

T.

Tacitus, the emperor, gives his eſtate to the public, i. 261.
Tallien accuſes Robeſpierre, iii. 382. Releaſes many priſoners confined by Robeſpierre, *ib.* 394. Accuſes Barrere and ſix members of the committee of public welfare, *ib.* 408. Accuſes the peculators, *ib.* 435. An attempt is made to aſſaſſinate him, *ib.* 436. Retorts on Cambon the charge of cruelty, *ib.* 455.
Tamerlane, his reign, ii. 7. Conquers India, *ib.* 30.
Tartars, their character; invade the Roman empire, i. 279. The extent of their country, ii. 24. Their method of making war, *ib.* 26.
Telegraphe, the advantages to be derived from it, iii. 409. Was invented by the marquis of Worceſter, *ib.* 410. An account of it by M. de Lolme, *ib.* 411.
Tell, William, his boldneſs and patriotiſm, ii. 360*.
Terra Firma, an account of it, ii. 126. The productions there, *ib.* 127.
Theatre, Chineſe, an account of it, iii. 355.

Thebans, their riſe, i. 94. Their increaſe of power, *ib.* 96. Are defeated by Philip, *ib.* 98.
Thebes, account of it, i. 61.
Themiſtocles, his character, i. 79.
Thraſybulus, overcomes the tyrants of Athens, i. 93.
Thurot, captain, his deſcent on Ireland, ii. 25*.
Tiberius, his character and reign; protects the Chriſtians, i. 225.
Tiberius Gracchus, ſupports the Agrarian law, and is ſlain, i. 176.
Tienſon, in China, an account of it, iii. 352.
Titus beſieges Jeruſalem, i. 233. And takes it, *ib.* 234. His modeſty, *ib.* 235. His excellent character, *ib.* 237.
Titus Manlius fights the Samnites againſt orders, i. 155. Is condemned for this by his father, *ib.* 156.
Tobago, the iſland of, an account of it, iii. 143.
Tooke, Horne, is tried for high treaſon and acquitted, iii. 452.
Torfæus, his account of Greenland, ii. 279*.
Toulon, an account of its evacuation, iii. 258. The arſenal is fired, *ib.* 260. The powder ſhips blown up, *ib.* 261.
Trajan, his reign, i. 238.
Tribunes of the people, i. 136.
Tripoli, an account of, ii. 46.
Triumvirate, the firſt, of whom compoſed, i. 188. The ſecond triumvirate, of whom compoſed, i. 208.
Turks, their declining power, ii. 10. Are defeated by the Ruſſians, *ib.* 11. Their manners and education, *ib.* 13.
Turkiſh empire, an account of, ii. 6. Its declining power, *ib.* 11.
Turkiſh ambaſſador, arrival of one in England, ii. 64.
Tunis, an account of it, ii. 46.

V.

Vaca de Caſtro, his character and power in Peru, ii. 91. Defeats Almagro, *ib.* 100.
Valerian, is defeated by the Perſians and ſlain, i. 256.
Van der Dunn, his brave defence of Sluys, iii. 412.
Van Horn pillages Vera Cruz, iii. 109.
Vaſa, *Guſtavus*, eſcapes in the maſſacre of the nobles, ii. 253*. His adventures, works in the mines, *ib.* 254*. Obtains the crown, *ib.*
Vaſa, *Eric*, is dethroned, ii. 254*.
Vermont, an account of, iii. 82. Its conſtitution, *ib.* 83.
Veſpaſian, the emperor, his riſe, i. 232. Beſieges Jeruſalem, *ib.* His triumph, *ib.* 235. His death and character, *ib.* 236
Veſuvius, mount, an account of, ii. 4. Dreadful eruption of it, i. 237.
Vitellius, his reign, i. 231.
Virginia, an account of, iii. 59. Its tobacco, *ib.* 61. The character of its inhabitants, *ib.* 63.

INDEX.

Virginius, ſlays his daughter, i. 144. Impeaches Appius, *ib.* 145.
Voltaire, the great miſchief cauſed in France by his writings, iii. 279.
Ulrica Eleonora is elected queen of Sweden, ii. 258*.

W

Wales an account of it, ii. 234*. Its romantic ſituation, *ib.* 237*. Its antiquities, *ib.*
Wales, prince of, his conduct on the king's illneſs, ii. 46*. Is offered to be made prince regent of Ireland on that occaſion, ii. 222*. Reduces his houſhold, *ib.* 57*.
Wall, the famous one in China, an account of it, iii. 353.
Wallace, William, his atchievements and character, ii. 97*. Defeats the Engliſh, *ib.* 100*. Is choſen protector, *ib.* 101* Is defeated by the Engliſh at Falkirk, *ib.* 104*. His magnanimity, *ib.* Stops the progreſs of Edward, *ib.* 105*. Is betrayed and executed, *ib.* 108*. The Ode on his death, *ib.* 109*.
Walpole, Sir Robert, his adminiſtration, ii. 14*. His character, *ib.*
War, the character of the preſent war, iii. 342. With France, the arguments for, and againſt it, ii. 264—265.
Warren, ſir John, takes three French frigates, iii. 287.
Warſaw, the ſufferings there, iii. 292. A ſupreme national council appointed there; of whom compoſed, *ib.* 311. The inſurrections there, and ſeveral priſoners executed by the mob, *ib.* 420. The proclamation of the ſupreme national council there, *ib.* 421. Is protected by Koſciuſko; the ſiege of it raiſed, *ib.* 428. Is ſurrendered to the Ruſſians, *ib.* 459.
Watt, Robert, is tried at Edinburgh for high treaſon, iii. 415. The deſign of which he was accuſed, *ib.* 416. The defence made for him, *ib.* 417. Is found guilty, *ib.* 418. An account of his execution, *ib.* 451.
Welch, the, are reduced by king Edward, ii. 235*. Their cuſtoms, *ib.* 239*. Their literature, *ib.* 240*.
Weſt Indies, of the, iii. 84. Their hurricanes, *ib.* 85. Their produce, *ib.* 86. Their cultivation of the ſugar-cane, *ib.* 87. The proceſs of the gathering and grinding it, *ib.* 89. Their negroes, *ib.* 91. The Weſt Indies were probably parts of an ancient continent, *ib.* 115.
Weſterman, general, is accuſed, iii. 278. Is executed, *ib.* 280.
Whale, Greenland, an account of it, ii. 293*. Its food, *ib.* 294*. The different methods of catching them, *ib.* 295*.
Wight, iſle of, an account of it, ii. 242*.
Wilkes, Mr. his impriſonment and lawſuit with the crown, ii. 30*. Is outlawed, *ib.* 31*.
William, duke of Normandy, invades England, i. 413.
William, prince of Orange, forms the union of the ſeven provinces,

vinces, ii. 362*. His education, *ib.* 363*. His character, *ib.* Is inveſted with the ſupreme authority, *ib.* 364*.
William, prince of Orange, arrives in England, i. 444.
William and Mary, their reign, ii. 1*. Fights the battle of the Boyne, *ib.* 2*. His death and character, *ib.* 3*.
Witts, the de, are cruelly maſſacred, ii. 364*,
Wolfe, general, his conqueſts and death, ii. 24*.
Wolſey, cardinal, his character, i. 428.

X.

Xerxes, his preparations againſt Greece, i. 81. Is defeated at Salamis, *ib.* 82. Retires and is ſlain, *ib.* 84.

Y.

York, duke of, appointed to the command of the Britiſh forces, iii. 212. Defeats the French at Lazennes, *ib.* 252. Takes Marciennes, *ib.* 254. His ſucceſs againſt the French, *ib.* 284. Repulſes them at Cateau, *ib.* 288. Defeats the French at Tournay, *ib.* 295. Is defeated at Mons, *ib.* 297. Is ſurrounded by the French, *ib.* 298. His declaration to the army on the decree of the French to ſhow no mercy to the Engliſh and Hanoverians, *ib.* 305. Is induced to leave Tournay, *ib.* 326. Retreats from Gramont, *ib.* 359. Is joined by lord Moira, *ib.* 361. Withdraws to Crevecœur, *ib.* 403. Retreats to Grave, *ib.* 404. Retreats acroſs the Meuſe, *ib.* 439.
Ypres, the ruinous ſtate to which it was reduced by the ſiege, iii. 323. Its brave defence, *ib.*

Z.

Zakizewſky, preſident of the criminal tribunal, exerts himſelf to ſave the priſoners at Warſaw, iii. 420.
Zenobia, her character and accompliſhments, i. 259. Defends Palmyra, *ib.* 260.